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CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME.

JANUARY–FEBRUARY.

PAGE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND TEMPERANCE 9
D. D. THOMPSON, Chicago, Ill.

THE ROMANCES OF THEOSOPHY 20
A. H. TUTTLE, D.D., Newark, N. J.

THE PROVERBS OF THE SO-CALLED DIONYSIUS CATO 37
Professor K. P. HARRINGTON, M.A., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

EXPOSITION OF ROMANS VIII, 18–23 48
Bishop H. W. WARREN, D.D., LL.D., University Park, Colo.

ASBURY AS A STUDENT 55
Rev. F. G. PORTER, M.A., Baltimore, Md.

THE MACHPELAH AND ISRAEL'S FAITH WHILE IN BONDAGE (ACTS VII, 15, 16) 65
Rev. C. D. DAY, M.A., Newcastle, Wyo.

RECENT PHASES OF THOUGHT IN APOLOGETICS 77
Professor W. N. RICE, Ph.D., LL.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

DOES GOD SUFFER? 87
Rev. F. B. STOCKDALE, M.A., Brooklyn, New York City.

MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE AND ITS TENDENCIES 93
Rev. E. I. ANTRIM, Ph.D., Germantown, O.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 103
The Supervision of Labor, 104; A Word About the Twentieth Century Fund, 105; Yale Lectures on Preaching, 106.

THE ARENA 112
Nescience of God, 112; Church Music Again, 113; A Study, 114; A Meditation, 118; Could God Sin? 121; Methodism and Missions—The True Departure, 123; "The New Departure," 128.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 130
The Minister's New Year, 130; Vitality in Bible Study, 132; A Liturgical Suggestion, 134.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 135
The Religion of Babylonia, 135.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 139
Reflex Benefits of Missions, 139; Bible Translation into Non-Christian Languages, 141; Money and Missions, 142; The Pariah's Friend, 143.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 144

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 152

BOOK NOTICES 156
Kuyper's Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology, 156; Van Dyke's The Gospel for an Age of Doubt, 158; Jefferson's Quiet Talks with Earnest People, 159; Abbott's The Life and Letters of Paul the Apostle, 161; Mackenzie's Christianity and the Progress of Man, 162; Smith's Guesses at the Riddle of Existence, 162; Lang's The Making of Religion, 164; Carman's By the Aurelian Wall, 165; Stedman's Poems Now First Collected, 167; Fiske's Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, 169; Lathrop's Memories of Hawthorne, 171; Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman, 173; MISCELLANEOUS, 174.

MARCH–APRIL.

PAGE

WYCLIF THE PROPHET OF PROTESTANTISM AND OF THE METHODIST ITINERANCY 177
Bishop J. F. HURST, D.D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.

THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN THOUGHT 190
President C. J. LITTLE, D.D., LL.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS 207
S. P. CADMAN, D.D., New York City.

AN IDEALIST'S PRESCRIPTION FOR MODERN MATERIALISM 219
J. J. TIGERT, D.D., LL.D., Nashville, Tenn.

LÂO-TSZE AND HIS SYSTEM—A STUDY IN CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. 230
G. H. TREVER, Ph.D., D.D., Milwaukee, Wis.

THE CUP OF SORROW 248
ROBERT WATT, D.D., Wilmington, Del.

WHO WERE THE HITTITES (HETHITES)? 260
Professor C. W. SUPER, Ph.D., LL.D., Ohio University, Athens, O.

THE MENTAL CONDITION OF THE CHINAMAN AS VIEWED FROM WITHIN 265
Professor I. T. HEADLAND, Peking University, Peking, China.

THE TRUE METHOD OF MISSIONARY PROGRESS 277
Rev. W. F. OLDHAM, Ph.D., Columbus, O.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 287
Liberal Christianity, 288; The Harlequin Bible, 292.

THE ARENA 297
The Adjustment of Christian Apologetics to Scientific Hypotheses, 297; "The Significance of Current Religious Unrest," 298; Depravity, 301.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 302
Replenish the Sources, 302; The Spirit of the Pulpit, 304.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 306
The Hebrew Ecclesiasticus, 306; Research in Palestine, 308.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 310
World's Missionary Conference, 310; The Vitality of Islam, 311; Our Contention with Turkey, 312.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 314

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 320

BOOK NOTICES 324
Lyman's Freedom and Meditation, 324; Dole's Luxury and Sacrifice, 328; Moulton's Modern Reader's Bible, 331; Bowne's Metaphysics, 332; Vincent's The Bibliotaph and Other People, 334; Warren's Among the Forces, 336; Thorpe's Constitutional History of the American People, 338; Wallace's Jerusalem the Holy, 341; MISCELLANEOUS, 343.

MAY–JUNE.

PAGE

THE CONSTRUCTIVE VALUE OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE..... 345
Professor A. C. ARMSTRONG, JR., Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

CARLYLE, TENNYSON, AND BROWNING ON THE FUTURE LIFE..... 360
Rev. R. S. INGRAHAM, M.A., Milwaukee, Wis.

CURRENT BIBLICAL DISCUSSIONS—THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF THEOLOGICAL FACULTIES WITH RESPECT TO THEM..... 368
President W. F. WARREN, D.D., LL.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF LAW..... 382
Professor G. H. BENNETT, D.D., Consolidated University, Portland, Ore.

WILLIAM MORRIS—POET, SOCIALIST, AND MASTER OF MANY CRAFTS..... 386
Rev. J. B. KENYON, Litt.D., Syracuse, N. Y.

MUST SYNTAX DIE THAT THE SABBATH MAY LIVE?..... 401
Professor W. F. STEELE, D.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.

JOHN WESLEY'S SCHOOL AT KINGSWOOD..... 410
Rev. JOHN TELFORD, B.A., Redhill, Surrey, Eng.

MARTHA AND MARY—LOVE GREATER THAN ACHIEVEMENT—A CHARACTER STUDY..... 421
J. D. WALSH, D.D., Covington, Ky.

METHODS OF APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY..... 431
G. A. WILSON, Ph.D., Boston, Mass.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 444
The Inner Life of the Preacher, 444; Robert Browning in his Wife's Letters, 450.

THE ARENA..... 461
"The Significance of Current Religious Unrest," 461; "Nescience of God," 464; "For Christ's Sake," or "God in Christ," 465.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 467
Ritualistic Tendencies of Our Time, 467; Diversity in Scripture Translation—Its Necessity and Value, 468; Paul's Vision of Christ, 1 Cor. 15. 8, 471.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 473
South Arabian Inscriptions, 473.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 477
Cooperation in Mission Fields, 477; In Palestine and Syria, 479.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 481

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 487

BOOK NOTICES..... 491
Harnack's History of Dogma, 491; Pike's The Divine Drama, 493; Huntington's Sin and Holiness, 495; Lanier's Music and Poetry, 497; Thompson's John Wesley as a Social Reformer, 500; Henley's Poems, 502; Orr's Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity, 504; Landor's In the Forbidden Land, 506; Hunt's English Meditative Lyrics, 509; Warne's George Müller, 510; Steele's Jesus Exultant: or, Christ No Pessimist, 510; Watters's First American Itinerant of Methodism, William Watters, 511; Adams's European History, 511; Gilbert's The Student's Life of Jesus, 512; Moody's One Thousand and One Thoughts from My Library, 512; Kern's The Ministry to the Congregation, 512; Cowl's Digging Ditches, 512.

JULY-AUGUST.

PAGE

THE CATHOLICITY OF AMERICAN METHODISM..... 513
Bishop E. R. HENDRIX, D.D., LL.D., Kansas City, Mo.

A BURNING BUSH IN ALSATIAN HIGHLANDS..... 532
D. W. CLARK, D.D., Boston, Mass.

SPIRITUAL MESSAGES FROM THE POETRY OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW..... 538
P. H. SWIFT, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

A BATTLE BETWEEN THE PIGMIES AND THE GIANT..... 548
Professor H. W. CONN, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

THE CLERICAL LION..... 563
ISAAC CROOK, D.D., Ironton, O.

THE PREREQUISITES OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY..... 569
Rev. W. H. BUTLER, Wareham, Mass.

THE PARABLE OF THE UNJUST STEWARD—Luke xvi, 1-31..... 575
Professor Thomas Nicholson, D.D., Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia.

BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN ART..... 580
M. B. MYERS, Mexico, N. Y.

AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM AND EXPANSION..... 585
J. P. BRUSHINGHAM, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

KRISHNA AND CHRIST..... 595
Rev. J. E. SCOTT, Ph.D., Muttra, India.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 602
Methodist Leaven in Roman Catholic Meal, 602; Trees and Men, 609.

THE ARENA..... 622
"Nescience of God," 622; Wesley's *Maggots*, 625; "Nescience of God," 628; The Power of Prayer, 629; Can the "Mode of Baptism" Continue a Mooted Question? 630; Does God Suffer? 630.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 631
The Gospel of the Minister's Vacation, 631; Pharaoh, an Instrument of God's Mercy—Rom. ix, 17, 633; Discrimination in the Use of Christian Literature, 634.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 636
The Book of Daniel and the Monuments, 636.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 641
Increased Heathen Population, 641: The Congo Railroad and Interior Mission Work in Africa, 643; Christian Literature for China, 644.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 645

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 651

BOOK NOTICES..... 655
Berle's Modern Interpretations of the Gospel Life, 655; Van Dyke's Liberty, 658; Knowles's Spirit and Life, 661; Stevens's The Theology of the New Testament, 663; Gates's Three Studies in Literature, 665; Hardy's Wessex Poems and Other Verses, 668; Moscheles's Fragments of an Autobiography, 670; Kenyon's The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 673; Barrows's The Isles and Shrines of Greece, 676; Fiske's To-day and To-morrow, 677; Potwin's Here and There in the Greek New Testament, 679; The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, 680; Pearse's The Gentleness of Jesus, 680.

SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER.

PAGE

A CENTENNIAL FORWARD MOVEMENT..... 681
Bishop J. M. THOBURN, D.D., LL.D., Bombay, India.

JEAN VALJEAN..... 692
W. A. QUAYLE, D.D., Indianapolis, Ind.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO..... 713
Mrs. ISABELLA W. PARKS, Atlanta, Ga.

SUPPORT OF CONFERENCE CLAIMANTS..... 726
Rev. R. S. BORLAND, Mercer, Pa.

UNIFYING FACTORS IN METHODISM..... 732
C. F. M'KOWN, D.D., Jacksonville, Ill.

THE ROYAL PROGRESS..... 737
Mrs. MARY S. ROBINSON, Mamaroneck, N. Y.

THE PROLEGOMENA OF CRITICISM—I..... 749
Professor L. A. SHERMAN, Ph.D., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.

THE KENOSIS..... 763
Rev. WILLIAM MAJOR, Philadelphia, Pa.

GOETHE..... 767
Professor J. T. HATFIELD, Ph.D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

INFLUENCE OF JAMES ARMINIUS ON MODERN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT..... 779
Rev. HOSEA HEWITT, Wilton, Me.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 794
The Physical Effects of Alcohol, 795; Other People in Mrs. Browning's Letters, 797.

THE ARENA..... 806
"Recent Phases of Thought in Apologetics," 806; Was the Family at Bethany Jew or Gentile? 808; "The Cup of Sorrow," 810.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 811
Interpretation by Paraphrase, 811.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 815
Amos and Criticism, 815.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 819
Among Wesleyan Missions, 819; The Present Condition of Armenians, 820; Conversion as a Safeguard against Heathenism, 821.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 823

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 828

BOOK NOTICES..... 831
Harnack's History of Dogma, 831; Fiske's Through Nature to God, 833; Buckley's Extemporaneous Oratory for Professional and Amateur Speakers, 836; The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray, 838; Lanier's Retrospects and Prospects, 841; Peck's Luther Peck and His Five Sons, 841; MISCELLANEOUS, 847.

NOVEMBER–DECEMBER.

PAGE

ALPHA J. KYNETT, D.D., LL.D. 849
GEORGE ELLIOTT, D.D., Pottsville, Pa.

METHODISM AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT 865
W. C. MADISON, D.D., Denver, Colo.

TENNYSON AND HIS TEACHINGS 874
JAMES MUDGE, D.D., Natick, Mass.

A DRAMA OF WAR 888
Professor A. B. HYDE, D.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.

IS THE POWER OF THE PULPIT WANING? 896
Rev. S. J. HERBEN, Litt.D., New York City.

DOCTOR JOHN LORD—HIS LITERARY RANK 911
Hon. W. J. ARMSTRONG, West Mansfield, O.

THE RELATION OF RELIGION TO OUR GOVERNMENT 930
Rev. EDWARD THOMSON, LL.D., Atlanta, Ga.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 942
Christianity in the Colleges, 942; Excessive Optionalism in Education, 945.

THE ARENA 956
Memory Lessons for Christian Folk, 956; Symmetry in Preaching, 958; Depravity, 959.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 961
A Study in Comparative Exegesis: Jacob and Esau—Rom. ix, 13, 961; The True Introduction to a Successful Ministry, 965; Zeal for Souls, 966.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 967
Jerusalem and the Monuments, 967.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 971
Missions in Egypt, 971; The New Japanese Treaty, 972; Missionary Co-operation, 974.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 975

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 980

BOOK NOTICES 984
Lyman's Christian View of a Time of Change, 984; Nash's Ethics and Revelation, 988; Foster's Studies in Theology, 992; Mudge's Honey from Many Hives, 995; Lemmon's The Eternal Building, 996; Ecce Clerus, 1000; Hudson's Study of English Literature, 1003; Foss's From the Himalayas to the Equator, 1005; Godkin's Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy, 1007; Steevens's The Tragedy of Dreyfus, 1008; Hale's James Russell Lowell and His Friends, 1010; Wyeth's Life of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, 1011; MISCELLANEOUS, 1012.

INDEX 1017

VOL. LXXXI, No. 1. WHOLE No. 435. JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1899. FIFTH SERIES, VOL. XV. No. 1.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. Abraham Lincoln and Temperance. *D. D. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.* 9

II. The Romances of Theosophy. *A. H. Tuttle, D.D., Newark, N. J.* 20

III. The Proverbs of the So-called Dionysius Cato. *Professor K. P. Harrington, M.A., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.* 37

IV. Exposition of Romans VIII, 18-23. *Bishop H. W. Warren, D.D., LL.D., University Park, Colo.* 48

V. Asbury as a Student. *Rev. F. G. Porter, M.A., Baltimore, Md.* . 55

VI. The Machpelah and Israel's Faith While in Bondage (Acts VII, 15, 16). *Rev. C. D. Day, M.A., Newcastle, Wyo.* 65

VII. Recent Phases of Thought in Apologetics. *Professor W. N. Rice, Ph.D., LL.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.* 77

VIII. Does God Suffer? *Rev. F. B. Stockdale, M.A., Brooklyn, New York City.* 87

IX. Modern German Literature and its Tendencies. *Rev. F. I Antrim, Ph.D., Germantown, O.* 93

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 103

The Supervision of Labor, 104; A Word About the Twentieth Century Fund, 105; Yale Lectures on Preaching, 106.

The Arena 113

Nescience of God, 112; Church Music Again, 113; A Study, 114; A Meditation, 118; Could God Sin? 121; Methodism and Missions—The True Departure, 123; "The New Departure," 128.

The Itinerants' Club 130

The Minister's New Year, 130; Vitality in Bible Study, 132; A Liturgical Suggestion, 134.

Archæology and Biblical Research 135

The Religion of Babylonia, 135.

Missionary Review 139

Reflex Benefits of Missions, 139; Bible Translation into Non-Christian Languages, 141; Money and Missions, 142; The Pariah's Friend, 143.

Foreign Outlook. 144

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines. 152

Book Notices. 156

NEW YORK:
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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1899.

ART. I.—ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND TEMPERANCE.

THE war against the liquor traffic is not ended. There are many indications that it is about to be renewed with greater vigor than ever before. It will not end until the traffic is overthrown with all its evil influence upon individuals and the State. How soon this victory shall come no one can tell. Of one thing we may be sure, it will come through God's use of human instruments. The various religious organizations, and especially organizations of Christian young people, will be among these instruments, and many individual young men and women will have an important part to play.

There is peculiar appropriateness in Methodists, and especially Methodist young people, leading in the temperance movement; for, while there have been many eminent temperance reformers, John Wesley was the greatest, and he was the first prohibitionist. In January, 1773, Mr. Wesley, in a letter on the terrible suffering of the poor of England caused by the scarcity of provisions, wrote: "What remedy is there for this sore evil—many thousand poor people are starving? . . . How can the price of wheat and barley be reduced? By prohibiting forever, by making a full end of that bane of health, that destroyer of strength, of life, and of virtue—distilling." During Wesley's lifetime, and as a result chiefly of his efforts, there was a very great decrease in the consumption of liquor. After his death his followers, in England particularly, grew so indifferent to the evils of intemperance that even their ministers were accustomed to drink liquors. But there has been a marked change in the Wesleyan Church in England in recent

years. Most of its ministers are now total abstainers, while in the United States the sentiment is such that no minister, not even a bishop, can use intoxicating liquors as a beverage and remain a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But, while we who are followers of John Wesley may be inspired to greater zeal for the overthrow of intemperance by his words and works, there are many upon whom no words of his or any other religious reformer would make the slightest impression. There is, however, one name which will always command the respect of every American, even of the saloon keeper and those politicians who fear the political power of the saloon keeper more than they fear the wrath of God—the name of Abraham Lincoln. This great leader was always, by word and act, a temperance man. He never used liquor in any form, and he frequently sought to persuade others not to use it. He often preached what he called a sermon to his boys. It was: "Don't drink, don't smoke, don't chew, don't swear, don't gamble, don't lie, don't cheat. Love your fellow-men and love God. Love truth, love virtue, and be happy." He frequently spoke to young men whom he saw were in danger from the use of liquor, and not a few, no doubt, owe their moral and perhaps spiritual salvation to his kindly words of warning. A certain well-known class leader in one of our prominent Western churches relates that after Mr. Lincoln's speech at Leavenworth, Kan., in the winter of 1859, Mr. Lincoln and friends—among whom was the narrator of the incident, then a young man—were invited to the home of Judge Delahay, where Mr. Lincoln was entertained. The refreshments included wine, of which nearly everyone except Mr. Lincoln partook. The witness adds:

> The next day we escorted him back to the train, and to my dying day I shall never forget our parting. I was only twenty-two years old. Mr. Lincoln bade each one good-bye, and gave each a hearty grasp of the hand. He bade me good-bye last, and, as he took my hand in both of his and stood there towering above me, he looked down into my eyes with that sad, kindly look of his, and said, "My young friend, do not put an enemy in your mouth to steal away your brains."

Mr. Lincoln was a temperance man not from an impulse due to the enthusiasm aroused by some temperance orator.

His attitude was a conviction within. All the influences surrounding him in childhood and young manhood were of a character to induce him to drink. In later years, referring to the drinking customs of that period, he said:

> When all such of us as have now reached the age of maturity first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence we found intoxicating liquors recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. It commonly entered into the first draught of the infant and the last draught of the dying man. From the sideboard of the parson down to the ragged pocket of the houseless loafer it was constantly found. Physicians prescribed it in this, that, and the other disease; government provided it for soldiers and sailors; and to have a rolling or raising, a husking or "hoe-down" anywhere about, without it, was positively insufferable. So, too, it was everywhere a respectable article of manufacture and of merchandise. The making of it was regarded as an honorable livelihood, and he who could make most was the most enterprising and respectable. Large and small manufactories of it were everywhere erected, in which all the earthly goods of their owners were invested. Wagons drew it from town to town, boats bore it from clime to clime, and the winds wafted it from nation to nation; and merchants bought and sold it by wholesale and retail with precisely the same feelings on the part of the seller, buyer, and bystander as are felt at the selling and buying of plows, beef, bacon, or any other of the real necessaries of life. Universal public opinion not only tolerated, but recognized and adopted, its use.

Whisky was as good as money, and when Mr. Lincoln's father decided to move from Kentucky to Indiana he accepted in payment for his Kentucky farm twenty dollars in money and ten barrels of whisky worth twenty-eight dollars a barrel. Perhaps it was in the ordering of Providence that the raft on which the goods of the Lincoln family were being transported to Indiana was wrecked by the rapid current of the Ohio River and all the whisky lost. Its presence in the wretched open-faced shack which was the home of the Lincolns during their first year in Indiana might have proved a temptation to which young Lincoln would have yielded, with disaster to his own character and with fateful results to the nation.

God's prophets have been men whose characters began to be molded in childhood. When he determined to deliver the children of Israel from slavery he took a young man who had spent the most of his life in the midst of royal pleasures and

sensual dissipations that destroyed rather than developed nobility of character. But Moses was not called to deliver Israel and to be the lawgiver of the world because he was "the son of Pharaoh's daughter," but because during the few years his own mother as a hired servant nursed him she taught him of God and his will, and so molded his character that the after years of royal pleasure and dissipation could not change it. Luther, Wesley, Shaftesbury, and hosts of other great and good men are illustrations of the same truth, that the foundation of the character that made them great was laid in childhood. And usually the instrument used was a godly mother. This was the case with Lincoln. His mother died when he was nine years old. Yet, after he had become President, he said of her, "All that I am, or hope to be, I owe to my angel mother—blessings on her memory." On Sundays Mrs. Lincoln would gather her children around her and read to them the wonderful stories in the Bible and pray with them. After he had become President Mr. Lincoln said: "I remember her prayers, and they have always followed me. They have clung to me all my life." The Bible stories not only interested him, but they molded his intellectual, as well as moral, character. He knew the Bible almost by heart, and his political speeches and State papers abound with its words and teachings. Two of his greatest speeches are thus particularly distinguished—that delivered at Springfield, Ill., June 16, 1858, accepting the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and known as the "House divided against itself" speech; and the second inaugural speech, delivered March 4, 1865, which the London *Spectator* declared to be "the noblest political document known to history."

No reader of the Bible ever imbibed its spirit or learned the lessons it taught more fully than did Lincoln. Its truths appealed to his reason, and especially to his experience. Its declarations as to the effects of strong drink were fully confirmed by the condition of those about him who used liquor. Before he had ever tasted liquor he resolved to always totally abstain from its use. This was a courageous decision to make in that day, much more so, indeed, than it would be to-day. He even refused to sell liquor in his store at New Salem, and

when his partner insisted, on the plea that its sale would draw custom, he retired from the business rather than consent. His unfailing practice of his temperance principles attracted attention, and when he was grown some of his associates determined to make him break his resolution. In order to get him to take at least one drink of liquor they declared that he could not lift a full barrel of whisky and take a drink out of the bunghole. Lincoln accepted the challenge, lifted the barrel above his head, took a mouthful of the liquor, and set the barrel down on the ground. At once the shout was raised, "Well, Abe, you've taken a drink of whisky for once in your life and broken your pledge!" But the sentence was scarcely completed before he spit the liquor out of his mouth and quietly said, "And I have not done so now."

To do and say that which he believed to be right was so much the habit of Mr. Lincoln's life that he was not conscious of temptations which with many others would require great moral courage to resist, with perhaps weakness that would result in a fall. A more astute politician than Mr. Lincoln America has not produced, and a greater temptation never came to any mere politician than came to Mr. Lincoln the day after his nomination for the presidency by the Republican National Convention, which met in the "Wigwam" in Chicago, in 1860. It occurred in connection with the visit of the committee appointed by the convention to notify Mr. Lincoln of his nomination. A number of the citizens of Springfield, knowing Mr. Lincoln's total abstinence habits and believing that he would in all probability have no liquors in the house, called upon him and suggested that perhaps some members of the committee would be in need of some refreshment, wine or other liquors. "I haven't any in the house," said Mr. Lincoln. "We will furnish them," said the visitors. "Gentlemen," replied Mr. Lincoln, "I cannot allow you to do what I will not do myself." Some Democratic citizens, however, who felt that Springfield had been honored by the nomination, sent several baskets of wine to Mr. Lincoln's house, but he returned them, thanking the senders for their intended kindness. After the formal ceremonies connected with the business of the Committee of Notification had passed Mr. Lincoln

remarked that, as an appropriate conclusion to an interview so important and interesting he supposed good manners would require that he should furnish the committee something to drink; and opening a door he called out, "Mary! Mary!" A girl responded to the call, to whom Mr. Lincoln spoke in an undertone. In a few minutes the maid entered bearing a large tray containing several glass tumblers and a large pitcher and placed it upon the center table. Mr. Lincoln then arose and, gravely addressing the distinguished gentlemen, said, "Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy beverage God has given to man. It is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family, and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on the present occasion; it is pure Adam's ale from the spring." And, taking a tumbler, he touched it to his lips and pledged them his highest respects in a cup of cold water. A few months later he started on his journey to Washington to take his seat as President of the United States. In a number of cities his visit was honored with grand banquets, at which wine was served, but of which he never partook. On one occasion, being urged to drink a glass of wine, he replied, "For thirty years I have been a temperance man, and I am too old to change." It is declared that actions speak louder than words. The cause of temperance would possibly have been victorious had the action of all temperance men been as consistent and as persistent against the liquor traffic as their utterances have been. But when men's acts and words are in accord great is their power. Such were Abraham Lincoln's. He not only abstained from the use of intoxicating liquors, but he was bold in publicly advocating total abstinence.

The first composition Lincoln ever wrote, at least his first production to be published, was on the foolishness of liquor-drinking and the evils that come from the habit. He became very much interested in the Washingtonian movement which swept over the country in the early part of the century, and frequently addressed temperance meetings. On Washington's birthday, February 22, 1842, he delivered a memorable address before the Springfield Washingtonian Temperance Society, at the Second Presbyterian Church in Springfield, Ill. This

address should be repeatedly read in our churches, Epworth Leagues, Sunday schools, and all gatherings of Christian young people. It contains these sentences, which close with a remarkable prophecy of the overthrow of intemperance:

The demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted in sucking the blood of genius and generosity. What one of us but can call to mind some relative more promising in youth than all his fellows who has fallen a sacrifice to his rapacity? He ever seems to have gone forth like the Egyptian angel of death, commissioned to slay, if not the first, the fairest born, of every family. Shall he now be arrested in his desolating career? In that arrest all can give aid that will, and who shall be excused that can and will not? Far around as human breath has ever blown he keeps our fathers, our brothers, our sons, and our friends prostrate in the chains of moral death. To all the living everywhere we cry: "Come, sound the moral trump, that these may rise and stand up an exceeding great army." "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live." If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate, and the small amount they inflict, then, indeed, will this be the grandest the world shall ever have seen.

Of our political revolution of 1776 we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nations of the earth. In it the world has found a solution of the long-mooted problem as to the capability of man to govern himself. In it was the germ which has vegetated, and still is to grow and expand into the universal liberty of mankind. But with all these glorious results, past, present, and to come, it had its evils, too. It breathed forth famine, swam in blood, and rode in fire; and long, long after, the orphans' cry and the widows' wail continued to break the sad silence that ensued. These were the price, the inevitable price, paid for the blessings it bought.

Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed—in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping; by it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest. Even the drammaker and dramseller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness. And what a noble ally this to the cause of political freedom! With such an aid its march cannot fail to be on and on, till every son of earth shall drink in rich fruition the sorrow-quenching draughts of perfect liberty! Happy day, when—all appetites controlled, all passions subdued, all matter subjugated—mind, all-conquering mind, shall live and move, the monarch of the world! Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail!

And when the victory shall be complete—when there shall be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace and the cradle of both those revolutions that shall have ended in that victory! How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species!

Mr. Lincoln's prophecy of the time when there should be neither a slave nor a drunkard on the earth was made less than twenty years before the beginning of the war which within five years blotted slavery from American soil. The person may be living who in some way in the providence of God shall bring about the fulfillment of Mr. Lincoln's prophecy as to temperance, as he himself brought about its fulfillment as to slavery, by his proclamation of emancipation. This may come within the next twenty years. When Mr. Lincoln uttered his prophecy in 1842 the prospects for the abolition of slavery were even less favorable than those for the early overthrow of the liquor traffic are now. But when the times are ripe history is made very rapidly. The work of years of agitation and of education culminates suddenly. This was done by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott, by which it was declared that a slave had no civil rights, and under which slavery was legalized, not only in the Territories, but in the free States. The decision was expected to settle the slavery question, but instead it added fuel to the flames, and the fires of liberty burned more brightly.

Is the temperance movement to have its Dred Scott decision? Perhaps it will find it in the perversion of the army post exchange from what it was designed to be—a store where soldiers could purchase a variety of needful articles—into a saloon known as the "canteen," where soldiers can be transformed into drunkards and barkeepers, with the result that brewers and distillers will increase their wealth and fasten this curse more strongly upon the people. The establishment of the canteen or saloon in connection with the army is a danger fraught with greater peril to the nation than any other event in connection with our career. History shows that many battles have been lost and the fate of nations decided by the use of strong drink. Belshazzar's feast

and its result have been repeated many times. The danger from the use of liquor is realized by every soldier, but all who drink think that they drink moderately, and hence think there is no danger in their use of liquors. But Abraham Lincoln in his warning to the young man, already quoted, declared liquor to be an enemy that would steal away the brains. For a soldier to sleep at his post of duty means death. Yet the government, by its encouragement of that which steals away the brains of its officers and men, more seriously imperils the nation than is ever done by sleeping sentinels. Clear brains may counteract the faults of sentinels, but stupefied brains only add to the confusion. So important is a perfect body considered in a soldier that the slightest physical defect, such as a broken tooth or a deformed finger, will cause the rejection of an applicant for admission to West Point. The time will come when no boy who indulges in any intoxicating liquors will be admitted to West Point, and when even moderate indulgence by any officer in the army or navy shall be sufficient cause for his dismissal from the service. And it should be a crime punishable by imprisonment to sell intoxicating liquor to anyone in the uniform of the United States army or navy.

A serious responsibility rests upon those in authority in our government. There are thousands of fathers and mothers of soldiers whose sons have yielded to the temptations of the army canteen who will feel over their boys' return, with habits formed which may wreck their characters forever, that the patriotism of those boys has been a curse to themselves and their loved ones, rather than a blessing to the country. The nation was horrified and indignant at the alleged mismanagement of the army which resulted in the wasting sickness and death of so many brave soldiers. But even more dreadful may be the permanent results of the deliberate establishment by official authority of the army saloon. Abraham Lincoln, in closing his speech at the dedication of the Soldiers' Cemetery at Gettysburg, called upon the people to "highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Is there not

appropriateness, in view of the existence of the canteen and the evident evils it is working, for the nation to ponder anew these serious words of Lincoln, and to put into practice the exhortation of the great President?

To many workers and friends the future of the temperance movement is not simply dark; it is hopeless. The liquor traffic is not only strongly intrenched in America, but throughout the civilized world, and its power seems to be increasing. In a speech in 1863 Mr. Lincoln characterized intemperance as "one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of all evils among mankind." It is so to-day. Looking at the question from a purely materialistic point of view, the situation appears to be very much as did that of the abolition movement to Frederick Douglass a few years before the war. So disheartened did Douglass become that on one occasion he declared that the friends of freedom might as well give up. Their foes were so strong and they were so weak that they could not even hope longer for success. Suddenly the clear, strong voice of Sojourner Truth, the negro prophetess, who was in the audience, rang out, with the startling question, "Frederick, is God dead?" Douglass had forgotten to take God into the account. Instantly his tone changed, and he began his onslaught upon slavery with renewed vigor. God is not dead, and the desolating liquor traffic will yet be destroyed by his power. How it will be destroyed none of us know. We can afford to work with him in his way. The victory may come through prohibition, or local option, or moral suasion, or by some restrictive measure that may not appear to be destructive at all, as the abolition of slavery came through measures not having abolition for their object. Even Mr. Lincoln, who was open in his avowal of his antislavery views, repeatedly declared that his first and only purpose in waging war was to save the Union, with slavery or without it. The final victory will be due to the cooperation of many men of many minds. We may well imitate Abraham Lincoln in the spirit of tolerance he always displayed toward those with whom he differed in opinion. Had he been otherwise he would have been unfitted for the great task committed to him of guiding the nation through the years of the civil war. While we are

unflagging and unflinching in our warfare against the liquor traffic, we should also be tolerant of those who agree with us in purpose, though they may differ in method. We may be tolerant even toward saloon keepers, many of whom are sincerely honest in their belief that their business is as legitimate and as righteous as any other business. We should show them that we hate, not themselves, but their business.

The greatest political utterance of Abraham Lincoln was his speech delivered in Cooper Institute, New York city, February 27, 1860. He closed that speech with these words: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." That is the highest standard for political action ever presented by a statesman of any nation. The possibility of its realization is to the professional politician what the former senator, John J. Ingalls, said the hope of the adoption of the Golden Rule as a principle of political action was—"an iridescent dream." But it is a significant fact that John J. Ingalls is no longer a senator, and that the President of the United States is a Christian gentleman who believes in the application of the Golden Rule in the affairs of nations and that "right makes might." Sometime the politicians of America will reach Mr. Lincoln's exalted standard. To act upon it to-day shrewd politicians think would be extremely foolish. But Abraham Lincoln was more than a politician, and knew that the permanent welfare of the country could not be secured by unrighteous means. Had he been a timeserving, fearful politician, having no faith in the justice and strength of his cause, he would never have become President. His own faith inspired others. May it be an inspiration to us who seek the overthrow of the liquor traffic! Let us in our efforts against the saloon "have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

David D. Thompson

Art. II.—THE ROMANCES OF THEOSOPHY.

Theosophy has ventured into romance. Bulwer-Lytton, Balzac, Sinnett, Carus, Connelly, Hepworth, Ver Planck are the best known of the many novelists who have written romances that have their inspiration in and are based upon one or more of the leading principles of this weird philosophy. These writers, however, were not all avowed theosophists. Bulwer-Lytton made no profession of a faith in Eastern occultism. But it is believed by Sinnett and others of "the Brotherhood" that he believed far more than he told, and that he deliberately chose to give his faith to the world in this veiled and mystic shape, so as to make it intelligible to those who were in sympathy with himself, without awakening the angry opposition of others. His "Vril" in *The Coming Race* is the "Akaz" of theosophy. The mysterious "Mejnour" of *Zanoni* is identical with one of the august Mahatmas of Indian mysticism.

It is certain that Balzac was not a theosophist in the recent use of the term. His spiritual philosophy was more akin to that of Swedenborg than to this cult. But he had studied with subtle analysis oriental occultism; and, disengaging certain of its principles which chorded with his view, he presented them in that most profound of all psychical romances, *Seraphita*. Here the doctrine of the transmutation of physical conditions by the unfolding life of pure spirit is imaged with exquisite beauty and power. We doubt whether mysticism has ever given a more luminous picture of a soul's ascension of the mount of its transfiguration than in this most remarkable production of modern literature. But the doctrine is not the peculiar property of theosophy. It was a staple of Hebrew thought, and without it the Hermon history of the gospels would be unintelligible. As to Hepworth's *!!!*, we suspect that it was designed to caricature rather than to characterize the doctrine of metempsychosis. The other writers we have named were ardent believers in theosophy, and wrote their stories with the express purpose of presenting their system in a form which would be at once attractive and luminous.

Karma, *Neila Sen*, *The White Lotus*, *The Two Paths*, *Wonder-Light* are the natural flowers of the plant.

We hail this venture into romance with pleasure, because creative imagination often illuminates a scheme of thought which dialectics and polemics have obscured. The stupendous and audacious claims of theosophy awaken our curiosity, if not our faith. It professes to explore the whole realm of occult science. It has entered the secret portals of ancient and oriental mysteries, and has looked upon the image of "absolute truth." It moves with the calm of perfect assurance in the sphere of superphysical nature. Hypnotism, telepathy, magic, clairvoyance, spiritism, visions and ghosts, which heretofore have baffled investigation, are but simple phenomena of nature as clearly understood as those of steam or optics. It knows the details of a soul's evolution through the long cycles of primordial millenniums until it came into this world age. It tracks the line of its progress in revolving circles, which pass out of this earth life and back again through numerous incarnations until it is fitted for other evolutionary eons in other planets, and so on and on through vast stretches of immeasurable time and multifarious existences to its final triumph in Nirvana, the beatific state in which all sense of individuality is merged in the whole. This is an evolution to cause Darwin to blush with shame; for his knowledge is but childish ignorance in the presence of this "universe wisdom." Western metaphysicians are but intellectual clouds as compared with the Eastern psychologists, who are "the sun of spiritual truth." Kant, Spencer, Bain, Hegel, Hobbes, Mill are but children in the presence of Colonel Olcott, Madame Blavatsky, and Mrs. Besant, who have come from their conferences with their sublime teachers, the Mahatmas, hidden from the rest of the world in Thibet or South India or elsewhere. These initiates are dazed at the appalling ignorance of Western scholarship. They have found the common foundation of all religions. They have the essential root, and can tell with unerring exactness just how much of paganism, Buddhism, Christianity, and all science is true and how much is false. Moreover, this spiritual science discovers new faculties in man, which have existed potentially in all our history, and are

evoked by this new-old truth as the return of spring calls the slumbering seeds into unfolding life. With these new faculties there comes a sublimated form of spiritual energy which does what would be miraculous to ordinary conditions, but in the new conditions are only natural as in accord with the subtle and until now unknown laws of nature. It produces a force called "Akaz," which is described as an agent as much more potent and subtle than electricity as electricity is superior in subtility and variegated efficiency to steam. It can transmit thought over immense distances without the aid of batteries or wires and without speech or any perceptible signal. It has antedated and surpassed the cathode ray; for it can look through walls into the bowels of the earth and the depths of the sea. Its vision is both telescopic and microscopic. It can detect the seat and cause of disease and prescribe infallibly suitable remedies. It can impart its own robust vitality to a glass of water or an article of dress. It can photograph a face a thousand miles away, transport letters without recognizable means, and drop flowers from a blank ceiling. It can project personal presence out of the corporeal being, and travel with the speed of thought to any distant point. Unhappily, these marvels are not performed before the eyes of unbelievers, excepting in rare and very doubtful instances. Our want of faith is a fatal disqualification for the vision of such supernal splendors.

For this reason the uninitiated welcome the romances which are designed to exhibit the tenets of this vast system. Unable to see its glories in the actual, we would have them pass before our eyes in the panorama of living story. Works of imagination give the charm of reality to what would be abstruse and difficult reading if presented as a philosophy. Romance does not state principles. It lives them in its characters. If the characters and incidents be true to fact we find ourselves in its heroes and heroines. What we have vaguely apprehended in thought stands out in story with all the vividness and detail of personal experience. A well-wrought romance is a picture of life in which we ourselves participate. For this reason it is also a test. There are few tests of the truth of a theoretical system of the soul's character and life so severe as its produc-

tion in story. We believe it to be far more severe than accurate history. For, in veritable life, the natural results of one's doctrinal theory are modified, and in some instances completely neutralized, by other forces that enter into the mixed motive of being. The vital idiosyncrasies of character depend less on mental than on moral qualities. Men are better or worse than their accepted opinions, because other thoughts oftentimes intrude, the source of which they cannot trace, and to which they do not give assent, and yet which become the most potent in their lives. Sometimes men holding the purest doctrine display loose morals, and often loose faith is conjoined with the most upright behavior. The high moral character of such leading theosophists as Colonel Olcott, A. P. Sinnett, and Professor Coues may be sufficient warrant for us to examine their system with respect, but does not necessarily stamp it with the seal of infallibility.

On the other hand, the philosophical romance which aims at the picturesque representation of a doctrine in life traces that doctrine in its natural effect on character and conduct to its final triumph. If it be correctly done, even though the outward events do not tally with fact, the inner history is most real and appeals to the reader with all the force of immutable truth. In literature, as in sculpture and painting, the artist exaggerates nature with the courage of Angelo or Rembrandt, that he may accentuate and sustain the true. Without mentioning it, he places a microscope under the reader's eye. Thus the dreadful shrinking of *The Magic Skin* in which Balzac traces the inevitable law of uncontrolled desire is as unreal as it is grotesque. But who that reads the tale can fail to see the innermost reality of his own being set forth in actual truthfulness? Stevenson's *Strange Story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* is as impossible as it is strange; but whose consciousness does not respond to the truth there impersonated? In this sense romance is truer than history, making a crucible test of any theoretical scheme that may be cast into its white heat. Many a reckless advocate of an hysterical idea has sought to give it a hearing in the novel, but discovered that his darling was as unreal as Mother Rigby's scarecrow vitalized by the smoke of her pipe kindled by old Dickon's fire.

The test of romance is truer than that of reason. There is hardly a monstrosity that may not be supported by some form of logical process, and so beguile assent. But when untruth moves before us in the light of romance one of two things results: either the story becomes mechanical, lacking the elements of life and awakening a suspicion of its unsoundness, or it plunges us into conclusions that are so revolting to the moral consciousness as to brand it false without any process of formal refutation. We would not generalize so carelessly as to say that every mechanical story stamps the intellectual scheme it would picture as necessarily untrue. That is a rare gift that can intrude a theory into a narrative and still preserve accuracy of delineation and lifelike touch. Even the genius of George Eliot could not always hide the chisel marks when she would carve a character to impersonate a theory. Daniel Deronda is a splendid statue rather than a living personality. He proves neither the truth nor the falsity of the Jewish idea. If he were as genuine a person as Dinah Morris, commanding sympathy and retaining the magnetism of nature to the end, that creation would have been at least a strong presumption of the truth the authoress would impress upon the reader. Art is close akin to life, and never more so than when it portrays personal character. But poor art is simply negative; it proves nothing. By this test theosophy is condemned. Cast into the crucible of romance, it is not gold.

The most formidable novel that has issued from this cult is *Karma*. It was written by A. P. Sinnett, who had long declared his want of faith in the "Christian superstition," and who became an ardent believer in the gospel of Blavatsky, and at once consecrated his literary gifts to its propaganda. He is the author of *Esoteric Buddhism*, which is the most comprehensive popular treatise of the system that has appeared in English. In this and kindred works the author has exhibited gifts of a superior order as a teacher. And it is the spirit of the pedagogue that fills *Karma*. It was evidently written not because Mr. Sinnett had a story to tell, but because he had a principle to illustrate. And it is this that makes it oppressively artificial. Its persons are not characters, but fashion figures set up to show theosophy. One familiar with

the literature of magic can almost tell from whose palettes the author has borrowed his colors and from what haberdasher he has procured his costumes. There is an excess of theosophic paint, which the brush of the artist fails to blend into the soft flesh tints of nature. The drapery, the ornament, the perfume, the movement are as conventional and lifeless as Madame Jarley's wax works. The gray old castle of Heiligenfels, which is the scene of the greater part of the story, has none of that witchery of character and history which genius breathes into a building. A flat on Third Avenue or a salesroom on Broadway would have been quite as interesting. It is simply a showcase in which Mr. Sinnett exhibits his wares. Think of the baron of the castle living in such a state of spiritual exaltation as to be completely lifted out of all those interests and passions that fill the life of the rest of mankind. Think of his coming and going, sometimes in his corporeal being, sometimes in his astral body, so that you are never certain whether it be actually he or his ghost that you see. Think of his writing letters over immense distances without visible means; of his summoning his guests to his chamber by telepathy; of his casting from his fingers a force that makes delicate glasses sing and giant oaks fall. Think of his consoling the sorrow of his stricken friends by putting them in an hypnotic state with its splendid psychic visions. Think of his reading at will the innermost thought and the play of every passion in the heart of his companions. Think of his tracing their history back into their former earth life when possibly the present beautiful Miss Vaughan was a noble Roman youth—for, as he says, "sex is by no means invariable throughout successive incarnations, and does not belong in any true sense to the spiritual individuality at all." Think of his reading in the present karma of souls their future career with the inerrancy of an astronomer who tracks the orbit of a planet. One almost feels that he is reading one of Rider Haggard's fantastic tales. But this was written in all seriousness to set forth Baron von Mondstern, the central figure of the whole group, the hero of the tale, the ideal of theosophy. And this very seriousness degrades the story below the level of that of Haggard. We who are jaded with

the commonplaceness of a treadmill life are willing to be amused by the extravaganzas of a wild imagination. But, when we are asked to accept them as truth, their interest is gone and we yawn.

This mechanicalism affects the very style of the writer's composition, which is lacking in the lilt and measure of life. This is not owing to a want of skill on Mr. Sinnett's part. In his treatise on *Esoteric Buddhism* he writes with an ease, a lucidity, and persuasiveness which are remarkable in a work of such abstruse character. But his pen loses its cunning when he tries to put his theories in the charm of living story. His effort at scientific accuracy is made by a sacrifice of literary finish and becomes wearisomely commonplace. The reason is organic. Truth alone is life, and enters into character with a spontaneity and ease and freedom of movement that belong to nature. It is this that gives unity and naturalness to the most diverse and surprising relations. The author lives in his tale and makes the reader live in it too. That is the secret of Bunyan, Turgenieff, Thackeray, and all others from whom the vitality of truth exhales the breath of nature. This is what we miss in *Karma*. We have a phrenological chart, where the head of theosophy is all divided into parts and labeled. The disguise of personal names is as thin as the robe of a ghost. We see the teacher's rod pointing out Rupa, Prana, Linga, Kama, Manas, Buddhi, Atma. We are out of the realm of story and in the dust of the schoolroom. This lifeless mechanism of *Karma* is characteristic of all the romances of theosophy which we have been able to study.

Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race* and his other studies in transcendentalism fall far below the genius of the famous novelist. Julian Hawthorne in a discriminating critique of his stories echoes not only the judgment of literary scholarship, but also the intuition of the unsophisticated heart, when he says: "The man who wrote that book had no heaven in his soul, nor any pinions whereon to soar heavenward. It is full of thought and ingenuity, but the whole concoction is tainted with the deadness of stark materialism, and we would be unjust after all to deny Bulwer something loftier and broader than is discoverable here." Hepworth's *!!!* is but little else

than a long conversation, chiefly monologue, on the subject of metempsychosis, in which the stock arguments for the doctrine are supported by the testimony of a wedded couple who remember their marriage in their former incarnation. *!!!* is more a sermon than a story, and one in which the argument is *reductio ad absurdum*. It is not surprising that the book never had a very extensive sale, and that it is now difficult to find a copy. Mr. Connelly's story is also fatally artificial, as is seen in its leading character, Neila Sen. She is only a child of about seventeen years of age. But she speaks with the wisdom of a Hindu sage, and her character unites the spotlessness of Mary of Nazareth with the maturity of a hoary saint.

If this mechanicalism of the romances of theosophy creates a suspicion of the system they image, that suspicion becomes a certainty when the stories produce a shock of moral revolt. The first is intellectual; this is intuitional. And this is the vital power of romance. Whatever may be its relation to an intellectual error, it exposes a moral falsity with burning intensity. However dexterously the plot may be unfolded and disguised by incident manifestly true, the story is so discordant with moral feeling as to produce a galling consciousness of untruth in the soul. Not even the brilliant gifts of Thomas Hardy can so portray his conception of the lawlessness of the universe and the occasional diabolism of the soul's noblest promptings as to conceal its primal falsity. The critical reader who analyzes his most characteristic novels is driven to adjudge them "exponents of a Hardy theory of life, rather than of life itself." The judgment of the untrained but absorbed reader is equally accurate, but more passionate in its protest. The moral intuitions revolt from the career of such characters as Tess, Jude the Obscure, and Lady Constantine as false to fact. The moral universe is not in such a state of anarchy as to impel the purest motives—innocence, virtue, nobility—into crime, wretchedness, and despair. The affinity which an unsophisticated heart feels for a purifying truth, the keenness with which it detects a demoralizing dogma, and its spontaneous revolt from a licentious sophism are sure tests of untruth. In reading the stories of theosophy our moral sense

is repeatedly and violently shocked. Our revolt, however, is not like that we experience in Tolstoi's *Kreutzer Sonata* or Balzac's *Cousin Bette.* In these stories the principles are unquestionably correct. But it is dreadful to pick one's way through a charnel house of depraved souls and in an atmosphere vile with the odors of decayed morals. Our revolt from the romances of theosophy is deeper than that. The principles themselves occasion the shudder of our souls.

The ethical law of the universe according to this system is "karma." It is the law of cause and effect, by which every act receives its exact and appropriate reward. It differs from the Christian conception in that every judicial element is eliminated; it insures eternal progress, and is altogether a law of nature. It demands and is closely akin to the doctrine of reincarnations. Every man to-day with the sum of his miseries and blessings is the exact result of all that he has been in the generations gone. His next incarnation will be the perfect product of all he has been and done in this. All this we can read with complaisance as a mere speculation. But when it passes before us in story our being shudders as before a moral monstrosity. For example, we have described the following case:

> A child born humpbacked and very short, the head sunk between the shoulders, the arms long and the legs curtailed. Why is this? His "karma" for thoughts and acts of a prior life. He reviled, persecuted, or otherwise injured a deformed person so persistently or violently as to imprint his own immortal mind with the deformed picture of his victim. The ego coming again to rebirth carries with him this picture, which causes the newly formed astral body to assume a deformed shape through the mother of the child.

If that be so, what a monster of iniquity must the delicate lifelong sufferer Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning have been in her last incarnation! Adelina Patti's beauty, wealth, health, fame, titles reveal the splendor of her holiness when in the flesh before. Abel, Job, David, prophets, martyrs, reformers—indeed, all the saviours of history, who invariably have been sufferers must have rollicked with Silenus in gross self-indulgence in their last incarnations.

Moreover, our revolt is intensified when we think of the

entanglement of personalities and relationships which this cobweb of metaphysical speculation concerning reincarnations makes probable. Not only may a husband and wife be wedded again with sex reversed, but a mother may be born of her own child; a son may find himself married to his own mother; and their daughter may once have been her own grandfather. The passage through Devachan may obscure the guilt of incest, but this intermingling of relationships is none the less horrifying to the instincts of the heart. And what a wild mixture of personalities is thus created! How must that mother feel when she thinks that hundreds of others have been mothers of her babe? The question will arise, Who were we among the millions who were here before? Who knows but the fascination which many characters of history have for us is due chiefly to the fact that they were only ourselves as we were long ago? Perhaps the grief of Mark Twain over the grave of Adam would not have been so bitter if he had only known that he was himself that same Adam. The horrible becomes ludicrous.

Another thing in these romances which occasions an instinctive revolt is that they present a doctrine of character that is closely akin to fatalism. It is indeed true that the great teachers deny that fatalism is a tenet of their faith. But, working out their doctrine in story, it comes perilously near to it. What is the soul but the product of a long period of evolution, pursuing its way on by a resistless law till it merges its personality in the one original all-embracing life? The feeling of responsibility is fatally poisoned by the belief that the cause of our character is hidden in the secrets of the natural universe. We are what we are because of the conditions in the Milky Way, the geological strata of the earth, the civilization of Atlantis, Egyptian and Roman history, the federal constitution, and all things else. If there be a free human will in the play of these mighty forces it is certainly confined within very narrow limits and will not alter the final issue, which is fixed from the beginning. Neila Sen, the heroine of Mr. Connelly's story, has a vague memory of Mr. Clutchley in their former incarnations, and says: "I have an impression that he was very bad to me then, and that without

my intending it some terrible punishment will come to him through me. I wish that I could warn him, but it would do no good if it is his fate." Again, in speaking of karma, she says: "The unexpected may, and the inevitable must, happen, but the undeserved, never." Earnest Markham in *The Two Paths* is made to say:

> Man came to believe in foreordination because he observed the law of cause and effect. This is a universal law, and holds good in every department of life. Throw a pebble into the pond, and the whole surface is disturbed; ripple after ripple is formed until the outer edge is reached, and then all goes back again, recedes to the center, the disturbing point, or the cause that set all the rest in motion. It is so with the human will. Whatever it sets in motion must again return to it.

By eliminating the idea of a personal God administering law the human will becomes a mere automatism, and virtue itself is only a natural effect of a natural cause; for "we are begirt with laws that execute themselves." The severest form of the Calvinistic doctrine of the divine decrees is infinitely superior, in awakening moral character, to this impersonal unfeeling law of karma. Ethical changes are begotten by law administered by a personal God, who is angry with the wicked, merciful to the penitent, rewarding the good. And it is this personal factor that transforms what otherwise would be a cold and heartless principle into a warm and living affection. It is not law but love that gives life to the heart. He who has a profound sense of a holy One scrutinizing his conduct is awed into a dread of sin such as no merely natural disasters could inspire. When to that is added the blessed assurance of a loving Father's care the law of righteousness becomes something more than knotted cords binding the soul—indeed, the genuine nerve and sinew of its being. Then holiness is not a materialistic legalism, but the spirit's own liberated life.

Nor does theosophy make any immediate provision for the relief of a soul writhing in the withering consciousness of its sin. There is no pitying heart assuring it of a divine pardon, no supernatural power to cleanse it of its guilt. This Neo-Buddhism only points the soul to another age when it will return to mortal flesh and try again. These returns may be multiplied to a possible eight hundred times; but sometime

in the roll of many ages the soul will outgrow its sin and escape its curse. Nature heals itself. The way of salvation for a desperate sinner is told in *Karma*, an attractive little story from the theosophical view-point, written by Dr. Carus and highly commended by the Russian philosopher Tolstoi. Kandata was a great sinner who died without repentance and was reborn as a demon in hell, where he suffered the most woeful agonies. He had been in hell for many eons when Buddha appeared on the earth and attained to the blessed state of enlightenment. At that moment a ray of light fell down into hell and awakened hope in Kandata's heart, and he cried out for mercy. The story proceeds:

> Now there is a law of Karma that evil deeds lead to destruction; for absolute evil is so bad that it cannot exist. But good deeds lead to life. Thus there is a final end to every bad deed that is done; but there is no end to the development of good deeds. The least act of goodness bears fruit containing new seeds of goodness; and they will continue to grow and nourish the soul in its weary migrations until it reaches the final deliverance in Nirvana.

Buddha asked Kandata if he had ever done any good deed, but the poor sufferer could think of none. Buddha reminded him that there was one thing he did that might save him. Once in walking through the woods he saw a spider crawling on the ground, and he thought to himself, "I will not step on the spider, for he is a harmless creature and hurts nobody." Then Buddha sent a spider weaving a web from the dome above down into hell and told Kandata to climb up on the web. The web was strong, and the wretched man climbed higher and higher. Suddenly he felt the web trembling and stretching; for other fellow-sufferers had taken hold and were climbing after him. Kandata became frightened and thought, "How can this web bear the weight of all?" Then he looked back and shouted, "Let go the cobweb. It is mine." At once the threads broke. The lesson the story is designed to carry is that a sincere desire to rise in righteousness, though thin as a cobweb, is strong enough to save a soul; that it will uplift others with it; that the perfect righteousness is the complete renunciation of one's own desire and the merging of one's self into the all. "What is hell? It

is nothing but egotism. Nirvana is righteousness." Is this then the way and end of the Gospel of our salvation? Are we to let go the strong arm of God in Christ, and seize the thin web of personal righteousness, up which we are to climb through weary ages to a heaven in which we are to lose our personality? Is this the sublime motive which is to sustain us through the long cycles of suffering—that when it is all over we will cease to be? Is this the "universe wisdom" which is to break the spell of the "superstition of the cross?" O Theosophy!

The romances of theosophy have a strong affinity for psychic wonders. Clairvoyance, clairaudience, necromancy, mesmerism, nightmares, visions, and kindred phenomena are staples of their being. The incidents presented are weird and grotesque, producing feelings like those of a lad who picks his way alone through a country graveyard in the deepening twilight of a summer evening, the air peopled with flittering spooks and awful with sepulchral voices. These experiences, however, are not presented as the result of an overwrought imagination. They are not superstitions, but realities. The "shells" or vapory forms of the dead are actually present. The voices are not the echoes of the hearer's fears, but real efforts of the "shells" to make their wants known. These are the "divs," the fairies, the sylphs, the driads—actualities that infest forests, waters, glens, old houses, and cemeteries. Or these appirations may be the astral bodies of living persons sent out with the express purpose of encountering others—sometimes with a kindly intent, as when the Baron of Heiligenfels met Annerly grieving in London; sometimes with base purpose, as when Gregory Souleman forced his way into the apartments of Eunice Fancuili. Oftentimes the ghost is the observer's own thought projected out into space with such energy as to materialize itself.

The misfortune is that the shades of the dead which linger the longest and are the most accessible are those of people who were the very worst when in mortal flesh. The good soon escape into Devachan, while the bad linger on. The very wicked continue for centuries. Thus the whole astral sphere that enwraps our earth is peopled with human demons watch-

ing their opportunity to invade the passions and wills of mortals. The effect of all this is to produce in the hearts of men a dread similar to that that triumphed in the darkest period of mediævalism. Indeed, if the spirit of horror which is engendered by these novels should become general in society it would be even more intolerable than that of the Dark Ages. For then the horrible fear was softened by the Gospel of a heavenly Father and a loving Saviour. But here the cry for relief is answered with the certainty of the soul's plunging on in the swirling vortex of repeated deaths and births.

One would suppose that these stories would produce the effect on the reader's mind that they are only idle fairy tales, as truthful as *Alice in Wonderland* and as useful. But psychic phenomena have a peculiar fascination for the minds of many who have neither the time nor the gifts for a profound study of the mystery. This fact is seen in the copiousness of the literature on the subject and the avidity with which it is read. It is due in part to the rebound from the dead materialism of physical science which resolves all intelligence and conscience into a system of nervous action and reaction. It is due also in part to the breaking down of faith in wire-drawn speculative dogmas which have failed to satisfy either conscience or reason. But it arises chiefly out of the soul's intuition of its spirituality and its craving for verification in actual experience. We believe that a practical return of the Christian Church to the old-fashioned doctrine of personal experience and the testimony of the divine life within would satisfy this craving as nothing else possibly can.

But, as it is, the mere routine of Christian legalism leaves the heart unsatisfied; and consequently many suffering souls lie around this pool of theosophy where a spirit is supposed to come down to trouble the waters and impart healing energy. Some years ago Chief Justice Edmonds said in a London journal that there were at least ten million spiritualists in America. As soon as the theosophical society was formed, nearly twenty-five years ago, multitudes flocked to its standard. Organizations were formed in almost every land, and their success was phenomenal. After the exposure of the Blavatsky frauds in India some years later there came a ruinous reaction, and it

seemed that the monstrous balloon had been effectually pricked. But the reaction reached its limit, and the society has begun a new career. Though not so rapid, its growth is steady, and thousands now walk its *agora* seeking wisdom.

It is foreign to the purpose of this article to discuss the philosophical literature of this system. Much less can we speak intelligently of what is revealed only to initiates. Our anxiety is concerning the multitudes who have not crossed the threshold of the science, but are drawn within the mephitic circle of its fiction. We believe that its influence can be only evil. In an insidious way it substitutes an intellectual system for religious faith. Professedly absorbing the good from all religions, it holds before the reader's heart many familiar truths by which it is lured into a web of metaphysical congeries full of inconsistencies and contradictions. It makes spirituality to be "enlightenment," rather than the life of God in the souls of men. Its holiness is "the destruction of desire." It denies the effectiveness of prayer, but admits that of the *séance*. Its worship is hardly distinguishable from wonder-seeking. It teaches a "high-minded liberalism" which suffers a man to believe almost anything he pleases so long as he is a seeker after truth. It tempts the sin-stained souls away from "the fount of healing waters" to the stagnant pool of a dying Hinduism. We lay down these romances with the feeling that if theosophy had deliberately purposed a career of intellectual and moral suicide it could not have selected a surer blade.

But we are asked, "Are you willing to condemn a philosophical system simply because of the failure of its few fanciful tales? If *Ben-Hur* and *Quo Vadis* had been literary failures, would that have proven the Gospel history an untruth?" We reply, Where else can we go? Your vast system, with its stupendous claims, leads us to look for corresponding results. But where are they? We look for the healing of diseases, both of body and mind, the ameliorating of the distressing conditions of human life, the enlarging and ennobling of manhood. But what do you give us? Mysterious rappings in the air, pianos lifted from the floor on the unbroken shell of an egg, human bodies floating in the air light as a feather, dishes transported unbroken without any perceptible agency, dew-bespangled

roses falling from an empty ceiling, and numberless things of this character which many an untheosophical juggler can imitate and expose. The very pettiness of your expositions makes your lofty claims contemptible by the width of their contrasts. Your achievements in the novel are nobler far than those you have given us in fact. We cannot go to your great teachers. The Adepts are hidden in some far-off land. Send them to us. We want to hear words from the lips of Wisdom. Who are these Mahatmas? Koot Hoomi is to us only a name. If he be indeed Mossuir Coulomb in disguise he is only a fraud. Otherwise, he has no history that we can examine; and he scorns to have intercourse with us. You tell us that the historic Mahatmas are Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Paul, Socrates. We protest. These men have been our teachers for ages, and not a word did they give of this to us new doctrine. You tell us that Jesus was one of yours. But you deny the law of vicarious suffering; and if we interpret the cross by your law of karma, Jesus was there expiating some dreadful crime that he had committed in an earlier incarnation. He suffered not for us, but for himself. We go to India and find naked, filthy Yogi turning staffs into serpents, causing rods to bud like Aaron's, and doing many astounding things of magic. We begin to suspect that we have found your Adepts. But you deny that they are in any way related; and we are off our scent.

The nearest approach to adeptship that has come before us is that celebrated intermediary, Madame Blavatsky, the acknowledged prophetess of theosophy. This woman we have seen and heard. Hers was a singularly exceptional personality. She was possessed of certain psychic powers which probably neither she nor anyone else understood. We listen to her patiently, hear an account of that wonderful mixture of incompatible elements—Buddhism, Parseeism, Christianity, Positivism, and numberless other isms—and are tempted to believe that it is all an invention of her fertile mind. We have no fondness for the slanders of religious teachers. We remember how they called Jesus "a blasphemer, a wine bibber, and a glutton." When we have heard this modern teacher charged with unsavory things we have been slow to believe

them. She has been accused of being an adventuress; that she was an adept at card-playing and in speaking falsehoods; that she smoked cigarettes and was given to profanity; that she was of tempestuous temper and often sulky as a spoiled child; that she would call her most devoted disciples "psychologized puppets;" that nine out of every ten of her followers finally deserted her in disgust; that her great book, *Isis Unveiled*, is a jumble of plagiarisms; that her personal letters written to her intimate friend, Madame Coulomb, reveal a depravity of duplicity and insincerity; that she deliberately practiced fraud in her magic wonders. We have sought for the refutation of these charges, but have come from our investigation with the sore feeling that they are in the main true. But, suppose that they were all proven false, still this psychic wonder has not impressed the world with her spirituality. She has not gone to and fro in the earth as an angel of blessing, as did Florence Nightingale, Elizabeth Fry, and Frances E. Willard, and as still goes Clara Barton. If the character of a doctrine is reflected in the character of its foremost devotees we must decline to bow at the shrine of Blavatsky. We return then to the romances as the clearest, fairest, and probably the fullest statement of the ideal of this orientalism; and come from our study with the conviction that theosophy is itself a romance.

A. H. Tuttle.

Art. III.—THE PROVERBS OF THE SO-CALLED DIONYSIUS CATO.

During the Middle Ages one of the most widely known of the Latin classics and most generally used for teaching purposes was the collection of hexameter couplets variously entitled *Dionysii Catonis Disticha de Moribus ad Filium*, *Dicta Marci Catonis ad Filium Suum*, *Libri Catonis Philosophi*, etc. The youth of those days learned here their grammar, prosody, and morals; and many a luckless birch switch has doubtless found its Acheron, as Plautus has it, in the effort to convince wayward minds that it was worth while to pay close attention to the study of these sententious maxims. Older heads, meanwhile, did not scorn to pore over them and comment learnedly and piously on their real or supposed meaning.

The present generation of schoolmasters, in spite of occasional manifestations of restiveness appearing now and then in the appointment of committees "of ten," "of twelve," "of fifteen," seems tolerably well contented to continue assuring the pupils of to-day of the imperishable truths that "all Gaul is divided into three parts," that Xenophon led the ten thousand for "thirty parasangs" on various occasions, that Catiline grievously "abused the patience" of the consul that preferred not arms but the toga, and that the bachelor bard of Mantua deliberately put into the mouth of Jove's messenger the immortal sentiment that "a woman is always a fickle thing!" What matters it? Is it not constantly reiterated upon us that "truth is one?" Doubtless for him who can fathom that unity of all truth there lie at no very great depth beneath the surface of these superficially trite and erroneous statements ethical pearls fit to adorn the diadem of the author of Ecclesiastes and The Proverbs of Solomon. But the wayfaring landsman, who is hardly prepared for such plunges, is glad to wait long on the shore of truth till some chance vessel maybe shall bring tidings from a hitherto unknown or long-forgotten region and display rare treasures before his eager eyes. Such an opportunity has been re-

cently afforded by the revival of interest in the collection of proverbs which is the subject of this article—a critical edition of the text having been prepared by a Hungarian scholar, Geyza Némethy, and learned *Prolegomena* having been written by Dr. Erich Bischoff, discussing thoroughly the history and present condition of the collection.

It appears that the first of the titles quoted above, in which the authorship of the work is attributed to a certain Dionysius Cato, depends for its accuracy on a statement of Scaliger that a very ancient manuscript which he had heard of, but had never seen, was so entitled. No such author, however, is known from any other source. Furthermore, the very name bears on its face indications that it is the creation of somebody's imagination. "Dionysius" is neither a Gentile name nor a prænomen according to the Roman usage, while, on the other hand, "Cato" belongs decidedly in tone to the older régime when such novel combinations in names had never been heard of. Among the conjectures resorted to in attempting to explain this name are the following—some of which are ingenious, while others presuppose idiocy on the part of somebody more or less remotely concerned: (1) Some unknown author named Dionysius wrote a work entitled *Cato*, thus imitating Cicero's habit of naming his rhetorical and philosophical dialogues, *Brutus*, *Lælius*, *Cato Maior*, or *Hortensius*. The blending of author and title would then be a not unnatural blunder. (2) "Cato" is to be regarded as a dative case, referring to the person to whom some Dionysius or other dedicated the work. The title then would have read something like this: *Dionysius Cato Scripsit.* (3) The folly of some copyist in giving loose rein to his imagination transformed an innocent word like *dii* or *dia* into an abbreviation for Dionysius, so that perhaps the superscription *Dii Catonis Disticha* became *Dionysii Catonis Disticha.* (4) Ancient manuscripts often contained the works of more than one author. In such a manuscript a work of some Dionysius may have been followed by the "*Catonis Disticha.*" Very likely the former ended at the bottom of a page with the words, *explicit liber Dionysii* ("Here ends the book of Dionysius"), and the next page

began with the title, *Catonis Philosophi Liber* ("The book of the philosopher Cato"). Bearing in mind the old-fashioned custom, still to be seen in books printed a century or two ago, of adding at the bottom of the page before turning a leaf the first word of the next page, we can easily imagine how the expression, "*Liber Dionysii Catonis Philosophi*," or something of the sort, may have sprung into being.

These amusing guesses at the possible origin of the connection between the names "Dionysius" and "Cato" serve only to strengthen the conviction that this connection is merely fortuitous, and do not assist in explaining the presence of the word "Cato" in all forms of the title. If we undertake to refer the distichs in their present form to any of the known Catos of Roman history or Roman literature we have little success in finding anybody that they will fit. To be sure, we are informed by ancient writers that Cato the Censor wrote for his son a book of precepts or practical teachings. But that was probably written in prose, certainly not in the comparatively faultless hexameters of this collection. To other suggestions similar objections arise. If the theory is advanced that "Cato" is a mere title, like *Lælius*, *Brutus*, or *Cato Maior*, the reply is made that in this work Cato in person figures nowhere, while the individuals referred to in similar titles do in each case. Even when it is urged that the name may imply that the collection was made by a later writer out of earlier works of Cato by selecting the sentiments and versifying them, we are met with the not unreasonable argument that the title *Cato* would be an inappropriate one for such a diluted extract of Cato's wit and wisdom. Nevertheless, it seems to us a rather attractive, and not wholly absurd, idea that this title may have been given to such a collection of couplets, if some of them had been borrowed in essence from certain of Cato's lost works and others had been added from other sources. If so, the title as we have it would mean simply that the collection is worthy to represent theoretically the practical wisdom and ethical teaching of such a common-sense veteran as Cato the Censor. Certainly no one familiar with the shrewd and pointed advice in the extant book of Cato on agriculture can doubt that if he had

chosen to write proverbs in hexameter couplets their flavor at least would not have been essentially different from that of these.

In its present condition the collection seems to be but a part of an earlier and larger work. This is indicated by the various additions that appear in different manuscripts, by the nature of the collection itself, and by the existence of other matter which apparently belonged to such an earlier work, for example, a number of single verses of similar sentiment attributed to an Irish monk of the seventh century, Columbanus by name. (This Columbanus, by the way, is not to be confused with St. Columba.) Dr. Bischoff in his *Prolegomena* discusses this subject with great critical acumen.

For fear that the total results of our discussion thus far may be compared to those achieved by the storied king who with all his men first marched up the hill and then marched down again, we hasten to recapitulate and to pass to the consideration of the proverbs themselves. The work then which we possess is of unknown authorship, and is probably but a portion of a more comprehensive collection. The critical edition of Némethy goes under the simple title, *Dicta Catonis.* It comprises four books, containing respectively forty, thirty-one, twenty-four, and forty-nine distichs, followed by an appendix of stray distichs, or fragments, to the number of fourteen, and preceded by a prose "*Præfatio*" of six lines and a series of fifty-seven "*sententiæ.*" These "*sententiæ*" are very brief—usually two or three words each—and, despite the learned efforts of certain scholars to prove them metrical, are surely plain prose throughout. Némethy explains them as a sort of table of contents of some one of the various collections that were excerpted from the original, larger work. The little prose "*Præfatio,*" written by an unknown hand—evidently not by Cato to his son—reads thus: "Noticing that people are often far astray from the path of ethical truth, I have judged it my duty to bolster up their principles and have an eye to their reputation, particularly that they might succeed in living honorably and dying nobly. I have accordingly written out in detail what one should do and what he should imitate, that life may be perfected by right actions. Now then,

let him read who understands, for to read without understanding is no better than not to read at all." Thus is a self-satisfied egotism worthy of Volcatius Sedigitus relieved by a practical purpose and a sound common sense which even Horace might have admired. In the short "*sententiæ*" which come next, as well as in the longer couplets which make up the body of the collection, it is doubtful if anything can be found that definitely indicates Christian authorship or Christian teaching, great as is the similarity to Christian ethics illustrated by many of the maxims. The last few "*sententiæ*" have been thought to be a later addition by a Christian hand, but on very slender basis. No. 53, indeed, *Minume iudica* ("Judge not at all"), recalls the Sermon on the Mount; and No. 54, *Aliena ne concupieris* ("Thou shalt not covet another's goods"), suggests the Ten Commandments. But those standing next to these are not striking in such resemblances; and even the ones already quoted seem about as natural products of Greek philosophy as No. 1, *Deo supplica* ("Worship God"); No. 2, *Parentes ama* ("Love your parents"); No. 11, *Magistratum metue* ("Respect the powers that be"); No. 14, *Diligentiam adhibe* ("Be diligent in business"); No. 41, *Maledicus ne esto* ("Thou shalt not malign thy neighbor"); and many others. In fact, most of the sentiments expressed can be easily paralleled in the various collections of wisdom literature from Solomon down. Occasionally we find a little more homely advice, such as *Mundus esto* ("Keep clean"), *Quod satis est, dormi* ("Sleep just enough"), *Libros lege* ("Read books"), *Aleam fuge* ("Avoid gambling"), *Pauca in convivio loquere* ("Don't talk much at a banquet").

The same general tone is preserved in the distichs that make up the body of the work. One's duty to himself, his family, his fellow-men, and his God is succinctly stated from various interesting standpoints, but without any easily discoverable principle of arrangement. In several instances, to be sure, two couplets that might well have been derived from the same source stand contiguous to each other; but often the juxtaposition of sentiments makes a well-nigh ludicrous contrast. Different schools of pagan philosophy vie with scriptural orthodoxy, and the noblest thought may alter-

nate with a pitiful narrowness of ideals. Occasionally the wise man goes out of his way to make a sly thrust at the frailties of the fair sex, as in 1, 8:

Nil temere uxori de servis crede querenti;
Semper enim coniunx servum, quem diligis, odit.

("Don't take any stock in your wife's complaints of the servants; your wife always hates the servant that you love.")

3, 20: Coniugis iratæ noli tu verba timere;
Nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina plorat.

("Don't be afraid of your wife's words when she is angry; for when a woman weeps she is plotting by her tears.") Or, again, the point of the moral is, "Look out for number one," as in 1, 11:

Dilige sic alios, ut sis tibi carus amicus;
Sic bonus esto bonis, ne te mala damna sequantur.

("Love others in such a way as to be your own best friend; be good to good men, that serious loss may not overtake you.") On the whole, however, it must be said that a very uniform dignity is maintained throughout the collection.

The following maxims have the Stoic flavor:

1, 1: Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi præcipue sit pura mente colendus.

("If the soul is God, as the poets tell us, you must worship him especially with a pure heart.")

2, 16: Nec te collaudes nec te culpaveris ipse;
Hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria vexat inanis.

("Neither praise nor blame yourself; fools do that, fretting for empty glory.")

3, 2: Cum recte vivas, ne cures verba malorum;
Arbitrii non est nostri, quid quisque loquatur.

("As long as you live aright, don't mind the words of the wicked; we cannot control the gossip of every individual.")

4, 17: Si famam servare cupis, dum vivis, honestam,
Fac fugias animo, quæ sunt mala gaudia vitæ.

("If you would live a life of good report, see that you avoid even the thought of the gay life of the wicked.") Perhaps the cynical apathy of this one belongs in the same category:

4, 22: Multum venturi ne cures tempora fati;
Non metuit mortem, qui scit contemnere vitam.

("Pay little heed to your coming destiny; he fears not death who knows how to scorn life.")

In many cases, on the other hand, the Epicurean tone is equally pronounced:

2, 2: An di sint cælumque regant, ne quaere doceri;
Cum sis mortalis, quæ sunt mortalia, cura.

("Seek not to know whether there be gods who rule the heavens; since you are mortal attend to the concerns of this mortal flesh.")

2, 3: Linque metum leti, nam stultum est tempore in omni,
Dum mortem metuas, amittere gaudia vitæ.

("Away with the fear of death! It is folly to lose the joys of life through constant fear of death.")

4, 16: Utere quæsitis opibus, fuge nomen avari;
Quid tibi divitias, si semper pauper abundes?

("Use the wealth you have acquired, shun the name of being avaricious. Why should you possess wealth if you are always to be poor in the midst of your abundance?")

1, 33: Cum dubia in certis versetur vita periclis,
Pro lucro tibi pone diem, quicumque sequetur.

("Since life is so uncertain and beset with perils, set down as so much clear gain every day that dawns.") So sang the Epicurean Horace (*Car.*, i, 9):

Quid sit futurum cras fuge quærere, et
Quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro
Adpone, nec dulcis amores
Sperne puer neque tu choreas.

("Shun to seek what is hid in the womb of the morrow;
Count the lot of each day as clear gain in life's ledger;
Spurn not, thou, who art young, dulcet loves;
Spurn not, thou, choral dances and song.")*

The likeness is so obvious, we can scarcely doubt that the Horatian stanza was the mine from which this nugget of wisdom was dug. From Horace is the idea of the following couplet also:

4, 37: Tempora longa tibi noli promittere vitæ;
Quocumque incedis, sequitur mors corporis umbra.

("Do not promise yourself long life; wherever you walk death walks beside you like a shadow.") Compare Horace,

* Bulwer-Lytton.

Car., i, 4; also the familiar scriptural version of the same idea: "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth."

Some other interesting parallels to the wisdom of Solomon may be noted:

1, 9: Cum moneas aliquem nec se velit ille moneri,
Si tibi sit carus, noli desistere coeptis.

("Though he whom you reprove desire none of your reproof, if you love him cease not from your efforts.") Comp. Prov. iii, 12: "For whom the Lord loveth he correcteth; even as a father the son in whom he delighteth."

1, 10: Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis;
Sermo datur cunctis, animi sapientia paucis.

("Contend not in speech with a man of many words; speech is given to all, wisdom to few.") Comp. Prov. xvii, 27: "He that hath knowledge spareth his words: and a man of understanding is of an excellent spirit."

3, 1: Instrue præceptis animum, ne discere cessa;
Nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago.

("Give instruction to thy soul, cease not to learn wisdom; for life without wisdom is, so to speak, but the picture of death.") Comp. Prov. iv, 13: "Take fast hold of instruction; let her not go: keep her; for she is thy life."

Even essentially Christian doctrine shines forth here and there:

1, 5: Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores;
Cum culpant alios, nemo sine crimine vivit.

("If you examine the life and character of men, while they blame others, none of them lives a blameless life himself.") Comp. John viii, 7: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her."

1, 6: Quæ nocitura tenes, quamvis sint cara, relinque:
Utilitas opibus præponi tempore debet.

("Whatever you possess that is likely to harm you, no matter how dear it may be, give it up; advantage should always be preferred to possessions.") Comp. Matt. v, 29: "And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish," etc.

1, 20: Exiguum munus cum det tibi pauper amicus,
Accipito lætus, plene et laudare memento.

("When a friend of his poverty gives you a trifling gift, you should accept it gladly and not forget to thank him heartily.") Compare the commendation of the widow's mite, Mark xii, 42–44.

3, 7: Alterius dictum aut factum ne carpseris umquam,
Exemplo simili ne te derideat alter.

("Never harshly judge another's word or deed lest another likewise judge thee.") Comp. Matt. vii, 1: "Judge not, that ye be not judged." On the other hand, here is a precept at the opposite extreme from the teaching of Him who said, "Love your enemies:"

Ap. 5: Dissimula læsus, si non datur ultio præsens;
Qui celare potest odium, pote lædere, quem vult.

("When an injury is done to you, if immediate vengeance cannot be had conceal your feelings; he who can conceal his hatred can injure whomsoever he will.")

There are a number of cases where the sentiment expressed would be particularly worthy of the thrifty, practical Cato; and if he should be considered the direct or indirect author of any portion of the work these would be naturally put down at once to his credit. Such are:

1, 37: Servorum culpa cum te dolor urget in iram,
Ipse tibi moderare, tuis ut parcere possis.

("When vexed at the faults of your slaves, and on the verge of anger, restrain yourself, so as to spare your own property.")

4, 5: Cum fueris locuples, corpus curare memento;
Æger dives habet nummos, se non habet ipsum.

("No matter how rich you are, take care of your body; a sick rich man has cash, but he has not himself.")

4, 14: Cum sis ipse nocens, moritur cur victima pro te?
Stultitia est morte alterius sperare salutem.

("If you are the guilty one, why should a victim be slain for you? It is folly to hope for safety by the death of somebody else.")

4, 20: Prospicito cunctos tacitus, quid quisque loquatur;
Sermo hominum mores et celat et indicat idem.

("Be silent and note what each one says; a man's conversation both conceals and reveals his character.")

4, 38: Ture deum placa, vitulum sine crescat aratro;
Ne credas gaudere deum, cum cæde litatur.

("Let incense be thy offering to the gods; let the bullock grow up for the plow; do not imagine that the gods delight in the slaughter of victims.")

Our common saying, "In time of peace prepare for war," is paralleled thus:

4, 26: Tranquillis rebus semper adversa timeto;
Rursus in adversis melius sperare memento.

("When things go well, look out for adversity; when they go ill, hope for better days.") "Still waters run deep" is represented by this:

4, 31: Demissos animo et tacitos vitare memento;
Quod flumen placidum est, forsan latet altius unda.

("Avoid the shy and silent man; the stream that flows quietly is likely to be deep.") Vergil's famous advice, "Litus ama . . . altum alii teneant" (*Æn.*, v, 163), appears in this form:

4, 33: Quod potes, id tempta; nam litus carpere remis
Utilius multo est, quam velum tendere in altum.

("Attempt what is suited to your strength; for it is much better to row along the coast than to trim sail for a voyage on the deep.")

A few more especially pointed maxims may serve to conclude this list of specimens:

1, 3: Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam;
Proximus ille deo est, qui scit ratione tacere.

("Consider control over your tongue a cardinal virtue; he that can keep a rational silence stands next to the gods.")

1, 14: Cum te aliquis laudat, iudex tuus esse memento;
Plus aliis de te, quam tu tibi, credere noli.

("When one praises you be your own judge of it; don't put others' estimates of yourself higher than your own.")

1, 27: Noli homines blandos nimium sermone probare;
Fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.

("Don't favor a man of a flattering tongue; the pipe utters sweet notes while the fowler is decoying the bird.")

2, 21: Quæ potus peccas, ignoscere tu tibi noli;
Nam crimen vini nullum est, sed culpa bibentis.

("Don't try to excuse yourself for the wrongs you did when drunken; the wine is not to blame, but the drinker.")

2, 26: Rem, tibi quam scieris aptam, dimittere noli;
Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

("Don't lose the chance which you know is yours. Opportunity has a forelock, but the back of her head is bald.")

3, 18: Multa legas facito, perlectis neglege multa;
Nam miranda canunt, sed non credenda poetæ.

("Read much, but pay no attention to much that you read; the poets sing of marvelous things, but you need not believe them.")

4, 3: Cum sis incautus nec rem ratione gubernes,
Noli fortunam, quæ non est, dicere cæcam.

("When you carelessly steer your bark aground do not accuse Fortune of being blind, for she isn't.")

4, 11: Cum tibi proponas animalia cuncta timere,
Unum præcipue tibi scito hominem esse timendum.

("In making up your mind to fear all animals, bear in mind that the human animal is most to be dreaded.")

It is surely a pity that so much sound sense as this collection contains should have been suffered so long to escape the attention of the modern world. Whether or not these proverbs are suitable for youth, they are certainly instructive for maturer years. Whatever their origin and authorship, they furnish a running commentary on life—a commentary which seems to indicate very strongly that, notwithstanding the progress of the external world, human nature has remained essentially the same during the march of the centuries. Man can subdue the forces of nature; but it takes a divine revelation to subdue man and free him from himself.

Karl P. Harrington.

Art. IV.—EXPOSITION OF ROMANS VIII, 18–23.

For (this suffering with Him in order to be glorified with him is no casting away of toil and self-denial, seeing that) I reckon (since being convinced, I myself have embraced this course) that the sufferings of this present period are insignificant in comparison with the glory that shall be revealed in us.

(The greatness of this glory is shown in the fact that all creation now under the bondage of corruption shall be set free from it by the glorification of the sons of God.) For the patient expectation (which continues till the time arrives) of the creation (all this world except man, both animate and inanimate) waits for the revelation of the sons of God (because their sonship will be complete and possessed of all its privileges and glories).

Verse 20. Explanation of the reason why all creation waits. For the creature was made subject to vanity (instability, liability to change and decay), not willingly, but on account of Him (not Adam, but God. He is the occasion, and his glory the end of creation's corruptibility), because the creation itself also (not only we the sons of God, but even the creation itself) shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption (its subjection to the bondage of decay, Heb. ii, 15) and be admitted into the freedom of the glory (not glorious freedom) of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groans together, and travails together (not with us, or with mankind) from the beginning up to this time. But (moreover) not only (the creation), but even ourselves, possessing (though we possess) the first fruit of the Spirit (the indwelling influence of the Holy Spirit here as an earnest of the full harvest of his complete possession of us, body, soul, and spirit hereafter), even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting the fullness of our adoption (which adoption is come already, verse 15, so that we do not wait for that, but for its full manifestation) in the redemption of our body (not rescue from). For in hope were we saved (our first apprehension of and appropriation to ourselves of salvation, which is by faith in Christ, was effected in the condition of hope, which hope is in fact faith in its prospective attitude).—*Alford's Greek Testament.*

This passage is very difficult of comprehension. So are the stars. But the more difficult and involved the more rich the unfolding and the greater the development of mind. Heaven was not meant as an asylum for feeble-minded children; hence the world and the word must be a gymnasium. The strong and confident gymnast swings his trapezes between the stars. Whoever speaks for God ought to speak largely.

He should often speak beyond the understanding of men. If any deem that human understanding should be standard and measure of divine revelation he is apt to say "impossible" to many things that a revelation from God should contain. For the things impossible to men should be possible with God.

The Bible often gives great sweeps of thought in few words. That is why a thousand sermons are preached from a few brief texts. The texts are so fundamental that, like primeval granite, they underlie the whole universe of thought. This text that seems so difficult at first contains this great truth, namely, that all being, created and uncreated, is intimately related. It is this thought only, among the many, that is expanded in this paper. We have here presented God, the uncreated Spirit, men the sons of God, children, heirs, joint heirs with Christ, the Spirit helping our infirmities—most beautiful, intimate, and intricate relations. This thought is familiar. But the text goes on to one less familiar, namely, that all things, animate and inanimate—animal, man, and material nature—are all bound together in one close relation of origin, progress, and destiny. The "whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together;" we groan; the Holy Spirit groans—all waiting for some better consummation.

Can it be made evident that the whole creation is so intimately related in every part? The Bible declares it to be one in origin. In the beginning God created the heavens, the earth, and lastly man. Science, long time after, works out its problems to the same conclusion. All departments are under many, perhaps all, of the same laws. The laws for the moon are the laws for Mars; the laws for Mars, the same for Uranus and the stars. Intimately related are the songs of the linnet and the archangel. Throughout the whole vast creation one great purpose runs. Everything is made for service. Earth and sun feed grass; grass feeds a thousand forms of lowly and lofty animal life; animal life feeds man. Men must serve one another in order to live. And God serves all. Things are so connected that to know one thing perfectly involves a knowledge of all things.

Flower in the crannied wall,
I pluck you out of the crannies,
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.

There is in all things a tendency to rise. Rock becomes soil; soil, flowers and fruit; flowers and fruit feed flesh; and flesh, soul.

It is a singular proof of intimacy, sympathy, and relationship that material things so largely express immaterial thought. We say of a cheery soul that it is as bright as the sun; of a suspicion, that it is dark as night; and that the affections of an unmusical soul are black as Erebus. How could the lover find expression without the help of material figures?

Those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn.

All poets see this. Wordsworth says:

To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

Bryant writes:

To him that in the love of Nature holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language.

Stedman highly commends the lilt and melody of Shelley joined to precision of thought. See his perfection of all these qualities, especially the last, in his "A sensitive plant in a garden grew:"

There was a power in this sweet place,
An Eve in this Eden, a ruling grace
Which to the flowers, did they waken or dream,
Was as God is to the starry scheme.
I doubt not the flowers in that garden sweet
Rejoiced in the sound of her gentle feet.
I doubt not they felt the spirit that came
From her glowing fingers through all their frame.

And when the lovely lady died, and in consequence the garden died, you know not which to sorrow over most.

Everyone is poet enough to be stilled into gentle musings by the soft and soullike sounds of the pines. The lark in the

sky not only voices his own joy, but thrills with ecstasy everyone who has a soul to hear with. We have all heard the multitudinous laughter of old Ocean's billows. There is no state of mind in man that does not find a sympathetic response in nature. It is a glass that reflects his gladness, making it double. His every gloom finds a chill and somber November to enhance it. Man's highest thought and finest feeling go to material nature to find means of adequate expression. That Godlike feeling of forgiveness finds expression in those plants that bathe the ax with sweetness while it wounds them. The resurrection of the body has an elder voice in the springtime and the chrysalis, and a later one in the resurrection of Christ. At conversion the earth and the stars seem changed. Browning says in "Saul:"

> The whole earth was awakened, . . .
> And the stars of night beat with emotion, and tingled and shot
> Out in fire.

This is poetry. It is therefore true.

But the Bible expresses the sympathy of nature with man more graphically than other poets. When Adam sinned the earth's barrenness and thistles were not so much an inflicted as a consequent curse. And when Christ hung on the cross the world's shuddering earthquakes and darkened skies were its sensitive responses to the sufferings of its Maker and Lord. Even chaos and old night could respond to spiritual influences and break into light. The universe now thrills through its whole extent to the power of its indwelling soul as manifested in gravitation and magnetism. Our material bodies are strong or weak, tingle with joy, or are enervated with lusts, according to the soul within. Some call the relation of Antæus to his mother Earth a fable. But men who have lovingly lain down in the lap of Mother Earth, been rested and renewed on her bosom, know it is a profound truth. It was not merely for refreshment by spiritual influences that Christ went to the desert, the mountain, and the storm.

The Bible always represents the earth's condition of fruitfulness or barrenness as related to the spiritual state of man. "How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of every field wither, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein?" All

creation groaneth together and travaileth together waiting for the apocalypse of the children of God. The idea of the renovation of all nature at the return of its Lord is not strange to the students of many of the passages of prophetic truth. Even animal nature shall be changed (Isa. xi, 6; lxv, 17; 2 Pet. iii, 13; Acts iii, 21; Luke xxi, 25–28). The new heavens and the new earth are conditioned on the new man. Nature, in all its laws and forces, was meant to serve man. He was to have dominion over all things, the fish of the sea, and besides them "whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas." This must mean, among other things, gravitation and magnetism. Having become a sinner, man abuses his trust, and groaning nature has a right to protest against being in bondage to the caprices and abuses of such a master. The horse is spurred and lashed for the race, and maddened for the battle. It is subject to vanity. All the forces of nature are subjected to unworthy uses.

But this subjection was "not willingly" received. Emancipation is to come. The apostles of unbelief have no such hope. The positivist holds to an absolute catastrophe, without any providential interpositions. The rationalist expects nothing beyond a gradual improvement in humanity and nature. "To modern philosophical unbelief the beginning of the world, as well as the end, is sunk in mist and night; because of this unbelief the center of the world—the historical Christ—is sunk in mist and night." How different the Christian! How much broader his view! "We, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." When God's word shall have accomplished what he pleases the people "shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth . . . into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree."

But are not all these seeming sympathies the mere projection of man's mind on nature, the throwing of his sunlight in rainbows on the sky, making it glorious with evening splendor, or on the black masses of a retreating storm, making it

glow with prophecy and hope? Our Scripture paragraph answers the question, and shows not only a real sympathetic relation, a present suffering, but also a closely linked future destiny between material creation and man. Man cannot be profited and glorified without nature's sharing in it. No people can be peaceful and industrious but to them nature responds. Men tickle the earth with a hoe and it laughs with the harvest. When the Lord shall judge the people righteously "let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad; let the sea roar, and the fullness thereof. Let the field be joyful, and all that is therein: then shall all the trees of the wood rejoice before the Lord." "Poetic imagery, personification, fancy," says old Gradgrind; "give us facts." So he said about the sublime fact that "the morning stars sang together," till science proved it as clearly as that the interior angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. It is well enough to believe the plain statements of God's word, even if they do go a bit beyond our present comprehension. When it says the iron gate opened of its "own accord" to the angel delivering Peter it is best to feel that there is some deep truth in the statement. But does this argue a consciousness in matter? We are not concerned to answer. Let a few facts speak for themselves. We know that in chemical combinations atoms seem to count and to discern the nature of other atoms. One particle of oxygen or boron will marry itself to a definite number of particles of one substance and to other numbers of particles of a dozen other substances. Plants select the materials for building the forest temples as accurately as animal life selects material for bodies. Every gardener knows that plants grow best for those that love them. But these things do not necessitate human consciousness in matter. They help us to see that matter may have richer capabilities than we have thought, and may have capacities to make it a temple fit for the Holy Ghost. Doubters of spiritual entities are obliged to affirm that matter has a spiritual side.

To have a nature fit for such glorification makes it liable to humiliation. The carbon that makes the London air at times almost unbreathable has a capacity to sparkle like the Kohi-

noor in the queen's crown in the Tower. The constituent elements of half a dozen kinds of precious stones are in common clay. The walls of Jerusalem, trampled down by the Gentiles in scorn, can be turned at once into the walls of Jerusalem the golden. It is simply a question of the nature of the substance and of the power acting upon it.

The power is sufficient because we are assured that the highest power in the universe is to be applied to this very end. The same exceeding greatness of God's power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead and set him on high, is also applied to put all things under his feet. As granitic Sinai becomes a paved work of sapphire stones as the body of heaven for clearness, under the feet of the God of Moses, so all matter may become glorious under its rightful King. This King applies the same power to "subdue all things unto himself" that he applies to "change our vile body," that it may be "fashioned like unto his glorious body." Certainly this power is sufficient. This dynamic, Christological view needs emphasis in this age of doubt.

But what glorified beings shall fill the unknown realms of glorified matter! We have had magnificent oratorios of the "Creation" and of the "Redemption." But John heard an oratorio of redemption grander than that by Gounod. What machinery of horses by the million, and armies, flying angels and fiends, hurled stars and rolled away heavens; what breadth of action in earth, ocean, air, and space; what instrumentation and voices like the sound of many waters in a storm! But who or what takes part in the oratorio? "And every creature ['created thing,' Revised Version; 'animated creature,' Alford] which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever." The groaning together is ended. The common glorification has come.

Henry W. Warren

Art. V.—ASBURY AS A STUDENT.

It was in a little house under a bridge in old England that Asbury caught the first glimpse of student life. "When a child," he writes, "I thought it strange my mother should stand by a large window poring over a book for hours together." This picture he carried with him into manhood—his mother reading at the window. Mrs. Asbury had lost an only daughter, and found relief in religion and a passionate love for books. Of his own early instruction Asbury says:

> I was sent to school early, and began to read the Bible between six and seven years of age, and greatly delighted in the historical part of it. My schoolmaster was a great churl, and used to beat me cruelly; this drove me to prayer, and it appeared to me that God was near to me. My father having but the one son greatly desired to keep me at school, he cared not how long; but in this design he was disappointed, for my master by his severity had filled me with such horrible dread that with me anything was preferable to going to school.

Going into a blacksmith's shop in his thirteenth year, he wrought at the anvil for more than six years. As a boy of fourteen he was deeply stirred upon the subject of religion, "reading a great deal," he says, "Whitefield and Cennick's sermons, and every good book I could meet with." He began his ministry in his seventeenth year, while working at the forge, but from his twentieth to his twenty-sixth year he swung only the hammer of the word. He made his first acquaintance with Latin and Greek during these years.

The call to America came. Here we see him as preeminently a man of works. "It has been estimated," says Dr. Abel Stevens, "that in the forty-five years of his American ministry he preached about sixteen thousand five hundred sermons, or at least one a day, and traveled about two hundred and seventy thousand miles, or six thousand a year; that he presided in no less than two hundred and twenty-four Annual Conferences, and ordained more than four thousand preachers." Even this marks him as a man of intellect. We are only trying to show that the windows opened inward. His interest in the cause of education, his abridgment of several

books, his record of books read with comments prove he had the student mind and improved his opportunities well.

This student of twenty-six at work with his books as he speeds across the great Atlantic is worthy of a place with that greater scholar, Thomas Coke, on his first voyage to America, in his thirty-seventh year. Coke had "a little secret corner in the ship" called his "study," where he read the lives of Xavier and Brainerd, *The Confessional*, Hoadley's *Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England*, and Augustine's *Meditations*. Hours were spent with his Greek Testament. He would unbend now and then, he tells us, by reading the pastorals of Vergil. Asbury is no less diligent. He read Sellon's *God's Sovereignty Vindicated against Elisha Coles* with this comment: "I think no one that reads it deliberately can afterward be a Calvinist." Then he read Wesley's *Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, De Renty's Life, part of Norris's Works, Edwards on the Work of God in New England, *Pilgrim's Progress*, the Bible, and Wesley's Sermons. He afterward became the great exemplar to circuit riders, with no side plea of "revivals" for lack of time to study. There was not a year in his earlier ministry that he did not read more than is required of our younger men. If to-day there are examiners and syllabi, his full "compends" and comments show careful study in his day. Without noting the many rereadings, in the space of thirty-five years we find him averaging six large books a year. In that trying period of the Revolutionary struggle, from 1774 to 1781, more than one hundred volumes were mastered by him, many of them large and weighty—an average of thirteen volumes each year. In spite of the incessant traveling, the poor lodging, the almost constant sickness, the carefully written though brief outlines of sermons, the thought preparation for preaching, his daily reading went on, while at times he mined for Greek and Latin terms and digged for Hebrew roots.

There was good proportion in his study, and we may best show his mind by the character of the books read. In blanket fashion he covered the ground of a theological seminary. Let us take the great departments, note some books, and mark his comments that prove the reading more than cursory:

1. Exegetical theology. Asbury's was a heart-study of the Scriptures in the original languages. It was a searching for the meat of the word, and not for a taste of tongues. "Applied myself to the Greek and Latin Testaments," "reading the Bible and Greek Testament," "running through the Hebrew Bible," "read the first part of the Hebrew Bible"—such notes occur through the whole course of his *Journal*. Practicing Hebrew tones and points he called his "horseback study." He drilled himself in these riding through the swamps of South Carolina with the water up to his knees. In a trying journey through Virginia he noted one day, "I do little except reading a few chapters in my Hebrew Bible." Hebrew had better ventilation on big rides, especially through Georgia, than at other times. He lodged with a Jew, read Hebrew part of the night, and said, "I should have been pleased to have spent the night thus occupied with so good a scholar." He read Clarke's *Commentary*, Doddridge's *Paraphrase*, *Notes* of Wesley, Hammond, Whitby; Guyse's *Paraphrase*, Luther's Galatians, and Langdon on Revelation. Five of these works were read before he was thirty-three years of age. Here is a sample comment: "Dr. Doddridge's critical notes and improvements are excellent, instructive, beautiful —well calculated for forming the minds of young preachers, to prevent wild and unwarranted expositions." All four volumes are read; he "admires his spirit, sense, and ingenuity." Guyse's *Paraphrase* afforded him "great delight . . . a pity that such a man ever imbibed the Calvinistic principles." And again, "Reading the Revelation, with Mr. Wesley's *Notes*, was made a particular blessing to my soul."

2. Systematic theology embraced about twenty authors—among them Watson's *Divinity*, Osterwald's *Christian Theology*, Newton's *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, Flavel's and Norris's Works, Prideaux's *The Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, Ogden's *Revealed Religion*, and Barclay's *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. Of Fletcher's *Checks* he writes, "Ages to come will bless God for his writings, as I have done for those of Baxter and other ancient divines." "There is," says he, "a certain spirituality in his [Wesley's] Works, which I can find in no other human

compositions. And a man who has any taste for true piety can scarce read a few pages in the writings of that great divine without imbibing a greater relish for the pure and simple religion of Jesus Christ." We see Asbury's putting of a theological statement in his criticism of Hervey's *Dialogues:*

I like his philosophy better than his divinity. However, if he is in error by leaning too much to imputed righteousness, and in danger of superseding our evangelical works of righteousness, some are also in danger of setting up self-righteousness and at least of a partial neglect of an entire dependence on Jesus Christ. Our duty and salvation lie between these extremes. We should so work as if we were to be saved by the proper merit of our works; and so rely on Jesus Christ, to be saved by his merits and the divine assistance of his Holy Spirit, as if we did no works, nor attempted anything which God hath commanded. This is evidently the Gospel plan of salvation: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God;" "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." But some, who see the danger of seeking to be justified by the deeds of the law, turn all their attention to those passages of Scripture which ascribe our salvation to the grace of God; and, to avoid the rock which they discover on the right hand, they strike against that which is equally dangerous on the left, by exclaiming against all conditions and doings on the part of man; and so make void the law through faith—as if a beggar could not cross the street, and open his hand (at the request of his benefactor) to receive his bounty, without a meritorious claim to what he is about to receive. What God hath joined together let no man put asunder. And he having joined salvation by grace with repentance, prayer, faith, self-denial, love, and obedience, whoever putteth them asunder will do it at his peril. But it is likewise true that others, who see the danger of this, in order, as they imagine, to steer clear of it, go about to establish their own righteousness; and, although they profess to ascribe the merit of their salvation to Jesus Christ, yet think they cannot fail of eternal life because they have wrought many good deeds of piety toward God and of justice and mercy toward man; and they would think it incompatible with divine justice to sentence them to eternal punishment for what they call the foibles of human nature, after having lived so moral and upright a life. Happy the man who so studies the Holy Scriptures, his own heart, the plan of salvation, and daily prays with such earnest sincerity to Almighty God as to see that neither faith without works nor works without that faith which justifies the ungodly will suffice in the awful day of universal retribution!

This long paragraph shows no sign of loose thinking or extempore theology.

3. In the department of historical theology we would for convenience include all historical works. The twenty separate works which Asbury mentions run through some sixty volumes. He was laying the foundations for a great Church, he was building a great Church, and, as Wilbur Fisk declares, he had fine appreciation of history. Mosheim was "too dry and speculative." Haweis's *History of the Church* was "among the best," "but his partiality to good old Calvinism is too apparent." Prince's *Christian History* was a "cordial" to his soul. "It is Methodism in all its parts. I have a great desire to reprint an abridgment of it, to show the apostate children what their fathers were." Reading Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, he is "amazed at the intrigues of courts and the treachery of men." The list holds such works as Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, Neal's *History of the Puritans*, *Jewish Antiquities*, Whiston's *Josephus*, sixteen volumes of Universal History, Rollin's, Robertson's, Ramsey's histories, and Gordon's *American Revolution*.

4. Practical theology. Asbury was a student of sermons. He enjoyed, appreciated, absorbed. There was in him a vein of wholesome criticism; a search for knowledge and homiletical training, with nerve sufficient to mount and test the celestial trapeze of the great sermonizers. How he enjoyed preaching and groaned over "dumb Sabbaths!" In this blessed employment, if the world were not his parish, the whole heavens were (Eph. iv, 10). Out of the galaxy of sermonizers he read we select a few—Doddridge, Watts, Wesley, Walker, Taylor, Blair, Sherlock, Saurin. "I delighted myself," said he, "in reading Doddridge's *Sermons to Young People*." "Blair's sermon on Gentleness is worthy the taste of Queen Charlotte; and if money were anything toward paying for knowledge I should think that sermon worth two hundred pounds sterling—which some say the queen gave him." Taylor gives "many instructing glosses on the Scriptures;" Knox is "sublime, though not deep;" Sherlock, "a man of great abilities, and it is a pity but he had been a more evangelical writer." Attention was also given by Asbury to such works as Lowman's *Jewish Government*, Potter's *Church Government*, Whiston's *An Historical Preface to Primitive Chris-*

tianity Revived, and Comber on Consecrating Bishops. Asbury's reading of devotional literature included Edwards on the Work of God in New England, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War*, Taylor's *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and the same author's *Valley of Lilies*, Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*—in fact, the whole line of spiritual literature. He made an abridgment of Baxter's *Cure for Church Divisions*, and showed a fine hand at condensation. There were also miscellaneous works, but let two suffice: *Principles of True Politeness*, read in the swamps, and Salmon's Grammar of five hundred pages. "Read fifty pages in Salmon's Grammar," he says, and adds, "It is plain to me the devil will let us read always, if we will not pray; but prayer is the sword of the preacher, the life of the Christian, the terror of hell, and the devil's plague." On that day he had read thirteen chapters of Revelation and one hundred pages in Comber on the Consecrating of Bishops. All this was on "blue Monday," after a hard day of preaching.

Now consider the man, his conditions, limitations, methods, to get the full content of the student—"this man that rambles through the United States," sick almost unto death six months in the year for thirty-two years, with hereditary morbid temperament held only by the firm grip of a consecrated will power. He was in the truest sense a gentleman, knew the amenities of life, was at home in the mansions of wealth and culture, but lived in discomfort, crowded rooms—often in "filthy houses," as he says—and knew little solitude. Seeking "rest" at Berkeley Springs, he writes: "The house in which we live is not the most agreeable; the size of it is twenty feet by sixteen, and there are seven beds and sixteen persons therein, and some noisy children. So I dwell among briers and thorns; but my soul is in peace." While here as a sick man he says: "My present mode of conduct is as follows: to read about a hundred pages a day, usually to pray in public five times a day, to preach in the open air every other day, and to lecture in prayer meeting every evening." He calls these "my little employments." Down South in the fields of cotton

he gets "a little Indian bread and fried bacon, . . . a bed set upon forks and clapboards laid across, in an earthen-floor cabin." The studying goes on, but there is often no candle, and the light of the pine fire is trying on the eyes. He writes:

> Kindness will not make a crowded log cabin, twelve feet by ten, agreeable; without are cold and rain, and within, six adults and as many children, one of which is all motion; the dogs, too, must sometimes be admitted. . . . Found I had the itch; and, considering the filthy houses and filthy beds, it is strange that I have not caught it twenty times. I do not see that there is any security against it but by sleeping in a brimstone shirt. Poor bishop! Have written some letters and read the book of Daniel since I have been in this house.

Add to this the mentioned morbid trait that became a taint, the physical drawback with its accompanying darkness, which he gradually learned was "constitutional;" put upon this the excessive toil and exposure, the work of twenty men, as Abel Stevens declares, the incredible tours, the one-day ride of "eighty sand-hill miles," and then see him reading day after day, with relish—that man was a student.

Asbury was a student of nature, and like his Master loved the solitude of the mountain and forest. "Greatly pleased," he says, "I am to get into the woods, where, although alone, I have blessed company and sometimes think, Who so happy as myself?" Again: "O what sweetness I feel as I steal along through the solitary woods!" "Blessed with the sweet gales of God's love. Blessed breezes! how they cheer and refresh my drooping soul." His word-pictures are vivid and beautiful —the visit to the seashore, and the thunderstorm in the Alleghanies. But the bad condition of the roads forbade Asbury's reading on horseback as Wesley did in England. Wesley had opportunities for writing and editing; Asbury had the editor-spirit without training or advantages. Wesley in his *Journal* writes with the ease and fullness of a scholar; Asbury is personal, abrupt, brief. The letters of Asbury show more literary ability than his *Journal*, and the length is surprising considering their average of three a day. Some go straight to the point; some tell little things concerning himself and the preachers; some contain longings for closer communion with God.

The outlines of his sermons show insight into the spiritual meaning of the text. His texts are not often clauses, parts of

sentences, but "the full corn in the ear;" or, a large white sapphire—a crystal inclusion—held by a master hand to the light, revealing within the six-rayed stars of truth. He writes the fuller the older he becomes, crying out that he is "bent on great designs for God, for Christ, for souls." In his fifty-ninth year he stood one morning out of doors, fixed his blanket to screen him from the sun and his cap to shelter him from the wind, and cried, in the words of his divine Master, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." His divisions were: "First, the light of your principles and doctrine; second, the light of your experience; third, the light of your tempers; fourth, the light of your practice, that they may see it manifested in virtue and piety, and be converted to God." Often the common threefold division is followed, large attention is given to expository preaching, and the paraphrasing is remarkable for strength and fullness of meaning, no skim-milk talk, but the cream of the word. Sometimes the *Journal* gives a running line of thought, without formal divisions, a quaint, picturesque treatment that could not fail to be interesting. Take this text, "The night is far spent." He writes:

What constitutes the natural night? Absence of light, ignorance, insecurity, uncertainty. The Gospel watchman crieth the hours. The Scripture night, from Adam to Moses. The patriarchal stars, and those who preceded them as dim lights, Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham. The moonlight of the law, the Sabbaths, the sacrifices. But this night was about to pass away, although darker just before the dawn of the Gospel day; and it is thus in nature. The Jews had corrupted themselves in religion and in manners. The night of Judaism and paganism had nearly passed away. When Paul wrote in the year sixty, the Gospel had obtained in Europe, Lesser Asia, Greece, in the city of Rome; and had spread from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. This night has returned occasionally. It came upon the Asiatic churches because of their unfaithfulness; where once were the Gospel and its martyrs are now Greek *papas* and Greek superstitions. From the third to the thirteenth century the Church of Rome brought darkness upon Europe by prohibiting the Bible, and by the introduction of her own mummeries and idolatries. Philosophy, so called, with Voltaire for its high priest, brought night and destruction upon France; judicially, to avenge on the bloody house of Bourbon the blood of the Protestant martyrs. And would not some of our great men, if they dared, bring a night of infidelity on this land? Who sees them in regular attendance on the house of God? "Let us cast

off the works of darkness." Let us cast off evil tempers, desires, and affections. "The armor of light" (see Eph. vi, 11–17), perfect faith, perfect hope, perfect obedience, perfect love.

These notes were written when Asbury was seventy years old. He gave due proportion to the whole New Testament, preaching from every book except the small epistles of Philemon, 2 and 3 John, and Jude.

Of his interest in education we shall not speak, for all know his relation to Sunday schools, to Cokesbury College, and to the "district schools." Many were the sermons preached by him upon the relation of religion to education. For years he carried with him a subscription book securing contributions for the cause of education. He preached the sermon at the opening of Cokesbury College. He never forgot the young preachers, and at the age of thirty-five wrote: "A great part of the day is taken up in riding, preaching, and meeting the classes; and very often at night there is a large family, but one room for all, and sometimes no candle; so that I think it would be well, under such circumstances, if the preachers could have one spare day in every week for the purpose of improving themselves."

But the crown of this student life was always the study of the English Bible, with appetite keen and relish constant, a very genius for devotion. Early in his ministry we have the record, "I now purposed, by the grace of God, as often as time will permit, to read six chapters every day in my Bible." We soon find this a minimum. He takes the book in course, thus: "This morning I ended the reading of my Bible through in about four months. It is hard work for me to find time for this; but all I read and write I owe to early rising." He begins at Genesis and swiftly moves onward. He read the Psalms in a week, in regular reading; one morning he took the entire book of Job; or in the New Testament the days go thus: 1 Corinthians, next day eleven chapters in 2 Corinthians, again, 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy; another day that month, 2 Peter to end of Revelation. The next year we find him reading, with Wesley's *Notes*, one day the Acts of the Apostles; the next day he "read Wesley's *Notes* on the Epistle to the Romans;" the next day he "read Mr. Wesley's

Notes on 1 Corinthians, and ended the reading of the second book of Kings, in my reading in course the Bible through." He adds, "Lately felt more sweetness and delight than ever before in reading the Old Testament." Again, "The Study of the Holy Scriptures affords me great pleasure. Lord, help me to dig into the Gospel field as for hidden treasure." "No book is equal to the Bible." The book of Revelation becomes a perfect delight to him. "Reading at present no other books on the Lord's days, I have lately read the Revelation, with Mr. Wesley's *Notes*, three times through." He read this book every Sabbath for nearly a year, although some days are "dumb Sabbaths." One Sunday he read the law delivered by Moses and our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, and preached at nine o'clock and three. One Friday he writes, "I find it of more consequence to a preacher to know his Bible well than all languages or books in the world—for he is not to preach these, but the word of God." We wonder not then, in later years, that he saved his eyes to study the old book.

This man, Asbury, of unwearied mind, to whom preachers read in the days of failing eyes—this man had on him the care of the churches, the criticism of men. We can almost hear his plaintive cry as he defended himself:

> The Methodists acknowledge no superiority but what is founded on seniority, election, and long and faithful services. For myself, I pity those who cannot distinguish between a Pope of Rome and an old worn man of about sixty years, who has the power given him of riding five thousand miles a year, at a salary of eighty dollars, through summer's heat and winter's cold, traveling in all weather, preaching in all places; his best covering from rain often but a blanket; the surest sharpener of his wit, hunger—from fasts, voluntary and involuntary; his best fare, for six months of the twelve, coarse kindness; and his reward, from too many, suspicion, envy, and murmuring all the year round.

To the end books were on his heart. He willed a Bible to every child called after him, and hundreds of volumes were distributed; he willed his property to the Methodist Book Concern, and then—high student of heavenly things—he committed his spirit to the Lord whom he loved and served.

Frank Gibson Porter.

Art. VI.—THE MACHPELAH AND ISRAEL'S FAITH WHILE IN BONDAGE (ACTS VII, 15, 16).

Every possible attempt has been made to explain this text from the period of the oldest manuscripts down to the present time. Interpreters have availed themselves of every resource of grammar, hermeneutics, the laws of criticism, and the principles of lexicology without any success.—*Lange.*

Our purpose is to review some of these "attempts" and to contribute another portion of truth to the literature of the subject. Any comprehensive treatment of the text in Acts must have to do with several different theories, each having seeming support from what their originators lay down as foundation facts. There are those who would amend the text by substituting Jacob for Abraham, while some would by means of a free translation comprehend all the factors intimated by Stephen, and in so doing give us a revised and improved version thereof. Again, others, leaving the text as it is, read consistency into it by accepting as proven Bengel's statement that "a form of sentence in which the relation between the members is such that they must be mutually supplied one from the other was not at all unusual among the Hebrews." A great name carries weight, but in the absence of illustrative examples gathered here and there from Hebrew literature it does not carry persuasion. Since we believe that the circumstances environing the speech fully explain and account for the peculiarities of the text, we shall first review the more prominent attempts that have been made to explain and amend the latter, and, failing to find logical and grammatical consistency in these, shall, secondly, proceed to establish what we have predicated of the former.

I. The Text. "The word 'Abraham,' therefore, in this place is certainly a mistake, and the word 'Jacob,' which some have supplied, is doubtless more proper."* This is putting the machinery "in gear" at one place and putting it "out of gear" at another. Jacob paid for the Shechem field neither in "money" (Authorized Version, Acts vii, 16) nor "in silver"

* Clarke's *Commentary* and Wilson's *Emphatic Diaglott.*

(Revised Version), but "in lambs." (See Septuagint, Gen. xxxiii, 19; Josh. xxiv, 32, and also margins of Revised and Authorized Versions of Gen. xxxiii, 19.) The right word in this place is certainly "Abraham," for it was he who "weighed to Ephron the silver" (Gen. xxiii, 16). "Bishop Pearce supposes that Luke originally wrote ᾧ ὠνήσατο τιμῆς ἀργυρίου, 'which he bought for a sum of money,' that is, which Jacob bought, who is the last person of the singular number spoken of in the preceding verse. Those who saw that the word ὠνήσατο, 'bought,' had no nominative case joined to it, and did not know where to find the proper one, seem to have inserted Abraham in the text for that purpose, without sufficiently attending to the different circumstances of his purchase from that of Jacob." As a rule, men who are indifferent to their own accuracy are indifferent to the inaccuracy of others. Such a proceeding would betray rare ignorance in Jews who prided themselves not only in descent from, but also in a thorough knowledge of, the lives of Abraham and Jacob. This supposition does not smooth out the textual wrinkles. Why should Luke, having Jacob and his purchase in his mind, use the words τιμῆς ἀργυρίου, "a price in silver," when the Septuagint, which he often quotes in this chapter and book, says ἑκατόν ἀμνῶν, "for a hundred lambs?"

This case of barter, lambs for land—which seems so strange to Gesenius and the great scholars whose lives are, as a rule, spent in old settled countries and amid dense populations, and who have searched far and deep into ancient times and things to find a bullion "kesitah" corresponding in value to the four-footed "kesitah" (see Delitzsch's commentary on Gen. xxxiii, 19) that roamed the Palestine hills—is not in the least strange to residents of Wyoming. The writer knows of two recent cases that illustrate this. One was where the negotiations for the sale of a ranch of four hundred and twenty acres suddenly terminated because of the withdrawal of eighteen head of cattle from the chattels thereupon; the other was a trade of forty acres of land for cattle and hogs. That the sons of Hamor had not flocks large enough to feed down the rich pastures in their vicinity is easily proven, first, from their own

statement that the land is "large enough" for the sons of Jacob (Gen. xxxiv, 21); and, second, because they looked upon the acquisition of herds and flocks as a great consideration in deciding upon intertribal marriage (verse 23). Had the conditions at Shechem been otherwise the Bible then had surely furnished us a case like the following: Years ago a stockman arrived at a ranch on the Horseshoe. After becoming well acquainted with his host he proposed building a house on the other side of the stream and "have that for his range." To which the host replied that he "would enjoy having him for a neighbor, but preferred that he build his house and graze his stock sixty miles away." A condition of things the reverse from what Jacob found at Shechem upon his arrival there had caused earlier the separation of Lot from Abraham, and later furnished the reason for the separation of Esau from Jacob (Gen. xxxvi, 7). That Palestine had at the time of Jacob's arrival a sparse population is proven by the fact that where he wished to settle he did so, unmolested either by sheik or tribesman (Gen. xxxiii, 17, 18; xxxv, 6, 27), and that "the most beautiful spot in central Palestine" was occupied only by a branch of the great Amary (Amorite) people, so small in numbers as to fall victims to the warlike prowess of Jacob's family and following.

We will now take into consideration the translation of a recent able writer which in some items is similar to a translation suggested by Wesley in his *Notes:* "Jacob went down into Egypt and died, he and our fathers, and they were transferred over into Shechem, and after a while they were deposited by the sons of Hamor, then residing in Shechem, in the tomb Abraham bought for a price in silver." This translation fails in the purpose for which it was so very ingeniously constructed. It is at variance with the facts in that, first, Jacob was not transferred over into Shechem. "But Joseph, by the king's permission, carried his father's dead body to Hebron and there buried it at a great expense." * The events of his burial took place in regular consecutive order of time, to which the words "and after a while," as here intended, do not apply. Nothing is said of assistance from the sons of

* Josephus, *Antiquities*, book ii, chap. 8.

Hamor. In Genesis (l, 12, 13) the work of burial is attributed to Jacob's sons. Rawlinson says:

> The stoppage at Gosen-Atad was necessitated by the physical conditions which forbade the Egyptians to proceed farther. Joseph, perceiving that here must be the last conjoint mourning of his dead father by the two nations that honored him, made a halt of seven days at the place for the completion of the ceremonies. The last rites had still to be performed. Leaving the Egyptians at Gosen-Atad, Joseph and his brethren bore their father's body the rest of the distance and buried it in the cave of Machpelah, where it probably still rests.*

Secondly, the eleven sons of Jacob were not transferred "over into Shechem," nor "deposited by the sons of Hamor" in the tomb. "At length his (Joseph's) brethren died after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now the posterity and sons of these men after some time carried their bodies and buried them at Hebron; but as to the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward." † "No tradition now exists at or near Shechem that the patriarchs were buried there." ‡ "The eleven brethren of Joseph, we are told by Josephus, were buried in Hebron, where their father had been buried. But, since the books of the Old Testament say nothing about this, the authority of Stephen (or of Luke, here) for their being buried in Shechem is at least as good as that of Josephus for their being buried in Hebron." § What a pity that the good bishop did not see that, in accepting what he is pleased to term "the authority of Stephen" for the burial of the eleven sons of Jacob in Shechem, he also, to be consistent, must accept the same authority for Jacob's burial there too; for "Jacob . . . and our fathers" are but parts of one and the same antecedent term to what is predicated in verse 16. We are now prepared for Dr. Adam Clarke's own statement, "We have the uniform consent of the Jewish writers that all the patriarchs were brought out of Egypt, and buried in Canaan; but none, except Stephen, mentions their being buried in Shechem."

Thirdly, we will now consider the adaptation of this trans-

* *Isaac and Jacob: Their Lives and Times*, pp. 182, 183; *Life and Times of Joseph*, Tomkins, pp. 116, 117.

† Josephus, *Antiquities*, book ii, chap. 8, section 2.

‡ W. C. Prime, *Boat Life in Egypt*, p. 466.

§ Bishop Pearce, in Clarke's *Commentary*.

lation to the transference of Joseph from Shechem to Hebron, to which its author makes it apply. Joseph was buried in Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 32). "There is a strange tradition that Joseph was buried at Pi-Sebek (Crocodilopolis) in the Fayûm and his body taken thence by the Jews at their departure. The people of Israel faithfully carried their great hero and fatherly friend through all their wanderings till in due season they arrived in Shechem." And under the vast echo of the blessings and curses from the hollow sides of Gerizim and Ebal lay the bones of Joseph in their Egyptian spicery, brought to be buried in the very field of his father's possession, and there in a hidden sepulcher perhaps Joseph still awaits in the flesh his further destiny. Professor Donaldson says:

> There is hardly any spot in Palestine which combines as this does the tradition of past times and the concurrent assent, as to its authenticity, of the varied sects, whether Samaritan, Jewish, Turkish, or Christian; and this is the more remarkable in a country where the struggles of religious strife are so prevalent and every supposed holy spot is so much the object of violent contention, whether to Greek or Latin.

And another authority says on the same point:

> When we consider the pious reverence with which Moses and the descendants of Joseph conveyed their precious relic from the land of bondage, we may conceive that, although the present erection may be on the spot of ultimate deposit, it is but reasonable to suppose they followed the custom of the Egyptians, with whose manner of interment they were so well acquainted. If so they must have made a considerable excavation in the ground, formed a sepulchral chamber, lining it with stone, and must therein have laid the embalmed body. Without making an excavation it is impossible to ascertain whether any such chamber still exists, or to discover any further particulars of this interesting spot.*

"The Moslems point out his (Joseph's) tomb at the base of Ebal in this vicinity, and this agrees well enough with Josh. xxiv, 32." † "A ride of five minutes over the plain directly north (from Jacob's well) brings us to Joseph's tomb, an open inclosure about twenty by thirty feet, containing beyond ques-

* Tomkins, *Life and Times of Joseph*, pp. 163, 170; Deane, *Joshua: His Life and Times*, p. 66.

† Thomson, *Land and the Book*, vol. ii, pp. 206, 209. So also Tristram in Whedon's *Commentary*, Conder's *Palestine*, p. 63; and Major Wilson in *Studies in the Times of Abraham*, pp. 74, 75.

tion the ashes of Jacob's beloved son." * The only opposing testimony to this that we have found is in Mûjîr-ed-din's *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*, where he says, "Joshua being come into Syria with the Israelites buried it near Nablûs (Shechem), or rather at Hebron, according to a version widely spread among the people; it is, in fact, at Hebron that his tomb is seen and is well known."

When in 1862, under a firman from the Porte and the lead of Sûraya Pasha, governor of Jerusalem, and guarded by a large body of troops, the Prince of Wales with his suite, entered the Machpelah, there were pointed out to them the tombs of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob, Leah, and Joseph. After calling attention to the agreement of the Bible with the monuments of the Hebron mosque the learned Dean Stanley, who entered the hallowed shrine with the prince, says:

> The variation [of the monuments from the Bible record] which follows rests, as I am informed by Dr. Rosen, on the general tradition of the country . . . that the body of Joseph, after having been deposited first at Shechem, was subsequently transported to Hebron. But the peculiar situation of this alleged tomb agrees with the exceptional character of the tradition. It is in a domed chamber attached to the inclosure from the outside, and reached, therefore, by an aperture broken through the massive wall itself, and thus visible on the exterior of the southern side of the wall. It is less costly than the others, and it is remarkable that, although the name of his wife (according to the Mussulman version, "Zuleika") is inserted in the certificates given to pilgrims who have visited the mosque, no grave having that appellation is shown. . . .
>
> These are the only variations from the catalogue of tombs in the book of Genesis. In the fourth century the Bordeaux pilgrim saw only the six great patriarchal shrines. But from the seventh century downward one or more lesser tombs seem to have been shown. . . . The tomb of Joseph [at Hebron] is first distinctly mentioned by Sæwulf [A. D. 1102], who says that "the bones of Joseph were buried more humbly than the rest, as it were at the extremity of the castle." †

Tomkins thinks that "this attribution of Joseph's burial was originated by jealousy of the Samaritans who possessed the real sepulcher of Joseph." ‡ And a reference to the plan of the Hebron mosque and the position of the so-called tomb of

* De Hass, *Buried Cities Recovered*, pp. 173, 258.
† *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. i, third edition.
‡ *Life and Times of Joseph*, p. 171.

Joseph thereto attached reveals at once that not only was "jealousy of the Samaritans" a sufficient cause of the falsehood that originated the tradition, but also a sufficient cause for the erection of the bogus tomb of Joseph, at some time later than the visit of the Bordeaux pilgrim in A. D. 333. Dr. W. C. Prime also writes:

> I sent Abd-el-Atti into the mosque while I was with the sheik, and he returned and gave me a description; but he could not draw me a plan that I could understand. He told me that in the outer court was a tomb called that of Joseph, while within the inner mosque were the several tombs of the patriarchs. . . . Some have indeed supposed that Joseph was at last carried to his father's resting place, but we have no authority for believing that his bones were removed from Shechem.*

We might raise the question whether there is any authority for translating *παρὰ*, with the genitive, *παρὰ τῶν υἱῶν Ἐμμὼρ*, as an instrumental dative, "by the sons of Hamor." But we need not tarry here, for the fact most fatal to this translation is that Hamor's sons died before Jacob and the patriarchs whom they are supposed to have buried (Gen. xxxiv, 25, 26). There is no difficulty in accounting for the words *τοῦ Συχέμ*, "of Suchem." They were used to locate Emmor, not as to place of residence, but as to his family relation. Our English versions and the Septuagint (see Gen. xxxiii, 19) do this by saying that Emmor was the father of Shechem, the son being the more prominent person. Ephron is located by means of his tribal relation, the Hittite. The translation "in Shechem" does violence to the Greek, and is not in accord with the historic setting. The words "then residing" are supplied.

Again, "Stephen with elliptical brevity refers to six different chapters, summing up in one sentence which none of his hearers could misunderstand from their familiarity as to the details the double purchase [from Ephron the Hittite by Abraham, and from Hamor of Shechem by Jacob (Gen. xxiii, 16; xxxiii, 19)]; the double burial place [Machpelah's cave and the ground at Shechem]; and the double burial [Jacob in Machpelah's cave (Gen. l, 13), and Joseph in the Shechem ground of Jacob (verse 25; Exod. xiii, 19; Josh. xxiv, 32)]."† We would fain agree with this master workman, but we can-

* *Tent Life in the Holy Land*, pp. 252, 249.

† Fausset's *Bible Cyclopedia*, art. "Stephen," p. 64; comp. Wesley's *Notes*.

not. His first words suggest too much of studied design to suit the circumstances of Stephen. He leaves out of view the very important factor the eleven sons of Jacob referred to in the text as "our father," whom Stephen kept in full and near view. (See verses 9, 11, 12, 15.) It is plain that Stephen is not, by intention, speaking of Joseph's burial, for Joseph is not included in the antecedent phrase, "Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he, and our fathers." In the preceding verse he says, "Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred." The phrase "our fathers," not including Joseph, was spoken four times (verses 11, 12, 15, 19), and four times was Joseph's name used in contrast with "the patriarchs," "his brethren," "his kindred," and "our fathers." (See verses 9, 13, 14, 18–19.) With the phrase "our fathers" thoroughly interjected into the text, its meaning emphasized and made plain by repetition, how can we fail to understand that the carrying over and laying in the sepulcher refers, not to Joseph's bones, but to the bodies of Jacob and the eleven patriarchs? We cannot think that Stephen would wittingly assert as being true of twelve persons what was true of only one—burial in Shechem—nor assert of Joseph that which was true only of his father and brethren—burial in Hebron. Attention has been called to the historico-prophetic combinations in verses 7 and 43, where "a prophecy uttered by Moses is joined to a prophecy uttered by Abraham more than four hundred years" previous (Gen. xv, 16, and Exod. iii, 12), and where a saying of Amos, "going into captivity beyond Damascus," is joined to a saying of Jeremiah, "going into captivity in Babylon." These combinations are, to use a Western phrase, "straight truths." What Moses said is not attributed to Abraham, nor is what Jeremiah uttered attributed to Amos; but the prophecies of all are attributed, in accord with strictest truth, to their great originator—God. Verse 16 is of another species.

II. The Speech. What is the basis of all these attempts to explain this peculiar statement of St. Stephen? The answer is, because Stephen's speech has been understood as having been given to the Christian world, under direct inspiration, to supplement and corroborate Old Testament history. This idea

is false and foreign to the fact; there is no foundation for it. We look in vain for a statement of a message "to the churches," as in the Apocalypse, or to the effect that Stephen proposed doing for Old Testament history what Luke did for the life history of Jesus the Christ (Luke i, 1–4; Acts i, 1, 2). Nor was it his purpose to give "the generation" of the patriarchs, nor of that generation which was "baptized unto Moses," but primarily to answer the question of the high priest and to vindicate himself from the false charge set up against him (Acts vi, 13, 14; vii, 1). Stephen's speech is not a sermon. It was spoken, not in the synagogue, but before the council, and was delivered, not specifically to teach others, but for personal defense. Its fullness of teaching facts, "facts far deeper than the proof of his own innocence," is to be accounted for by the fullness of the man who uttered it (chap. vi, 8). We have no hint of a divine intention to add to the Old Testament history certain omitted facts. Stephen's speech, masterful in its delivery and array of facts, is no more than a rehearsal of the well-known events of Jewish history. "He began, with a wise discretion, from the call of Abraham, and traveled historically in his argument through all the great stages of their national existence, from Abraham to Joseph, from Joseph to Moses, from Moses to David and Solomon, and as he went on he selected and glanced at those points which made for his own cause." *

But was he not inspired? Inspired, yes! The Holy Spirit directed him in the selection of his facts (Luke xii, 11, 12), but the facts he himself had learned at home, in the synagogue, of his parents, of the rabbis, and out of the sacred books. Every Jewish boy learned them; Jesus, while a boy, learned them; every intelligent Jew was full of them. Note how many ancient facts and personages are mentioned in the short epistles of Peter. The speech was not prepared (Acts vi, 12–15; vii, 1, 2). "It seems to have been delivered on the spur of the moment." † It was never revised; the call to die came to him as suddenly as the demand for a vindicatory speech. Luke has given us Stephen's speech, not Stephen's speech revised and improved in

* Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i, p. 70.
† Farrar, *Life of St. Paul.*

a new edition. Had Luke patched up verse 16 he might also have supplied the name "Abraham" in verse 8, as in our English versions, put saving clauses in verses 9 and 12 (except Benjamin), and another thus in verse 11, "and our fathers [except Joseph] found no sustenance." Noticing the abruptness between verses 50 and 51, he could have told us if it really was, as Canon Farrar thinks, "something in the aspect of his audience, some sudden conviction that to such invincible obstinacy his words were addressed in vain, which made him suddenly stop short in his review of history and hurl in their faces the gathered thunder of his scorn." But he gave us—royal gift—just Stephen's speech as it dropped from his lips, a priceless gem in martyrology bequeathed to us by the holy, early Christian Church and the Holy Spirit. We know not where to find such another compend of Jewish historical facts, and, when we look at what Meyer calls "a mistake made in the hurry of extemporaneous speaking," we accept the words he chose wherewith to express his thought. Mistake, yes! Slip of the tongue, yes! of the mind, yes! But a slip to be rectified the moment that calm attention was called to it, for who that thoughtfully reads doubts Stephen's fullest knowledge of all the facts? Could he have slacked speed, had it been necessary to do so before that audience, we have no doubt but that "Hebron" would have been substituted for "Shechem," and "Ephron the Hittite" for "Emmor" or "Shechem." Call it a temporary confusion of two incidents which became a permanent confusion because a hastily spoken speech was incorporated into the Gospel records without the speaker's knowledge or revision. It is a proof of its genuineness, a disproof of the redactor theory when applied to this portion of the New Testament. While telling of the death of Jacob and eleven of his sons and their burial at Hebron, the burial of Joseph, the greatest son, intrudes. In accord with the laws that govern thought it always will, it must; but according to the order observed in the Old Testament narrative it does not belong here, but with verse 45. How Stephen's Jewish instincts reveal themselves! For the moment the event of about two hundred years later (the burial of Joseph in Shechem) is conjoined to the Hebron burial of his father and brethren.

The mind, spurred to utmost speed, suggests Shechem-Hebron; the tongue takes the first word and hastens to utter the next thought presented by the mind, the Abrahamic purchase. The mind realizes that the tongue has not kept pace, and reverts to the Shechem error; the thinking of Shechem again suggests Emmor of Shechem, and Emmor of Shechem is spoken.* On! on! his hearers can right it; they know the facts. He is not recounting them for teaching purposes, but to prove to them how fully he knows and, knowing, accepts them. To have fully and intentionally interjected the burial of Joseph would have been a glaring anticipation, for the Old Testament does not introduce the burial of Joseph until "the possession" (verse 45, and Josh. xxiv, 32). Stephen followed the order of the narrative in the Old Testament (read verse 17 in connection with Gen. l, 24, 25, and Exod. i, 7, 8, as proof of this) and notice particularly that there is no hiatus.

Care must be taken here or we may lose sight of a very important factor of the speech, the looking forward to the fulfillment of a promise (verses 3, 5, 6, 7, 17). To the near posterity of the patriarchs there was given a dual object lesson of this Jacob and eleven of his sons lying buried in a land which is to become theirs, and Joseph in a coffin waiting to be transferred for burial into a land which is to become theirs. The first burial was a finished faith-task which they looked back upon; the second was a faith-task which they looked forward to. How the second tended to keep them in a living expectancy! The thought would come, "Though now enslaved, perhaps we ourselves shall be a part of that possession that shall carry him up to Canaan, and take possession of the promised inheritance." Delitzsch has well said:

> The patriarchal history ends in the deliverer and preserver of the house of Jacob being placed in his coffin. This "coffin in Egypt" is the coffin of all the spiritual joy of Israel in Egypt. The deep silence of history settled like a dark night upon the succeeding centuries. During these Israel has no redemptive, but only a secular, history, until at last the hour of deliverance strikes, and the dumb tongue of history again begins to speak.

* "In the speech of Stephen, by a singular variation, the tomb at Shechem is substituted for it [that is, the Machpelah at Hebron]."—Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, p. 489.

It may be asked why Stephen intended to speak of Ephron if he had no connection with the burial. To which we reply that it was because he had to do with the purchase. But why introduce the purchase? First, the mention of the Abrahamic purchase in verse 16 is strongly confirmatory of a previous statement, "And he gave him none inheritance in it, no, not so much as to set his foot on" (verse 5). Second, the purchase proves the vital faith of Abraham in the promises of God when he bought "a burying place" in a land wherein he was but "a stranger and a sojourner." Says Delitzsch:

> Abram entered it as a foreign country subject to other lords and masters, without losing heart or faith. He dwelt therein without having a foot-breadth which he could call his own; and even after his purchase of a sepulcher at Hebron (confounded with Jacob's subsequent purchase of a similar piece of ground at Shechem by St. Stephen under the pressure of his rapid recapitulation, Acts vii, 16) he still dwelt as a stranger and wanderer in the land promised to him for an eternal inheritance.*

Third, the desire to be buried in a purchased tomb in a land that was not theirs "shows the faith of the patriarchs, and their interest in the promised land, when to the eye of sense all seemed against the fulfillment of God's promise." How much that boughten grave meant to the Jews! What a strange providential history had been theirs since! Between the time of Ephron the Hittite and the time of Jesus the Messiah what wonders for his chosen people God had wrought!

* *Commentary on Hebrews*, vol. ii, p. 236, Clarke's Edinburgh edition.

Lehinton, D. Day.

Art. VII.—RECENT PHASES OF THOUGHT IN APOLOGETICS.

Probably very few, if any, who will read this article have been converted from an attitude of disbelief in Christianity to an attitude of faith by the study of Christian evidences. To most of us Christian faith came in a very different way. It is associated with the tenderest and most sacred memories of childhood, memories of a father's counsels and a mother's prayers. But, however tender and sacred the memories with which Christian faith is associated in our minds, we cannot, as men of intellectual honesty, retain that faith unless we can find satisfactory reasons for it. The function of apologetics is not so much to furnish an apology for Christianity in the presence of its enemies as to furnish to ourselves an apology for our own belief in Christianity. As knowledge advances and habits of thought change from age to age it is evident that each generation must have its own apologetic. If Christianity is to be the faith of all ages its evidences must be capable of being so presented as to establish for each age a fair probability of its truth as viewed in the light of the knowledge which that age possesses and the ideas which dominate its thinking. Certain it is that the mode of presentation of Christian evidences in the eighteenth century, as illustrated by the classical works of Butler and Paley, is not altogether adapted to the thought of the closing decade of the nineteenth century. We propose to call attention to two phases in which the apologetic work of the last century requires to be modified in order to adapt it to the thought of our time.

I. The belief in evolution, now accepted by scientific men with substantial unanimity, requires a modification in the form of the argument from design. The function and the importance of the argument from design are recognized by all thinkers. The principle of causality forbids us to believe in an uncaused beginning. It compels us, therefore, to believe in the existence of something eternal and self-existent wherein lies the ground of all other existence. If there ever was a fool who said in his heart, "There is no God," meaning thereby that

there is no eternal and self-existent something, the ground of all other existence, it is safe to say that in the intellectual evolution of humanity that particular species of fool has become extinct. But the admission of an eternal and self-existent something leaves unanswered the question whether that something is unintelligent or intelligent, a blind law or a free and moral personality. The function, then, of the argument from design is to establish the probability that the eternal something is intelligent.

Everyone is familiar with Paley's classical illustration of the watch, whose mutual adjustment of parts bears testimony to the purpose for which it was made and to the intelligence involved in the making; and everyone has recognized the ingenuity with which it is argued that the conclusion is not invalidated, although we may never have seen a watch made and may have no idea how it was made, although the watch sometimes goes wrong or seldom goes exactly right, although there are some parts for which we can discover no use, and although it appears, on further examination, that the watch contains within itself a miniature watch factory and is capable of producing a progeny of watches. As the argument was worked out by Paley the stress was laid chiefly upon intricate and complex mutual adjustments. His illustrations from nature were taken chiefly from the complex structures of the animal body. Of all illustrations the one which seemed to put the argument with the greatest cogency was that of the eye as found in man and others of the higher vertebrates. The functional perfection of the eye depends upon the precise adjustment of the curvatures and refractive indices of a number of refractive media placed in front of the sensitive retina and guarded by a variety of protective apparatus. It can hardly be questioned that the force of the argument as presented by Paley is seriously impaired, when we consider that the eye, like all other animal structures, has come to be what it is by a process of evolution carried on mainly under the guidance of the principle of natural selection. If the eye has come to be what it is by the "survival of the fittest"—desirable variations having been selected out of an indefinite multitude of variations which have occurred, while undesirable variations have disap-

peared by the extinction of their possessors, the evolution of the organ having begun with a form so simple as to be merely a pigment fleck covering the termination of a nerve—it is certain that an argument based on the exquisite mutual adaptation of the parts of the eye does not have the same degree of cogency which it was supposed to have when the eye in its most perfect form was looked upon as an independent and original production. A homely illustration may perhaps make the point a little clearer. If we should find a vessel packed nearly or quite solidly with a variety of objects, in such wise that the small objects filled the chinks between the large ones and every salient angle of one object fitted exactly or approximately into a reentrant angle of another object or into a space between two or more adjacent objects, there might be fair ground for an inference that some one intended the vessel to be full. But, proceeding in the manner of the Paleyan natural theology, we should select for special consideration some object of exceedingly complicated form, and infer from the fact that its salient angles exactly corresponded with the reentrant angles in the adjacent objects, and *vice versâ*, that its complex form was specially designed for the particular space which it was to fill. It cannot be denied that the force of such an argument would be seriously impaired if it could be shown to be highly probable that the vessel had reached its present condition by a process of shaking, wherein the small objects had gradually rattled into the chinks between the large ones and the hard objects had impressed their form upon the soft ones. This homely illustration sets forth not unfairly the manner in which the Paleyan argument is affected by the doctrine of evolution, and particularly by the Darwinian theory of natural selection.

The question is thereby suggested whether the argument from design is invalidated or only modified in its form. We think that the latter alternative is the truth. Stress must be laid, not upon minute and special adaptation of particular structures, but upon the general aspect of law and formulable order pervading all nature. This thought is most happily expressed in a phrase used by the great mathematician Benjamin Peirce, "the intellectuality inwrought into the material

world." The argument from design, in the light of nineteenth century thought, may formulate itself somewhat in this wise: A book which we can read must have been written by an intelligence kindred with our own. The universe is a book that we can read; therefore the universe is the work of an intelligence kindred with our own. Nature has a meaning to us, and is formulable by us, because it is the expression of a mind of which our own minds are miniature counterparts.

It may be remarked incidentally that the Darwinian theory of natural selection furnishes a relief from one of the difficulties which troubled the natural theologians of former times. The apparent wastefulness of nature, in the production of countless myriads of living creatures destined to be destroyed in the embryonic or infantile stages of their existence, has always seemed something unaccountable, and something very difficult to reconcile with the conception of a wise and benevolent Creator. Natural selection shows the meaning and the purpose of this apparent waste. It shows that this overproduction has been the very means by which the more advanced forms of life have been developed from the crude simplicity of earlier forms. We do not mean to say that natural selection furnishes a complete theodicy. The unanswerable question may still be asked whether there might not have been some better way of reaching the development of the higher forms of life than through this process of wholesale slaughter; but it is at least something to have shown that the seeming waste is not a waste, but is an effectual means of achieving a lofty end.

II. The thought of the age requires a change in the general order and perspective of apologetics. This change is required by the change in the prevalent form of unbelief. In the last century the prevalent form of unbelief, at least in England, was deism; and the great defenders of Christian faith shaped their arguments with reference to the position of their antagonists. The whole argument, for instance, of Butler's *Analogy* is that the difficulties in the way of believing in the divine authorship of Christianity are not other in kind nor greater in degree than the difficulties in the way of believing in the divine authorship of nature. Accordingly, presuming that

his readers were ready to believe in a divine Author of nature, he called upon them to believe in a divine Author of Christianity. Very different is the prevalent phase of unbelief to-day. In the thought of this age deism is thoroughly discredited. No religious or philosophic system ever paid so poor interest on the investment of faith required for its acceptance as deism. If a man is able to stretch his faith so far beyond the reach of sensuous experience or of mathematical demonstration as to believe in a personal God, it seems absurdly foolish to forego the comfort and the inspiration which lie in the belief in a heavenly Father and to make his personal God the worthless *caput mortuum* of deism. The unbelief of to-day refuses either to predicate or to deny the personality of the ground of all existence, maintaining that that question transcends the reach of human faculty, and that the only philosophical attitude is the holding of opinion in abeyance. Agnosticism is the unbelief of to-day; and arguments addressed to the deist make no impression upon the agnostic.

But while, outside of the pale of Christianity, there is less disposition now than in the last century to concede or accept the existence of a personal God, there has been a wonderful change in the attitude of non-Christian thought toward the person of Jesus Christ. A profound reverence for the character of Jesus is almost as characteristic of the heretical thought as of the orthodox thought of our time. Compare the scurrilous blasphemy of Paine with the tender sentimentalism of Renan, and you will find a striking illustration of this change of feeling toward Jesus. The writer remembers once, when he was younger than he is to-day, quoting in a sermon the exquisitely beautiful sentences which form the conclusion of Renan's *Life of Jesus*, and he remembers how some venerable saints in the congregation shouted their rapture over that tender tribute to the memory of their Lord. In view of this twofold change in the character of prevalent non-Christian thought it is not strange that Christian apologists have come to ask themselves the question whether the evidence of Christianity is not stronger than the evidence of theism, and whether, in assuming theism as a basis, and appending Christianity thereto as a corollary, they have not failed to show the

real strength of the evidence of the truth which they have sought to defend.

But the change in the order and perspective of apologetics is not due alone to the change in the prevalent form of unbelief. It is due chiefly to a change in the general character of the thought of the age. Believers and disbelievers in Christianity float on the same stream of the world's thought, and feel the impulse of the same current. The thought of the eighteenth century was bound at all hazards to be systematic; the thought of the nineteenth century cares not whether it is systematic or not. Eighteenth century investigators were unwilling to march into the territory of the unknown, except in the most elaborate and punctilious military order. Nineteenth century investigators deploy as skirmishers, and are content if, by the most irregular scientific bushwhacking, they can bring in a few captive facts. Eighteenth century thought on every subject aimed to lay down first principles which were axiomatic or capable of somewhat easy proof and then to proceed to ulterior conclusions by a rigorous process of deduction. Nineteenth century thought is chiefly inductive. It conjures up an hypothesis, and tests it by its coincidence or lack of coincidence with facts. Only exceptionally are its hypotheses capable of verification, by some crucial experiment or observation which absolutely excludes all alternative opinions. In the vast majority of cases its hypotheses find a provisional verification in that the *tout ensemble* of phenomena appear to accord with the chosen hypothesis more fully than with any alternative one. It is a striking illustration of this change in intellectual habit that those sciences whose work is largely mathematical and deductive attained a condition of relative maturity much earlier than those sciences whose work is mainly observational and inductive. Newton's *Principia*, the epoch-making masterpiece of deductive science, belongs to the close of the seventeenth century. Darwin's *Origin of Species*, the epoch-making masterpiece of inductive science, belongs to the middle of the nineteenth century.

This change in the general habit of thought of the times changes naturally the order and perspective of apologetics. Eighteenth century apologetics had to be systematic and con-

secutive. It must make theism the fundamental proposition, and proceed to build the evidence of Christian revelation upon the foundation of theism. But the consecutive method, although perfectly adapted for subjects in which demonstration is possible, is essentially ill adapted for subjects in which the reasoning can be only probable. In geometry we can start with axioms which may be accepted as substantially certain, and Proposition 1 may be deductively inferred from axioms and definitions. In the demonstration of Proposition 2 we may use Proposition 1, as well as the axioms and definitions, and so on through the series. The same virtual certainty that marks the axioms at the beginning is carried forward with force essentially undiminished to the end. But this mode of procedure is not equally effective on subjects where demonstration is impossible. If we have two premises, the probability of whose truth may be expressed in each case by the fraction ¾, the resultant probability of the conclusion, on the assumption that these premises include all the evidence for the truth of the conclusion, has a value of only $\frac{9}{16}$. If we proceed to use that conclusion as a premise for further consecutive reasoning it is evident that the force of the probability is weakened at every step until the argument comes to be of utterly insignificant value.

But the traditional presentation of Christian evidences was not merely subject to the weakness that is inherent in a consecutive presentation of evidence on a subject which does not admit of demonstration. The argument came to be burdened with a gratuitous accumulation of inconsistencies. The outline of procedure in apologetics has, in fact, often been substantially as follows: Proposition 1. There is a God, because the religious intuitions of humanity affirm that there is a God. Proposition 2. There is need of revelation, because the religious intuitions of humanity are so conflicting and uncertain that they are good for nothing. Proposition 3. Christianity is a revelation from God, because the religious intuitions of humanity approve it. If the reader who has reached that stage in the treatise has any lingering faith in either God or man it may be matter of thanksgiving.

From a consecutive we must be led to a cumulative presen-

tation of the evidence. Our apologetic must conform, not to the consecutive and deductive model of eighteenth century thought, but to the hypothetical and inductive model of nineteenth century thought. The verification of belief must be sought, not in a single invincible line of argument, but in the conformity of the belief to an assemblage of multitudinous phenomena, in the convergence of lines of evidence drawn from different and apparently disconnected classes of facts. It was remarked long ago by Lord Bacon that the confirmation of scientific theories depends upon the mutual coherence and adaptation of their parts, whereby they sustain each other like the parts of an arch or dome.* No finer example of this dome of hypothesis is afforded in the history of human thought than in the case of that theory of evolution whose discovery and verification has been the great intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century. Do we believe in evolution because organs appropriated to different uses maintain a homology of structure? or because the bodies of animals and plants are full of rudimentary organs? or because the successive stages of development of the embryo are in large degree approximate recapitulations of the series of earlier and lower species? or because the geological record shows in successive ages a gradual expansion of organic types, a progressive ascent to forms of higher grade, and a gradual approximation to the fauna and flora of to-day? or because successive faunas and floras in the same region reveal a similarity which suggests community of origin? or because the boundary lines of all groups recognized in zoological and botanical classification grow more indefinite with increasing knowledge? No. Not one of these classes of facts would be sufficient to establish a reasonable probability for the doctrine of evolution. The probability of the doctrine lies precisely in that all these different and independent lines of argument converge to one conclusion, in that the idea of evolution gives an intelligible and unitary significance to all these classes of facts which are otherwise disconnected and meaningless. In like cumulative form must be exhibited the convergence of evidence toward

* *Theoriarum vires, arcta et quasi se mutuo sustinente partium adaptatione, qua quasi in orbem cohærent, firmantur.*

the truth of Christianity. Nature, with its myriad adaptations and its all-pervading order and law, its omnipresent aspect of intellectuality; man, with his inextinguishable sense of responsibility and his irrepressible religious aspirations; the historic Jesus, with his stainless life and his unparalleled teaching; Christianity, with its doctrines so sublime, so comforting, and so ennobling; Christendom, with its vast philanthropies and its new type of civilization—these constitute an *ensemble* of facts which must be rationally accounted for. The idea of a heavenly Father revealed in Christ Jesus gives to them all an intelligible and unitary significance.

The real evidence, then, for Christianity is not found in any one line of argument, but in the convergence of all lines. The dome rests, not on one pillar, but on many pillars. But, although the dome must be supported on every side, and its strength is dependent upon the many-sidedness of its support, it is not necessary that all the pillars should be equally strong or should sustain equal proportions of the weight of the structure. And, while the strength of Christian evidence consists in the convergence of various lines of evidence, it does not necessarily follow that those various lines of evidence are equally important. Nor will the comparative importance of different lines of evidence be the same in different ages. Of the various convergent lines of evidence we believe there are two which are especially impressive to the thought of the present age. One of these is found in the effects of Christianity. And here we come to formulate the unconscious logic of our childhood's faith in Christianity. The noble lives and characters of those who in our childhood were nearest and dearest to us were a proof of the truth of that religion which expressed itself in life and character. It is in this view an inspiring thought that the duty of the Church is not merely to expound, but to make, the evidence of Christianity. The world beholds the daily miracle of souls dead in sin rising into the life of goodness, and, as in the ancient days, the multitudes glorify God, who hath given such power unto men.*

But of all evidences of Christianity to modern thought the

* Matt. ix, 8.

personality of Christ is the most impressive. The most eminent characteristic of modern religious thought is that it is Christocentric. Too often has Christianity been thought of and spoken of as the religion of the Bible. It is not the religion of the Bible; it is the religion of Christ. The scoffers of Antioch builded better than they knew. They gave to the disciples a name so characteristic that the very life of the Church depends upon its fidelity to the connotation of that name. A Christian Church was living and growing, multiplying in numbers, advancing in thought and in the development of Christian institutions, for two thirds of a century before the last book of the New Testament was written, and we know not how much longer before the idea of a New Testament canon was developed. In the Christocentric attitude of modern Christian thought we can regard with peaceful complacency the critical questions which are so full of terror for a bibliolatrous faith. It matters not whether the gospels are inerrant, if only they give us a substantially true picture of the life and character of Jesus. If the Pentateuchal legislation is an accretion of codes belonging to different ages and more or less inconsistent with each other, and if prophetic predictions have again and again failed of fulfillment, it is yet enough for us that the law and the prophets were a preparation for Christ and found in him their fulfillment. Christ himself is not merely the inspiration of Christian life and the center of Christian dogma, but the foundation of Christian apologetics. "Ye believe in God, believe also in me," said the Master to his perplexed, doubting, sorrowing disciples, while he yet waited for the glorification which could come only through the cross and the sepulcher. Enthroned by the reverent love of humanity, inspiring the world's highest thought and noblest life, Christ might say to the doubters of our age, "Ye believe in me, believe also in God."

Wm. North Rice.

Art. VIII.—DOES GOD SUFFER?

Yes, he does. This is our answer to the question. To sustain it we give the following reasons, which we think rise to the dignity of an argument:

I. The philosophical reason. Nature is varied enough to suggest that its Maker has infinite resources. Some flowers are beautiful; some, fragrant; some, both. Birds have different shapes, hues, and powers. Beasts and men differ in their places and capabilities. Through the whole realm of being there is diversity. No part bears the impress of all. The careful observer, however, will find one capacity common to all forms of life. The gradation of this capacity marks the grade in the scale of being—in some places large, in others small. But as a principle it is the common basis of life. It is the capacity to suffer.

Who shall say there is no form of pain to the seed that, breaking the crusted earth, must burst its own skin before its first leaf can be developed? Who can watch the bird emerge from its shell, the crab shed its cast, or any other form of bursting life, without the conviction that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together?" As far as observation goes the capacity for pain is universal. The biblical statement would include vegetable, as well as animal, life.

We hold it to be true that the Divine cannot impart what he does not possess; also, that what he possesses is held as attribute of his nature. He has no beauty but of essence, no wisdom but of mind, no will but of being. That he possesses beauty few will doubt. Jesus saw more beauty in the lily than he had seen before. He saw no more than the lily possessed. Since he read its message—a message beautiful as its form and fragrant as its perfume—it has not been more beautiful, but its native beauty has been seen more clearly. The song of the mocking bird is sweeter in itself than the screeching of an owl. Not all God's creation is grounded in the realm of utility. "In a great house there are . . . vessels . . . to honor, and some to dishonor." Christ's appreciation of the beautiful—shown in a love for the solitude of the mountain,

the stormy lake, the flowers of the field, the sparrow on the housetop, and the children clustering around him in his toil—all proclaim that God sees beauty where beauty is. Yea, they show that God is beautiful. Is it because a sight of the Divine fills with fear or with reverence that the angels cry, "Holy, holy, holy?" Are we to ascribe glory to God because he does not possess it, or because it is his? Indeed, the eternal love of equity, native to the Divine, must be surpassingly beautiful to the spirit taking cognizance of it. No wonder Faber, breaking into song, sings,

> How beautiful, how beautiful,
> The sight of Thee must be!

There were no beauty in nature unless beauty were native to God. Man would have been without will unless the divine Being had possessed will. He could not give what he did not have. We do not measure the will of God by that of man. The gift can never be the measure of the giver. God has freedom, for that he has imparted. Man is free to do right or wrong. Does some one suggest that this makes God free to sin? We are not afraid of the implication, for we believe it to be true, though we have no fear of his sinning. God is as free as man. God is free to anything. He is as infinitely free as he is infinitely good. The stability of the Divine is grounded in his purity, and not in any circumscribing of his liberty. We prefer to believe that God is good because he wants to be, rather than to believe he is good because he has to be.

Why is not beauty universal? Why not wisdom? or, even freedom? Why is suffering a universal possibility? Does some one say because of sin? We doubt it. It was sorrow, and not pain, that came as a result of the fall. Pain and death were before sin. The very soil of the garden was a result of death in vegetation. The tempter was right in that they should become as God. They came to know sorrow. We believe the capacity to suffer is universal, because it is the profoundest trait in the divine nature. If some grant the ability, but deny the experience, we say no part of the divine nature can be inactive; we are not willing to charge God with the most selfish trait known to an intelligent mind, namely, to refuse activity to one's nature because its working would

hurt. As well might we expect a mother to cease loving a child because he will grieve and wound her. God does not give to nature a burden that he will not bear. He is a father, and not a Pharisee. All nature proclaims that God suffers.

II. The analogical reason. It is more than suggestive that ascent in the scale of being means added capacity to suffer. Not always added strength, beauty, or enjoyment follows higher life, but always added ability to suffer. The flower cannot suffer like the bird or beast, nor can the latter suffer like man. Yet nature knows sorrow as well as pain. The bird will fret at the loss of its young. The cat will mourn a kitten gone. Stories are numerous of dog and horse that have died of grief at the loss of master and friend. Over the wayward a parent will mourn for years. Beside the open grave one stands with breaking heart. Somewhere in the ascent pain passes to grief, and from the muscles to the mind. We have seen suffering that, while not of the body, has broken the body by its weight. Beneath a heavy heart the muscles weaken, the nervous forces waste, and the snows of winter fall in June. The grave is opened at the meridian of life. Men say, "He died of a broken heart," which means, of suffering. Why should we be afraid to apply a universal principle? Ascent in life means added capacity to suffer, and argues the suffering of God.

This reasoning, when applied on moral lines, is called the "Christian conscience." Why have nations practiced most revolting customs for centuries without revolution of public opinion? China has left her innocents in the streets. Only Christian nations forbid cruelty to beasts. It is not a true answer to say the latter are more humane. The truth is, they are more divine. Altruism is no part of heathenism. Impelled by the altruistic spirit of Christianity, the missionary has raised his voice, the Church has felt, nations have heard, and governments have been compelled to listen. Customs of heathenism, hoary with age, have been prohibited, not by the nation enslaved, but by the nation feeling for them. The indignation felt by Christ in the temple has flamed in the Christian conscience, filling every part of the Church militant with feelings of sorrow. The world may know facts. Only

Christians feel them. The life of the heart is not comprehended by the head. Not even the Divine takes cognizance of human sorrow, save through his sensibilities.

This is equally true in the life of nominally Christian nations. There is no reformation in the State but is born of the Christian conscience. The revolt against slavery is in evidence. The declaration on temperance which now gleams in the heavens like the morning star, a prophecy of day—that "it can never be legalized without sin"—is from the conscience of the Church. The only philosophical answer for this fact is that the conscience of the Church feels, the State sees. The conscience of the State is not moral. The feelings of the Church on this question are not of pleasure, but of pain. One represents the Divine in it; the other, the Divine about it. If an awakened Christian conscience knows sorrow it argues the grief of Him who awakens it. What causes the "Bridegroom" no pain can never give his "bride" grief. The sorrow of the Church means the grief of God. In still a narrower sense the analogical reason may be applied. The life of the Church has expressed itself in revivals. A revival never visits a community save through the sorrow of some heart. It may start, like a spring, in the tears of a mother for her child, and by addition become a river of deep feeling that sweeps a community. A divine law, written in the history of the Church, is no salvation for any without the suffering of some other. One of two things is true; either the activity or the indifference of the Church expresses the life of her Lord. Can it be that the strong crying and tears for the prosperity of Zion is backsliding? And is the complacency we have dubbed indifference the ideal religious state? If God does not feel, indifference is most like him—it never feels.

Personally, we look on those times when we were sorrowfully interested in the salvation of men as being the times in our religious life when we were nearest our Lord. When with a great longing and earnest entreaty we besought men to be reconciled we supposed we were nearer our Master than when with cold indifference we saw "the wicked come and go from the place of the holy." Indifference cannot be sinful unless God suffers. The divine in heaven and the divine in human

hearts are one. Place never changes the Deity. God on his throne and God in Christian impulse are one in nature and design. Christians cannot suffer because others sin unless God suffers for the same reason. Christian experience proclaims the suffering of God.

III. The reason from revelation. No array of scriptural texts is needed here. This is as much an inference, perhaps, as a direct statement. Some things are true that God has never orally said. It is well to note, however, that the first expression ascribed to God is one of pleasure; the second is of grief. The finished creation is pronounced "very good." The proclamation describes not only the creation, but also the feelings of the Creator. Anon it is said that the wickedness of man was great, and that it grieved God "at his heart." Forty years Israel grieved him in the desert. Grief without sorrow is not possible. He who has sorrow suffers. Will any suppose that the lives of Pharaoh and Moses, Paul and Nero, produced the same feelings in the divine nature? Will any hold they produced none? How can it be said Enoch "pleased God" and Israel "grieved" him, unless there be opposite feelings to describe? Does some one say "figures of speech?" Granted. But a figure of speech is filled to the brim with truth, when God uses it, plus an unknown quantity of the same truth, which the figure will not contain. Parables teach truth in kind, not degree. The figure falls short of the truth in measure, but never exaggerates it. How can one follow the Master in his humiliation, see him weep over the sinful city, watch his agony in the garden, hear his cry on the cross, remembering he is the brightness of his Father's glory and the image of his person—not in form but disposition—and that with him the Father is ever well pleased, and yet doubt that God suffers? Immanuel is the man of sorrows and the one acquainted with grief. If God does not suffer Jesus is not his representative. He is the "Son of man," but not the "Son of God." The one who doubts that God suffers must wait for some Christ who will know no sorrow, will not be grieved with the hardness of men's hearts, or hurt by their rejection—one who will not weep over the city he could not save because they would not. We believe Christ to be the highest possible reve-

lation to man. Yet the most pathetic picture drawn by pen, the most sorrowful life drawn by men, is the life of the God-man. The most beautiful picture of God we have is a picture of the most loving, most suffering, divine-human Being the world will ever see. A Christ proclaims that God suffers.

From a loving mother, a thoughtful father, and an elegant home a youth departed. Going into sin, he tarnished his name and blighted his prospects. The home was just as lovely, but the boy was gone. A little girl stealing into her father's room caught him in tears. Climbing into his lap, putting her arms around his neck, she said, "I know why you cry. 'Cause John's away. Papa, I's sorry for you, but I's mad at John. Naughty John!" The home in which we live is the most beautiful on earth. Kindness unmeasured is the law in our Father's house. Yet from it there have gone so many of our Father's children that all the paths of vice are crowded by them. When sometimes we come near enough to get a glimpse of his face it is a face of sorrow that we see. Down it there course the tears of grief. The Father hath sorrow. We know why Jesus suffered so much. He is the elder brother, and knows the Father best. Our fellowship with the Son and with the Father is often the fellowship of his suffering. Our converse with God is not always joyous, though we joy in it. We are coming to blame John and feel for the Father, to censure the prodigal and pity the parent. We have pitied the sinner and censured the Father long enough. It is time our sympathies were touched for Him who rejoices, as none other can rejoice, when John comes home. In our best moments we are sorry for God. And when he wipes all tears from our eyes it will not be by taking away the disposition to feel and molding us in marble, but by removing all cause for grief. No tears in heaven will be a result and not a cause. Philosophy, analogy, and revelation unitedly proclaim that the greatest sufferer in the universe is the Father of us all. God suffers.

Art. IX.—MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE AND ITS TENDENCIES.

From an article by Professor Kuhns in the *Review* for November–December, 1897, we quote the following: "Ancient literature was thoroughly objective; it flourished chiefly in the epic and drama. . . . To-day a great change has taken place; drama and epic are out of date. All literature is subjective, and this subjectivity finds its expression in lyrical poetry and the novel." Let the reader compare with these words a part of a paragraph from the fourth page of Dr. Wolff's *History of the German Literature of To-day:* "The drama occupies by far the most important place in our literary interest; the lyric, and particularly the epic, have taken subordinate positions. . . . The epic is practically dead. . . . The lyric, which in the earliest period of the various peoples was so well represented, is to-day on the decline. The drama alone . . . has unexhausted possibilities." The two sets of generalizations are hard to reconcile. That the latter approaches the more nearly the truth the following article will, so far as German literature is concerned, prove. It is our purpose to show briefly the trend of the German lyric, novel, and drama from the Second Classic Period to the Franco-Prussian War, to give a short account of the chief writers of the new German empire, and to conclude with a word on the tendencies of the German literature of to-day.

Germany has produced two really great lyric poets, Walther and Goethe, the former of the thirteenth and the latter of the eighteenth century. In Goethe we find "the plastic, dramatic, and musical character of the primitive *folkslied* restored," and, besides, "the roots of a further development of the German lyric. Born of German life and spirit, his poems receive because of richness of form and fullness of action a classic stamp." On the other hand, the lyric of Schiller is largely didactic. "Nowhere else," we are told, "is the greatness of Germany's intellectual life so copiously revealed." The Earlier Romantic School, criticism tells us, followed Schiller, and the Later Romantic School, Goethe.

The poetry of Heine represents the highest development attained by the German lyric since the days of Goethe. Uhland, called "the classic of romanticism," "was more sincere in sentiment and more versatile in subject-matter, but was excelled by his contemporary in plastic power and melody. Körner and Arndt were the great lyric poets of the War of Liberation. If Körner's poems, which are brimful of patriotism, "represent the more brilliantly the war," Arndt's are "a truer expression of the folk character." Rückert and Platen complete the list of great lyric poets before the second half of our century. "Rückert wrote the most melodious verse to be found within the compass of German poetry," and Platen, "whose fame rests on the beauty of his versification," has been called the German Pindar.

In the third quarter of our century the most productive period of three great lyric poets falls. These are Geibel, Freiligrath, and Scheffel. Geibel, who was undoubtedly "the most lauded lyric poet of his day," and who may be considered one of the greatest literary artists Germany has produced, excels particularly "in perfection of form." Freiligrath, the German Whittier, the friend of England and America, and the translator of many English and American poems, and among others "Hiawatha," was "preeminently a poet of nature." "With glowing phantasy he reproduces her richness of color." Scheffel was the students' poet. Of all the poets who have contributed to the celebrated song book used by the German universities none has written so many or so popular student songs.

We have reached the Franco-Prussian War and the last period of German literature. A great war inspires poets and produces immortal poems. The War of Liberation had Körner and Arndt, whose patriotic songs will be sung as long as patriotism endures. The German nation hoped and expected that their struggle of 1870–71 would produce a Walther or a Goethe. Strange to say, however, the great lyric poets of the past quarter of a century are strikingly conspicuous by their absence. Of Germany's living lyric poets we think criticism awards the palm to Greif, Baumbach, and Liliencron. Greif understands well how to translate into poetic form "all

the feelings that move the human heart." Baumbach's poems have many of the characteristics possessed by those of Scheffel. Their favorite themes are, "wine, love, and delight in roving," and they excel in "humor, grace, and naturalness." He, too, has written hosts of student songs. During the past decade Liliencron has come into so great favor that he may be considered Germany's most popular lyric poet. One of the chief factors in German end-of-the-century life is the German army, and Liliencron, a retired captain, is the singer of the German army. The three lyric poets of to-day have great merit; however, they fall so far below the lyric poets of the Second Classic Period of the first half of our century, and even of the generation preceding the Franco-Prussian War, that they receive no great amount of consideration.

One of the important questions of modern criticism is, Why the decline in the lyric? A well-known authority says that of the various causes the two which have worked most potently are steam and electricity, with all the myriads of inventions based upon them. They have forced the lyric "from the magic realms of moonlit splendor into the glaring light of modern life," and deprived it of the most beautiful *motifs* which characterize the poetic gems of earlier days.

Goethe was Germany's first preeminently great writer of the novel. His *Werther*, *Elective Affinities*, and *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* have exerted a powerful influence on the Teutonic world. Again, criticism gives to Goethe the credit of having brought to a more perfect form the novelette, which has become so popular in the nineteenth century, and which bids fair to become the dominant literary form of futurity. Romanticism followed classicism. Francke tells us that the spirit of romanticism is best represented in three novels by three leading romanticists: Tieck's *William Lovell*, Schlegel's *Lucinde*, and Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Tieck, the greatest of the trio, is one of the chief figures of German literature. He was dramatist, dramaturgist, translator, and novelist. Both his novels and his novelettes belong to the best fiction of his time.

Of the novelists whose greatest literary activity falls in the third quarter of our century the most prominent are Reuter,

Auerbach, Keller, and Freitag. Reuter is Germany's favorite dialect poet. Although his works are written in Platt Deutsch, which is the language spoken by the peasantry of North Germany, they are popular in every part of the empire. The sage of Mecklenburg is one of the few European poets in whose honor the New World has erected a statue. Auerbach came into prominence through his *Black Forest Village Stories*, which we are told give an admirably true picture of this historic part of southern Germany, and which have besides been translated into many foreign languages. This work, says Kluge, "marked a new epoch in the field of literature." Perhaps the greatest novelist that Switzerland has produced is Keller, whom Koch calls one of Germany's first writers of fiction. Keller's most popular novels are considered his first and his last, *Green Henry*, and *Martin Salander*. The first, in its revised edition, created such a sensation that it must be reckoned one of the literary events of recent German literature. Germany's Thackeray and her "ideal novelist of the cultured and moneyed middle class of society," is Freitag, whose greatest novels are *Debit and Credit*, which gave the author an international reputation, and *The Ancestors*, a series of historical novels that have been termed "a German national epic in the form of fiction." Freitag was also a dramatist of distinction. His *Journalists*, which one authority calls the greatest German comedy of the century, certainly ranks second only to Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*.

Germany's leading living novelists are Spielhagen, Fontane, Heyse, and Ebers.* "In the year 1870," says Litzmann, "Freitag and Spielhagen were the greatest and most extensively read novelists of Germany." Freitag died a very old man several years ago. Although Spielhagen gained his reputation before the Franco-Prussian War, most of his literary work has been done since that time. His first great novel was *Problematic Natures*. Spielhagen is a voluminous writer, and in all of his works of fiction, which discuss the many questions of the day, criticism sees a perfectly reflected image of the present generation. In his novel entitled *From Night to Light*, which is considered one of the best German works of

* Ebers has died since the writing of this article.

its character, we find "the idealism of the older school combined with the realistic tendencies of our time." Fontane may be considered one of the greatest realistic novelists Germany has produced. Born of a French refugee family, he has spent most of his life in the city of Berlin. He is a very versatile writer. His best works, however, are his novels, which until the beginning of last decade got their material from the past. Sixteen years ago, when already an old man, he began to make modern Berlin the scene and modern Berliners the characters of his works of fiction, and the novels he has given us during this time may be considered, in the estimate of the writer, his cleverest productions. Germany has, perhaps, never had a novelist who was so noticeably productive in his old age. Heyse, son of the celebrated philologist, was born in Berlin, but lives in Munich, whither he was called by King Max. He has achieved distinction in several fields of literature. His chief strength, however, lies in the novelette. "A favorite of the fair sex," "a representative of elegant correctness," and the possessor of "a never-failing good taste," Heyse is Germany's "undisputed master" in the short story. His novelettes, which consist of thirteen volumes, possess "truly artistic perfection." Like many of his contemporaries, he prefers to lay the scenes of his novelettes in the land which Germany loves most of all foreign lands—Italy. Heyse is said to be deeper than Tieck, and as a story-teller he has been compared with the almost inimitable Wieland. His two principal novels are *The Children of the World* and *In Paradise*. Ebers is the most international of Germany's living novelists. Until the state of his health compelled him to resign he was a Leipsic professor. His lifework has been very productive in two fields, Egyptology and fiction. A quarter of a century ago he found in the ruins of Thebes a papyrus which dates from the sixteenth century B. C. Of the many scholarly works Ebers has published the one on this papyrus, called *Papyrus Ebers*, is the most important. The scene of most of his novels is laid in the land of the pyramids. His best novel is considered *An Egyptian Daughter of a King*, although several others have no doubt been equally popular. It is difficult to tell which is Ebers's vocation and which his

avocation. His *debut* in the university and the literary world occurred in successive years.

Germany has produced few really great dramatists. Lessing, philosopher, theologian, philologist, dramaturgist, and dramatist, is called the reformer of German literature. Although he worked assiduously in many fields of intellectual endeavor he achieved distinction in every one. It was this many-sided man who wrote the first genuinely German comedy, which critics call "The best German comedy," and who has been termed by Brander Matthews the world's greatest dramaturgist of the eighteenth century. Lessing led the way, and Goethe followed. Goethe has been dead long enough to give criticism a sufficiently great perspective to enable it to fix his place among literary artists. "The prophet of generations unborn" is the greatest poet and his "Faust" the greatest drama the world has produced. Schiller, some years younger than Goethe, died twenty-seven years earlier. He is Germany's most popular dramatist, the dramas of his great contemporary being too psychological ever to gain great favor. Schiller was wonderfully "skilled in the craft of the theater" and exceptionally "cunning in stage effect." The world can boast few dramatists whose works of art contain in such a high degree all the elements that enter into a great and successful drama.

From the Second Classic Period to the Franco-Prussian War Germany produced three great dramatists—Kleist, Grillparzer, and Hebbel. Kleist, "the greatest dramatist of the Romantic School," devoted only the last six years of his short life to literary work. He committed suicide when only thirty-four. Several of his dramas, particularly "The Broken Pitcher," "perhaps the best German comedy in verses," and "The Prince of Homburg," "the most brilliant poetization of the Prussian spirit," have gained a permanent place in the repertoire of Germany's royal theaters. Grillparzer, "the greatest dramatist Austria has produced," and undoubtedly the dramatist of the century, if we except the two classics, Goethe and Schiller, began his literary career as a member of the Romantic School. However, with his second drama, "Sappho," of which Koch says, it is "the only German poetic

production whose diction and style almost reach Goethe's 'Iphegenie,'" the Austrian began to seek his inspiration in the antique world, and created dramas which may be placed among the few masterpieces German literature possesses. Hebbel raised himself from the humble position of a peasant boy to the proud distinction of being one of the greatest dramatists of Germany. The two principal sources of Hebbel's powerful dramas are the Bible and the German folksaga. His best work is the celebrated trilogy, "The Niebelungen," which gained the one-thousand-thaler prize offered by the King of Prussia.

To-day Germany boasts of a trio of great dramatists—Wildenbruch, Sudermann, and Hauptmann. Wildenbruch began writing in the seventies, and was called Germany's greatest living dramatist in the eighties. As soon as the celebrated Meiningers, whose tours mark an epoch in theatrical life, recognized in Wildenbruch a poetic genius of a high order, he immediately sprang into great popularity. Wildenbruch has been named the poet of the German youth. He received this name because of the charm of his diction and style, the patriotic character of his themes, and the magic of his personality. The dramatist whom Germany in 1896 selected to write a production to be given on the occasion of the dedication of the magnificent monument in honor of Emperor William the Great was Wildenbruch. Of all German dramatists Wildenbruch may be ranked second only to Schiller in the art of using most effectively the principal dramatic elements of a great theme. Sudermann and Hauptmann belong really to this decade. Both began their literary careers in the eighties, but the national recognition of each may be considered the first year of the nineties. Sudermann is a realist most of whose dramatic characters come from the upper classes. Like Ibsen, he seems to see only the flaws that exist in society, and deems it his duty to give society a picture of its real self.

Some of our critics question whether dramatic works that show the world its depravity really do any good. Rev. Robert Krebs, whose little book on Ibsen, Sudermann, and Hauptmann is one of the most careful and conscientious estimates

of the past decade's greatest realists, says: "A dramatic presentation of depravity, though it be photographically true, neither betters nor ennobles men." A realistic drama, we are further told, should teach a great truth. Only when we leave the theater, after having seen a realistic drama, feeling that we have been truly benefited, can we consider such a literary production a genuine work of art. We have nothing to say against realism. The first chapter of Romans, to which we are referred, is as realistic as any drama ever written. What we criticise is the realism that teaches nothing. Hauptmann, in nearly all of his dramas, is thoroughly realistic, in two or three much more so than Ibsen. It is possible, however, that Hauptmann has abandoned the school of realism, as a member of which he was *facile princeps* among the Germans. In "The Sunken Bell," his last drama, we are introduced into a world of ideality. The drama represents a striving to realize the highest aspirations. The life of the hero was a struggle; he tried to attain the unattainable and failed. His life, however, was far from a failure. Like many a striving mortal, he never reached the promised land of his aspirations, but death found him among the heights.

Germany's three greatest living writers are the three dramatists we have just briefly discussed, and the three greatest books of the decade are the three dramas, "Henry," "Home," and "The Sunken Bell," the first by Wildenbruch, the second by Sudermann, and the third by Hauptmann. The marvelous success of "Henry" can be imagined when it is mentioned that it received the celebrated Schiller prize, and that it was enthusiastically applauded by the emperor and empress of Germany on the occasion of its first presentation. Sudermann's "Home" is called by Litzmann, the well-known professor of Bonn, the masterpiece of a dramatist whom Robertson calls the most cosmopolitan of Germany's living writers. The real sensation of the decade, however, is "The Sunken Bell." "This production of genius," says Zobelitz, the critic, "was perhaps more enthusiastically received than any other work of our time." We have seen that the lyric is somewhat on the decline. The future of German literature seems then to be a matter of the novel and the drama. Broadly speaking, these two represent

one field of literature. The subject of both is man. The only important difference is the drama is written to be recited and the novel is written to be read.

Finally, we ask the question, What are the tendencies of end-of-the-century German literature? First, let us say a word on end-of-the-century German life. The three factors that are making themselves most felt in end-of-the-century German life are the university, the army and navy, and the proletariat. The German university has always played a great rôle. To-day the most impressive of the four faculties is the philosophic, which does more work than the other three combined, and the particular work of the philosophic faculty that excites most attention concerns science and life.

The past three decades have made Germany the greatest military nation on the globe. How much a standing army of nearly six hundred thousand men means in German life only a residence of some time among the Germans can show. Germany has reached the stage of her development when she feels that to progress farther she must have colonies. The important question is, Will Emperor William be gratified by a realization of his ideals in his territorial aggrandizement? He has a strong army, and hopes to have a strong navy. Whatever the end, one thing seems certain, and that is, the twentieth century will see the map of Europe as well as that of the world greatly changed. The most potent factor of German life is socialism, a movement of the German proletariat. This is the opposite of monarchism. We can do no better in this connection than to give the thought of a paragraph from Professor Francke's admirable book, *Social Forces in German Literature:* To-day we find two great classes in German life—the one represented by Bismarck, the other by Bebel; the one a wonderfully organized ruling minority, the other an equally well-organized ruled majority; the one having a glorious past, the other anticipating a glorious future; the one believing in the sacredness of hereditary sovereignty, the other believing in the justice of individual liberty; the one devoid of larger sympathies, the other inspired with the vague ideal of a broader and fuller humanity, monarchism and socialism. That the twentieth century will

witness a conflict between these two classes the signs of the times seem to indicate. Which will conquer the future alone can tell.

The foregoing enables us to answer our question. The tendencies of end-of-the-century German literature indicate that the literature of future Germany will deal preeminently with the German university, the German army and navy, and the German proletariat. To these three may be added the question of the German woman. That the literature of future Germany will therefore be more genuinely German than in the past present conditions show. The youngest school of fiction, which we have given no attention because it has produced only mediocre novelists, came into existence under the guidance of Zola, and the youngest dramatic school came into existence under the guidance of Ibsen. The former, it is to be hoped, will abandon its master. The two great members of the latter have already forsaken the standard of the celebrated Norwegian. Sudermann is to-day German to the core, and Hauptmann, principally because of his incomparable drama, "The Sunken Bell," is called "the greatest figure in German literature—perhaps in all literature—to-day."

E. J. Antrim

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A DEVOUT and orthodox theologian, known and honored in all lands and Churches, said: "If it had not been for the prologue to St. John's Gospel I should have been an atheist." This does not persuade us that there is no proof of a divine Being outside of the gospels, but it impressively emphasizes the value of the Gospel by John, of which some thieving critics have vainly tried to deprive us.

THAT John Fiske is a careful and critical historian will not be denied. That he has no sympathy with wanton and hypercritical skepticism toward long-accepted records is quite distinctly seen in his defense of the old tradition concerning the rescue of John Smith from death by Pocahontas, when his head lay on the big stone and Indian warriors would have beaten his brains out with their clubs had not the chief's young daughter rushed up and embraced him and laid her head upon his to shield him; at sight of which her father ordered that the white man's life be spared. For two hundred and fifty years this story was universally accepted, it being found in the *General History of Virginia*, published in London in 1624, and written partly by Smith himself. In recent years some truth seekers of acute retrospective powers have guessed backward, through two centuries and a half, that John Smith was a liar, and that he invented this story for the purpose of magnifying his own importance by linking his name in a romantic manner with that of Pocahontas, when, in later years, she visited London and was lionized as a princess. Some critics of high repute for scholarship have made this skeptical view fashionable. Mr. John Smith, being over two centuries dead, cannot defend his veracity in any earthly court; but Professor John Fiske undertakes to show, and succeeds in showing, the utter flimsiness of the attempt to impeach the long accredited story. And he takes the trouble

to do this in a very thorough manner, because, as he says, "In the interests of sound historical criticism it is desirable to show how skepticism, which is commonly supposed to indicate superior sagacity, is quite as likely to result from imperfect understanding."

THE SUPERVISION OF LABOR.

THERE is a beautiful theory that we have developed a workman who needs no overseer, no whip, no driver, no watchful eyes upon him. If our workman has reached this high level of character he is a saint, nay, something more than a saint; for the virtue of the saint is that he realizes God's eye and works nobly because that eye supervises him. There is, to be sure, a patent saint who needs no divine oversight; but the patent has never produced any revenue of good deeds. The Northern man, however, is apt to pride himself upon the superiority of his white workman to the colored laborer of the South. The latter, child of a slave who worked under a hard taskmaster, had imperious eyes on him in the field, it is complained, needs constant supervision. The statement is true enough, but it is very nearly as true of Northern white workmen in similar situations. Practical builders allege that skilled workmen will do a fourth more work in a day under the eyes of his employer—on the average many will accomplish twice as much. The general belief in the capacity of workmen to do time work well without watching has grown up under our system of machinery. The steam engine is more imperious than the old slave driver. The organization of labor in mills, on railroads, in large stores, is of itself more effective than any whip could be. Perhaps we are puncturing the veil of an illusion, but the truth is always best. Many men work well, as well as they can, because they feel the divine supervision. There is no substitute for that inspiring oversight. Nothing is changed by calling it conscience. When a conscience does this kind of service it is truly "that God in man." It is of no little importance that the machinery of our age—moral as well as physical enginery—does the difficult work of watching the workmen down to fine details that remind us of the minuteness of God's inspection. If, however, we consider the matter as it is related to character, many facts conspire to make us doubt the value of the machinery inspector. Away from his mill

our workman is often as helpless as the slave without a master or the sailor away from his ship, probably quite as often as either. The habits produced by the engine inspector are good habits for the special work; but, like limited railroad tickets, they are "not transferable." The divine way of making a perfect workman—perfecting him from within, outward—works perfectly, when free to work, on all workmen, even on sham workmen; and the method is essentially a divine supervision.

A WORD ABOUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND.

The appeal of the Bishops of our Church for a Twentieth Century thank offering calls for gifts, "over and above all ordinary contributions," to be subscribed and paid within three years, beginning with January 1, 1899, to make up the sum of twenty millions of dollars. Of this ten millions are to be for the benefit of our universities, theological seminaries, colleges, and other schools, and ten millions for hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, and other charitable institutions of our denomination. The comments of the non-Methodist press on this call indicate the confident expectation of other Churches that the call will be honored and the amount raised. Methodism's faith in itself, its resources, and capabilities, ought not to be less than the faith which others have in it. Success in this noble effort is entirely feasible, if the right methods be adopted and energetically pushed with that unity of action which our denominational organization makes possible. One of the most experienced and fertile minds among the chief leaders of our Methodism offers a practical working plan which we here present to the Church, and the adoption of which we beg leave to urge:

We cannot do our full duty in raising this money unless we make for the rank and file of our members. It must be by the gift of the many that we succeed. The many cannot be reached without thorough organization—a plan of organization by which every individual will be under the eye and subject to the personal appeal of some other individual with authority to approach and persuade.

If we have not wisdom and enthusiasm enough to secure this organization we shall not be able to raise a tithe of the money we propose to secure. I believe it practicable to devise a plan by which all of our people—*all* of our people—old and young,

rich and poor, including every baptized child, and every other child under our care, may be arranged into groups under the direction of collectors.

All these persons—members of our Church and congregations and Sunday schools—may be divided into classes of twenty-five, one of whom shall be the leader and collector.

These classes of twenty-five should be subdivided into groups of five, and one of each group should be collector and leader for that group of five.

In this way the work of the individual leader of twenty-five would be greatly reduced, he having the assistance of five other persons who carry out his plan and cooperate with him.

By this plan, during the three years, we shall be able to reach, quarterly, every member of the Church, and every member of every family directly or indirectly connected with the Church, and by use of argument and persuasion secure from everybody something toward this "Twentieth Century Fund."

Six persons in every class of twenty-five, thus sharing responsibility, would be developed as workers. And just as in the beginning the financial plan of the class meeting developed into spiritual opportunity, we should, by this plan, gradually develop a practical and spiritual movement to do for the new century what the old-fashioned class meeting did for the fathers in the beginning.

YALE LECTURES ON PREACHING.*

It is doubtless true, as President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, remarks on opening the twenty-fifth course on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, that "each new incumbent of this lectureship can but feel the increasing stringency of the situation." His task has not been made easier for him by the brilliant galaxy of men who have preceded him on that platform. Nevertheless, each new lecturer brings something which none of the others had, namely, his own peculiar, God-invented personality, the tried and adopted convictions of his own unduplicated soul, the annotations of his own separate experience upon all general truths. No bright day-dawn is discredited by its

* *The Making and Unmaking of the Preacher.* Lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, Yale University, 1898. By William Jewett Tucker, President of Dartmouth College. 12mo, pp. 244. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

innumerable predecessors, for each new morning beads afresh the common grass with sparkling distillation from its own vivific atmosphere. After all deductions of things held in common there remains to each his own mind and heart and the results they have shaped in the inward forge, where the heart heated and the mind hammered into shape. The richness of a succulent and piquant nature is unanticipated and inalienable. No endless chain of lectures on preaching could whirl Nathaniel J. Burton dry and juiceless, or dessicate the flush vitality of Bishop Simpson or H. W. Beecher. Each holds his own stimulating content, and pours it out in his turn—a vintage never ripened before. Failure befalls the lecturer, as it does the preacher, who deals in hackneyed generalities, however true and important; and success is possible only when he lets us hear the personal note sounding with authority from the throne-room, where truth, credentialed by experience, sits and rules in the palace of his own soul.

If the Yale lectures for 1898 are not so affluent and efflorescent as some others they are marked by impressive earnestness, mature wisdom, direct fitness to present conditions, sound sense, and an evidently urgent desire for immediate practical usefulness.

The lecturer holds that if there is anything which should move on from generation to generation in the consistency of unfailing power it is the Christian pulpit. He repeats a remark made by a friend to Justice Holmes, of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, to the effect that, "After all, the only interesting thing is religion;" he affirms that the mind of this age is ready and anxious to come under the authority of the truth; that very few men really wish to reason God out of existence or out of his world, or long to disbelieve in immortality, or would wish to abolish the commandments—even though they break them—or would prefer to have Christianity proven a myth rather than an historic fact; and he bids us not malign or misunderstand the temper of own age, which is anxious to be convinced, however it may search and question. He notes the growing disposition and desire of men to come again under the sway of great intellectual beliefs, to come under an authority which shall determine and rule them, and holds that this is no retrograde movement, no call to rest, but rather the appeal of the intellect to be allowed to go out once more into the affirma-

tive and to take the open field in behalf of spiritual truth; that there is a popular demand for an increase in the volume of acknowledged truth; that while, measured by the mere formalities of creeds, there has been a shrinkage, in reality there has been no shrinkage, but, rather, an extension, of natural and revealed truth; the thought of God being larger, closer, more pervasive than ever before, Jesus Christ holding a more fundamental and central position than he held at the time when Christianity began to be reexamined, the Bible being no less true and commanding than when it was in bondage to verbalism and absolute inerrancy, and the problems of human destiny being no less serious or awful because studied in the terms of a larger Christianity.

Dr. Tucker's conception of his theme, and the spirit in which he treats it, are indicated in his phrase, "the responsibility and joy of preaching." He insists that preaching is the one highest, most imperative, and most inspiring duty of the ministry, and that, when distractions multiply and duties apparently conflict, he should hear and obey the mandate of the pulpit's claims, saying, "Enter into thy closet, and shut thy door;" although in larger and exacting parishes the minister must cultivate the power of concentration or of abstraction of thought in the midst of distractions till he makes himself reasonably independent of surroundings, so that he can work on a railway train as resolutely as in his study and can think clearly and calmly or clearly and passionately in the midst of alien and unfavorable surroundings. He commends the example of Dr. Gordon, at the Old South Church, Boston, who resolved at the beginning of his pastorate that for three years he would make no public addresses outside of his church. A definition of preaching which this lecturer likes is that "it is making men think, and feel as they think, and act as they feel." The minister's first business is to make a man aware of his soul, and the next is to help him save it.

Out of his own experience Dr. Tucker gives this account of how he was brought to decide upon the ministry: "Near the close of my seminary course, when I was in no little doubt about the reality of what I had to preach, and was therefore hesitating between the law and the ministry, I chanced upon the *Life and Letters of F. W. Robertson.* One letter which caught my attention contained a statement of his personal feel-

ing toward Christ. I had never known till then that a man could feel in just that way about Christ. Here at last was reality. It gave me what I wanted. I began at once on my own account the study of the life of Christ. I began with the temptation. And from that time on I had no question about the ministry. Robertson, with his passionate loyalty to Christ, had awakened the answering passion in my soul." Quite in line with this is what he says of Paul's supreme message: "I think that it was Paul's apprehension of Christ which has given him such a place of influence in Christianity. More of the motive of Christianity is in his writings than we can find elsewhere. He never gets away, not in the furthest reaches of his logic, from the love of Christ. In this Paul is true to his date in the divine revelation. He comes into the divine thought as it becomes more urgent in the endeavor to save. We mistake if we think that the Bible advances from the sacrificial to the ethical. The advance, if the comparison is to be made at all under the idea of progress, is from the ethical to the sacrificial. That is, the motive of God comes out with a deeper promise and with more irresistible power in the New Testament than in the Old. God comes nearer to man, surrenders more, not of righteousness, but of himself, to reach man; suffers more for man. The Sermon on the Mount holds all the ethics of the commandments; but from the Sermon on the Mount to the passion and death of Jesus, what an advance there is in the motive power of the Gospel!"

Much stress is laid on the importance of the preacher's feeling toward men, his ability to come into sensitive relation to the human soul. He says: "One of the most serious questions a preacher can ask himself is this: What am I doing when I am not preaching? Where are my thoughts, my plans, my imperative desires and longings? Toward what end am I pushing with the constant energies of my nature? Preaching is not an end, but it is very easy to make it an end. Most preachers do make it a chief end, in that they make it the climax of their energy and thought and spiritual purpose. The strong tides of their spiritual being do not underrun their preaching, flowing out with it into the great life toward which it points." He gives an incident from his own early ministry: "I had prepared a sermon which had been, I doubt not, profitable to me, but which was so utterly ineffective as a sermon that

I took the liberty of asking a very discerning friend what was the difficulty with it. His reply was the best criticism I ever received: 'You seemed to me to be more concerned about the truth than about men.' Yes, that was the difficulty. I saw it in a moment. I had no right as a preacher to be concerned about the truth. I should have had the truth in command, so that I could have given my whole concern to men. As it was the sermon lacked authority." A similar illustration is taken from the experience of another: "Dr. Pentecost was preaching at one time in the presence of Dr. Bonar, enjoying, as a man will, the luxury of proclaiming the Gospel. Dr. Bonar came to him at the close, touched him on the shoulder, and said, 'You love to preach, don't you?' 'Yes, I do.' 'Do you love men to whom you preach?' That was a much deeper question, and it is worth every man's asking when he finds himself more in love with the truth, or with the proclamation of it, than with men to whom, and for whom, the truth has been revealed. . . . It is the habit of some preachers to follow the sermon with the personal letter, others with timely conversation, others with the opportunity of the after meeting. In some cases these personal methods may not be necessary. Preaching may be so quickening as to create of itself an office practice for the minister. Those who have listened to his words may be so awakened and stimulated that they will come to him and ask him for further help in the life of the soul."

The qualities which give force to public address are described as follows: "*Directness*, the power of straightforward, onmoving speech; speech which brooks no interruption, but which moves with a steadfast determination to its end, not the mere advance of logic, but the advance of the whole man; *copiousness*, the utterance of the full man, which relieves at once the fear of mental exhaustion, and gives the assurance of power in reserve; nervousness of style, the characteristic of which is that every thought is alive, that every word leaps to its task; and *massiveness*, the weight of well-organized thought, through which the speaker is able to make the whole of his thought felt through every part."

Furthermore, the language of the pulpit must be the language of certainty, of sympathy, and of hopefulness—the hopefulness of the Gospel; these will give character to its speech. All that preaching is cannot be put into any one statement.

For one thing it is truly said that preaching at its best is prayer turned round and aimed at the people: "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." With equal wisdom the lecturer says that "preaching at its best is apt to be an interpretation of the Christian consciousness at its best. As the preacher rises in the utterance of his faith men about him are saying, 'Yes, that is what we have felt, but have never been able to tell. Go on; speak for us, that is our faith.'" True, also, is Dr. Tucker's saying that humility gives the preacher entrance into the high places of his high calling. "I once asked Dr. Philip Schaff to preach for me. As we passed through the doorway, near the foot of the pulpit stairs, he turned to me and said, 'Don't you always feel humble when you go through this door?' I knew that he felt what he said, and I knew that, though he was not distinctively a preacher, we should have that day great preaching, and we had it. The safety of the preacher, the safeguard from himself, lies in the growth of humility. All God's chosen ones have had it. It is the fine quality which underlies their nature. It explains their shrinkings from duty, their hesitations and reluctance. It was the ground of Moses's protest, 'Who am I that I should go in unto Pharaoh?' Of Isaiah's despair, 'I am undone, because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips;' of Jeremiah's shrinking, 'Ah, Lord, God, I am but a child;' of the abasement and exaltation of Paul, 'I am the least of the apostles; I am not worthy to be called an apostle;' but 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.'"

Another word worthy of being laid to heart by every minister of the Gospel is the statement that the truth gets its highest power when it flames in the preacher's mind and warms his heart so that it comes forth, not only radiant in its own light, but touched with emotion: "Touched with emotion; this is often the touch which makes the old new and the common fresh. As a quaint old commentator said, after reading Paul's words to the Philippians—'I have told you often, and now I tell you *weeping*'—'Ah, Paul, that makes it a new truth. You have not said just that before.'" We repeat that the Yale lectures on preaching, for 1898, if not supremely brilliant, are valuable for substance and for service.

THE ARENA.

NESCIENCE OF GOD.

THERE is and has been a tendency among Arminian Methodist theologians to look with favor upon the idea that the foreknowledge of God may be limited. Two distinguished names at least will ever be associated with this thought, Dr. Adam Clarke, the great expositor, and Dr. L. D. McCabe, the able and saintly teacher who has lately gone from among us. In his Commentary on the New Testament, at the end of his notes on the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, Dr. Clarke argues that, "as God's omnipotence implies his power to do all things, so God's omniscience implies his power to know all things;" and he concludes "that God, although omniscient, is not obliged, in consequence of this, to know all that he can know, no more than he is obliged, because he is omnipotent, to do all that he can do." On this way of thinking it is obvious to remark:

1. It confounds knowledge and power. But knowledge is not a power or ability to know, but the knowing. Omniscience is not a faculty or power to know all things; it is the knowledge of all things.

2. It would seem to involve a knowledge on the part of God of what he is unwilling to foreknow. How shall he choose or determine not to know any conceivable future event without some foreknowledge of it?

3. It involves the acquisition of knowledge through the course of the ages on the part of God. For he cannot but know events as they come to pass, and, if he had no perfect foresight of them beforehand, how his knowledge must increase with time!

Dr. McCabe, however, pursues a somewhat different line of thought from that of Clarke, and affirms as his fundamental and all-controlling proposition that "divine nescience of future contingencies is a necessity in the necessities of things." On this declaration we submit the following observations:

1. This is not a self-evident proposition. For it lacks the nature and force of an axiomatic truth, such as that two and two equal four.

2. In common with Clarke's view it would involve the acquisition of knowledge on the part of God; and, if God is thus acquiring knowledge through the ages, he cannot be omniscient.

3. The proposition must needs apply to all God's future free volitions, as well as to those of man.

4. We may well question the competency of any finite mind to affirm so much about the possibilities or impossibilities of God's omniscience.

5. The proposition assumes a notion of what time must be with God. But what theologian, philosopher, or prophet has ever yet determined for us what time is even with finite minds? Much less will one so easily

say what time signifies with that Being with whom Dr. Clarke declares, "All that is past, and all that is present, and all that is future to man exists in one infinite, indivisible, and eternal *now*."

6. Dr. McCabe's arguments in support of his proposition are not convincing:

(1) He avers that future contingencies are nonentities; but the same is as true of future necessities as of future contingencies.

(2) His argument from the divine goodness is stranded and becomes futile when applied to the existence of any and of all evil now existing.

(3) The plea that knowledge of contingent future events impeaches God's sincerity in exhortations and warnings might be turned to show with equal force that omniscience unfits the Eternal for the creation and government of the moral universe.

7. Finally, we are of opinion that this doctrine of the nescience of God involves as many insuperable difficulties as it assumes to explain; and we conclude with Dr. Whedon (*Freedom of Will*, p. 274), "The real difficulty, which we distinctly profess to leave forever insoluble, is to conceive how God came by his foreknowledge."

Evanston, Ill. MILTON S. TERRY.

CHURCH MUSIC AGAIN.

THE article in the last "Arena," on "Church Music," suggests to me a few thoughts on the same subject:

1. The foundation for good congregational singing must be laid in the Sunday school, where all our members begin their Church life. The children and—after they cease to be children—the young people should be taught the solid, strong, well-tested hymns of the Church. Too often the singing in the Sunday school is conducted in a haphazard way, without a thought of its educative influence. The children sing the songs that are learned most easily; and the less thoughtful the songs are the more readily they are caught up, and, the sooner learned, the sooner they lose their interest. Hence many Sunday schools must have a new music book every year. But singing should be a part of education in the Sunday school, and the children should be taught only such hymns and tunes as are worth the learning. The wise superintendent or chorister will arrange the music of the session according to a plan, having at least two Church hymns and as many familiar but good choruses, and learning one new song every week.

2. For the Sunday school, therefore, a song book is needed containing the best of the standard hymns of the Church and also many good songs of a more popular sort, yet far above the trashy melodies that fill so many of the Sunday school hymnals. I differ from your correspondent in his estimate of the *Epworth Hymnal* No. 1, which he says "was not a success." In my judgment it was the best hymnal for the Sunday school and the social meeting ever published by our house, and as good as any published elsewhere. It contains the cream of our Church

hymnal and the best also of the popular choruses, giving thereby just what every Sunday school ought to have. And its sale has aggregated a million and a half copies, and is still progressing. We know of Sunday schools that have used it for ten years, and are using it still. No other song book issued by our Church has obtained anything like its popularity. The verdict of the Sunday school world is that it is not a failure, but a pronounced success.

3. If our people are diligently taught in the Sunday school to sing the best Church hymns, then our congregations will sing, whether led by a chorus choir, a precentor, or a quartette. Of these the chorus choir is the best, but the most difficult to maintain; the precentor is second best, and the hired quartette is least likely of all to result in congregational singing, for it tends to a concert of fine music to which the congregation listens in enjoyment.

4. Many of our pastors might help the cause of good congregational singing by giving more thought to the selection of the hymns for the church service. There are many ministers whose range of hymns is lamentably narrow, for they announce the same ones on an average of once a month. Let the pastor write in the hymnal that lies on his study table a memorandum of the date when any hymn has been used, and resolve not to repeat it for twelve months. Let him study his *Hymnal with Tunes*, bring forth from its treasures hymns new and old, and make his people familiar with them; let him see that on the Wednesday evening after a new Church hymn has been practiced in the Sunday school it is sung in the prayer meeting, with an interesting story told about it (*vide* Nutter's *Hymn Studies*, or Stead's *Hymns that Have Helped*); and then on the next Sunday let him have that same hymn sung by the congregation. If three people—the pastor, the superintendent, and the chorister—will plan and work together we shall have better singing in all the departments of our Church.

New York City. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT.

A STUDY.

THE basis on which commercial and industrial enterprises have been projected and operated in the United States within the last generation, and the remarkable success of many of them, have astonished the whole world. The climax of these operations in its highest expression, perhaps, is the fact that within the last two years the balance of trade between ourselves and the other nations of the world stands more than *six hundreds of millions of dollars* in our favor. This fact has invited the reflection and inquiry of the business world of to-day, as well it may.

The genius of these gigantic enterprises seems to be the concentration of brain and brawn on aggregated capital; the inspiration—to reduce the cost of production and thereby the cost of consumption—

having cardinal to it, however, the maintenance of uniformly high-grade quality in abundant supply; the ultimate object being to supply demand and control trade in given lines of manufactured product. To do this thought is previously focalized on these enterprises, thoroughly elaborating every detail in their projection and prosecution, until a well-defined line of action is determined on and as thoroughly carried out with reference to them. Such thought would include all resources: as the seat of production (which would no doubt be selected on the basis of low-cost real estate); proximity to abundant and constant supply of crude material required by the business; accessibility to improved machinery necessary to its prosecution; low-cost labor adapted to operate all branches of it, and facility for finally distributing product to the consumer when made.

It is for this reason that, whereas thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars have been nervously risked in times past, millions and hundreds of millions are now unhesitatingly massed behind well-directed energy in the manufacturing, merchandising, and transportation ventures of to-day.

The necessary trend in such mammoth aggregations is to the incorporation of consolidated capital and concentrated individual energy. Incorporation eliminates individuality by absorption, but does not destroy it. Its absorption secures relief from that sort of personal element which frequently unsettles and defeats a partnership by the attritions of strong personality; whereas, if absorbed, the individuality of the corporation is itself intensified. Consolidation increases the volume of capital hitherto scattered among individuals; this insures to the unified interests greater commercial credit and purchasing power; secures low-cost crude material; multiplies the quantity of product to the volume required, thereby again reducing the cost of distribution by increasing the volume of tonnage to the centers of consumption, and in various other ways reducing the final cost of production. Concentration of thought and energy likewise secures clearness in plans, precision in design, and fervor in execution. The final result is an output of uniformly high standard quality at the lowest possible cost in production, distributed at equally low-cost transportation, to centers of consumption. These conditions existing in the very nature of things will control the markets, in a given business, beyond the whimsical influence of a so-called personal magnetism, intrinsic or extrinsic, and will secure a good will both substantial and permanent, because based on mutuality of interests between buyers and sellers—as near as may be; the very life and guarantee of permanent business relations.

This exalted individuality of the corporation so dominates that every department of its business comes to manage the individual in the common interest, rather than be managed by him for any purely personal one. The unified forces of the association are thus brought to focus on the final objects desired, namely, the uniformly highest standard of prod-

uct at the lowest possible cost to the consumers. It must not only make, but hold its trade by high-grade goods at final low-cost to buyers.

A corporation so organized and operated in good faith quite naturally finally comes to be regarded as a public benefaction, rather than a menace to the public weal. It gives regular employment to labor, pays its hire with equal regularity, distributes its products at lowest cost to consumer, and secures to labor low-cost supplies. It is itself a powerful and constant consumer (of crude material) and, as a constant patron of transportation, contributes to the social conditions of the community by providing constant employment for labor. Some corporations have come to be called by odious names, as "combines," "monopolies," "trusts," and so forth, implying gross, if not criminal, disregard for the public interests. All corporations, however, cannot justly be thus characterized; and with the abuse of the principles attempted to be set forth herein this paper has no concern. Our anxiety is with the application of proper modern methods to the business of the Church.

The real problem seems to be to reduce cost of production to the minimum, maintain the grade of product at maximum, provide abundant supply constantly, and thus secure lowest cost to consumption. How can we best apply the principles stated to the manufacturing business of the Church, namely, our publishing houses? Are their present organization and methods consistent with these principles as applied in similar manufacturing plants conducted by the business world of to-day? Is it on as potential a basis for its greatest usefulness as it may be and should be placed?

The Book Concern belongs to the preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is the oldest of all combines, and the most worthy—that of all the preachers for the production and distribution of books, periodicals, and denominational literature for the educational and spiritual elevation of the membership; it has the further commendable object of providing supplementary support for superannuated preachers and the widows and orphans of deceased preachers. None of its appointments should be on a scale so small as would defeat the former or diminish the latter, and no hesitation should be felt in increasing them to such importance and extent as will most effectively secure these original purposes of its organization. No such part of the profit should be withheld from needed increase of working capital as would cripple the efficiency of the Concern in supplying in abundance and at low-cost the literature contemplated; and no such part of it should be so used as to diminish the earning or the distribution of profits to the beneficiary contemplated. The object is a dual one—the production of low-cost denominational literature and a liberal supplemental support to the worn-out preachers; the policy required is such as will meet both these objects and thus justly carry out the original purposes. What bearing have these propositions on the conditions of the manufacturing plant, merchandise, and investment accounts of our Book Concerns—for we have *more* than *one?*

Our first thought should be as to the location of the plant for production. This should obviously have reference, not only to low-cost real estate, but to abundant and constant supply of all crude material required in our manufacturing, and to competent labor, mechanical appliances, abundant fuel; and, quite as much, to facilities for easy and low-cost distribution of product to centers of consumption. Full reflection might suggest a single manufacturing plant, centrally located, on a railroad having ramifying lines reaching all points readily, rather than two or more such plants. Should it not be also near a coal center, and in command, readily and cheaply, of supplies of paper and all the other requisite material of a book publishing and manufacturing business? Such a happy coincidence of needed conditions seems unlikely to be found in any of our seacoast or border cities. High-cost real estate, labor, material, and so forth, are unfortunately the accidents of all such metropolitan places. Our plant, being a purely manufacturing concern, would not, therefore, seem wisely located at either of these points.

Beyond all question so large a manufacturing business must needs have distributing houses, and as many of them as the distribution of product to possible centers of consumption requires. But could not these be also established on the same principle? Let them be fixed at centers of Methodist population and influence, so that our literature, having been first produced and distributed to them at low-cost, may be readily and cheaply redistributed from them to the constituent territory.

In our case these depositories may have been already most wisely located. But may they not be more wisely situated in the places in which they have been located? In storerooms less costly and pretentious, in streets less conspicuous, and less controlled by the demands of high pressure, competitive retail business? Our objects are not those of a general, competitive business, but to supply our own people with our own literature in acceptable form, at the lowest cost consistent with a beneficiary profit for the "Conference claimants." Surely the operation and maintenance of expensive storehouses and display rooms are not really necessary to this. Will our people not gladly seek out our sales rooms at so little cost to personal convenience as is involved in their going from conspicuous thoroughfares in our great cities to those a little more remote from the travel of trade?

If now it is thought necessary our *Advocates* and other journals should be printed and distributed from these depositories or subcenters direct, rather than from the central manufacturing plant, so be it. That would seem, however, to be a question of accommodating a printing establishment to the depository, rather than the accommodating an entire manufacturing plant to the printing office, or rather minor departments of our book publishing house. We seem to be operating our book business in a sort of inverted column—from the circumference to the center, rather than from the center to the circumference of our originally proposed objects, that is, for the benefit of plant investment,

rather than benefit to the patrons of our literature and the Conference claimants.

Would not worldly wisdom, in as great an enterprise, having in view the same objects, speedily change all this? Such a policy as is herein only too poorly set forth would soon release a very large amount of unprofitably invested capital for more beneficent and wiser, and perhaps more legitimate, uses, and at the same time enable our agents to operate the entire business at greatly reduced expense. Some such plan need not necessitate any radical changes in the general arrangement of the details of managing the business, nor in the personnel of the management. But even if it should require some modification of one or both these, and even require the sale and relocation of the present manufacturing plants and the resituating of some of the sales rooms in cheaper property, is the matter not even then worthy of the careful consideration and provision of our Church?

No changes should, however, be hastily advised or undertaken. No changes for change sake. Perhaps it may be better—but is it?—to linger a decade longer under the shadows of a traditional policy than to enter upon untried experiments, to the successful issue of which either our methods are not yet adapted, our agencies not trained, or our thought not clear. Necessity only should dictate reform; reform should suggest caution; caution command conservatism, and conservatism combine with progress in this matter. But do not both conservatism and progress both justify and demand a careful consideration of this subject?

Covington, Ky. R. T. Miller.

A MEDITATION.

At the present day the thought of many of our most energetic and progressive business men tends in the direction of gigantic enterprises. They talk of combination of interests, consolidation of capital, and reduction of expenses, and claim that millions can be saved by putting a business under one management, thereby effecting a saving to the consumer and great dividends to the fortunate stockholder. If this method should become general is it not a question as to its effect upon the public at large? There are many features connected with the formation of a combine that are very attractive to those who make it. It will be noticed that these enterprises are capitalized for a large amount. It could not be otherwise, for it usually means the taking of valuable property and the creation of a surplus that can be used for *any* emergency. It enables an individual to dispose of a business, not only without sacrifice, but at a great profit—one in which he may have put the energies of a lifetime, and, in the extension thereof, invested a fortune. Should he continue for a time to be a large shareholder, or possibly assume control of a new and enlarged enterprise, in the event of failure anything he may have put aside for private investment would not be involved. When we consider the small percentage of men who go through life

without failure is it any wonder that they are willing to allow the investor to take a share of the risk?

It must be admitted, too, that in a strictly business point of view there are many other advantages to be derived from consolidation. It sometimes happens that business plants have not been worked to their full capacity, and it pays to reduce their number. A writer on the influences of trusts says the trusts lessen competition in two directions, namely, buying and selling. "Without organization the units of a trade are fierce competitors in open market for raw material, the result being to advance prices. They are competitors for the sale of the manufactured product, and, in their eagerness for trade, cut down profits and keep the industry unprofitable." It remains to be seen what the result will be when rival trusts and combinations of various kinds come into competition; it will probably be, as with many railroads, reorganization. It has been charged that a director in a corporation will sometimes countenance a thing he would not do as a private individual, and it is a proverbial saying that "corporations have no souls." Now, admitting there is a saving in consolidation, are the parties uniting influenced by *that* consideration, or are they aware that there is a great amount of capital, both at home and abroad, seeking investment; that first-class securities are not only scarce and high, but pay a low rate of interest? Therefore, is it not a good thing to put industrials on the market? A statement was made a few days ago that money was cheaper in New York than in London; a thing that has not happened before in the world's history.

The question that interests Methodists is this: Are the agents of the Methodist Book Concern, together with the Book Committee, aware of the fact that, whatever may be the cause, business within the past few years has undergone a great change, and that a much larger volume of business must be done to insure even a moderate amount of profit? We believe they fully realize the situation and are constantly adopting plans to meet the present requirements. The management in New York has inherited some things that they would not have created, and it will take a little time to get everything adjusted to new conditions. The agents and Local Committee spent several weeks last year considering the policy of removing the manufacturing plant to a cheaper location. They had under consideration sites with splendid railroad facilities and other necessary accommodations for their manufacturing business, but, after mature deliberation and consultations with leading manufacturers, they decided unanimously that New York City offered advantages that could not be obtained elsewhere. There is danger that in this commercial and practical age we will lose sight of the fact that the most prominent feature of our Book Concern work should be the production of such books and periodicals as will best contribute to the culture and spiritual growth of our membership, and at prices that will put them within the reach of the masses. This is of the greatest importance; dividends

should be a secondary consideration. When we remember that the world is our parish, and that evangelistic and educational work is making rapid progress in our mission fields, both at home and abroad, it is reasonable to expect that there will be an ever-increasing demand for our literature in our home fields, and that in the near future large consignments of Methodist books and periodicals will be needed in foreign lands. Where can we find a more convenient place for shipment to foreign countries than in New York, the greatest commercial city on the continent, and destined to become the greatest in the world?

There is no place where labor, both skilled and unskilled, can be obtained with greater facility than in a large city. The members of a whole family are often engaged in different occupations as breadwinners, and will not be separated. Even the coal we use can be carted a few blocks from the river and put in our vaults at a less price than it costs many manufacturers on the line of coal roads and many miles nearer the mines, owing to the competition between the companies bringing their coal to the various shipping points in the vicinity of New York harbor. The immense quantity of paper used in New York City enables the manufacturer to send it in bulk and afterward distribute it at a nominal cost; and the same may be said of all other supplies.

The real estate of the Book Concern on Fifth Avenue is valuable, but the difference between the original cost of our property and its present valuation would buy many sites in a cheaper location where real estate values would not materially advance for many years, if at all. When we consider that elegant stores in the immediate vicinity of our property in Fifth Avenue are taking the place of private dwellings, and that recovery from the serious business depression of several years is now evidently beginning, may we not reasonably expect that the increase in valuation will be greater in the future than in the past? Any increased valuation will not increase our taxes, as in this State the Book Concern property is exempt from taxation.

It has been found that even the upper stories of our building are too valuable to be used for manufacturing purposes, and this has led to the erection of an addition on Twentieth Street. When that is completed a large amount of rentable space will be available in the Fifth Avenue building. It has also been found that there is no longer any profit in the sale of miscellaneous books from other publishers, and that part of the business will soon be eliminated. The sale of our own publications can then be conducted in a less expensive part of the building.

New presses, typesetting machines, book folders, and other labor-saving machinery of the most approved pattern have recently been purchased. Departments have been consolidated and new men selected for their superintendence. The cost of printing our papers and periodicals and also that of making books will be greatly reduced, and as the times improve it is to be hoped that the income from rentals in our building will be greatly increased.

The change of form and addition of pages to our *Advocate*, improved quality of paper, new type, and superior illustrations entitle it to a foremost place among modern newspapers—the most finished product of our civilization. To accomplish this a new printing press was required which proves to be all that was expected. As one sees the immense roll of paper suspended on a crane at one end of the press, and the neatly folded papers deposited at the rate of five thousand an hour at the other end, one looks at the ponderous but delicate machinery with mingled wonder and delight, and queries which of the two is most active—the press, or the brain of the editor? It might be added that for neatness of execution neither can be excelled.

It will be observed that the quality of work in the bindery has been greatly improved, and the introduction of improved machinery has reduced the cost and greatly increased the output. We have already taken at a profit extra work from one of the largest and best publishing houses in the city.

On August 17, 1798, John Dickins, on a capital of $600 borrowed from his own savings, established in the city of Philadelphia the Methodist Book Concern. To-day the aggregate assets amount to over three millions of dollars, and the amount paid out in dividends, etc., to more than four million dollars. In the last ten years the Eastern house alone has paid in subsidies and cash dividends to preachers over six hundred and seventy thousand dollars.

The concentration of the various interests of our Church under one roof was a happy thought. Like a department store, you can get what you want without leaving the building. To separate any one of them would be contrary to the spirit of the age. It is hardly conceivable that any one of the wise counselors of our Church will *ever* relegate our denominational buildings in New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Pittsburg to back streets, thus taking a step backward instead of forward. We believe it entirely compatible with the importance and magnitude of our denomination that we have one large commodious building located in the very best and most convenient part of each of our large cities for the furtherance of the vast undertakings of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

New York. E. B. TUTTLE.

COULD GOD SIN?

THE question is often asked whether or not it is possible for God to sin, and it is generally a very unsatisfactory answer which is given. Some theologians will say that potentially God can sin, but morally he cannot. Such assertions are doubtless based on a vague and shallow understanding of the nature of God. If we conceive of God as a being endowed with personality, and having outward appearance, size, and shape, then we have some grounds for making the statement that God can sin.

Before entering upon the discussion of the question of God's power to sin let us notice briefly the limitations or definitions which we wish to give to the terms "God" and "sin." According to the accepted definition of the term "being" we may call God a being, but to the majority of people the use of the word "being," in the definition of God, would be confusing and involve limitations. God is not a limited being, but an unalterable law, and is not influenced by the prayer of his creatures, nor controlled by their efforts. This unalterable law does not act blindly —which would be foreign to the Christian conception of God—but operates on perfect and eternal principles. It involves the highest conception of truth, love, justice, intelligence, and morality, but does not involve the attribute of mercy, since it is forever inexorable and shows no partiality to either infant or sage, prophet or priest, saint or sinner, atheist or Christian.

Now, let us notice the definition and nature of sin. Sin is any want of conformity to law. It is not necessary to say that sin is any transgression of God's law, for God and God's law are one, and when we are not in harmonious relation to this law we are in a state of sin. Throughout this argument we shall call this unalterable law God; and this discussion is based on three given definitions of the terms "God" and sin."

Any violation of law by its very nature necessitates punishment. Every law, whether temporal or eternal, implies that there is attached a penalty for its violation. Could the supreme law pay the penalty and meet the satisfaction of supreme law? Such a question is a manifest absurdity. Were God out of harmony with himself he would cease to be perfect, and involve himself in a contradiction which would mean utter self-annihilation. Philosophers and logicians may by their delusive reasoning demonstrate that a god can sin, but such a limited god is not God. It is utterly impossible for the human mind to conceive of an unalterable law as potentially or morally subject to change. We do not contradict, but establish, the omnipotence of God when we assert that he cannot sin, for law is only restricted in that it is confined to operate on eternally fixed principles. Thus, in the light of the above, it is easy to understand what is meant by saying that God is not merciful or susceptible to prayer. We answer our own prayers, offered in faith and with earnest desire for some coveted good, by coming into harmony with divine law. We pray in order that our minds may come into harmonious conformity with God, and thus make us godlike by pure and perfect thinking.

In conclusion, therefore, let us understand that above any and every law which man may make there exists the unconditioned law, perfect and eternally changeless, which is God, and the only God, and he does not have the power of self-annihilation—the inevitable result of the slightest deviation or sin.

WALTER S. GREEN.

Wheatland, Ind.

METHODISM AND MISSIONS—THE TRUE DEPARTURE.

In 1895, when the writer was on his way from India for furlough in the United States, it was his enjoyable privilege to attend the missionary anniversary May meeting of the Church Missionary Society in Exeter Hall, London. The meeting was an enthusiastic one, and when the summing up of baptisms from the entire field in all lands occupied by the Society was read the announcement of a gain for the year of 11,000 baptisms was greeted with applause as a great success. In that year the gain for the India Mission alone, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was about 15,000; and it was over 20,000 for all foreign fields for the past year. Judged by actual success one of the youngest of the great missionary societies was leading this older one; and, judged by the comparative success of not one year only, we may well doubt if any missionary society, in organization and *esprit de corps*, upon the whole has more to commend it. We are glad this matter is being brought into discussion by competent authority in this *Review*. Such discussion is timely and valuable. As the discussion turns on the foreign work we confine it to this. Let us "ask for the old paths" and discern if God has been leading us as a Church in our missionary, as well as general, career. Something, doubtless, there is to be learned from others; and we must accept every lesson, taking the best and correcting mistakes. We hold no patent for infallibility, but may it not be that if a divinity has been shaping our organization the true departure is to execute well what we have legislated?

The parent Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church consists of a Board of Managers and General Committee. The former, which is the legal board of trustees of the corporation, and *ad interim* manages its affairs, is subordinate to the General Committee in some respects, and both of these branches of the Society make reports of their work to the General Conference, to which they are responsible, and by which they are constituted. The board consists of the bishops of the Church and thirty-two laymen and thirty-two traveling ministers, elected, as intimated, by the General Conference. These, with fourteen representatives of the Annual Conferences, appointed for four years by the General Conference, and fourteen representatives selected annually by the Board of Managers from their own body, with the corresponding secretaries, recording secretary, and treasurer of the Society, and bishops of the Church, constitute the General Committee. This committee meets annually to determine fields for mission work, the number of missionaries to be employed, and the amount required for the work. By a happy distribution of the body into seventeen standing committees details of work are more effectually carried out. Finance, estimates, publication, audit, etc., and various fields get special attention. It will inspire confidence in a body like this to pause for a moment and recall the mode of their appointment, which aims at securing from the

entire Church of the connection the best possible selection. The episcopal element is thus chosen from the entire Church, and always by the General Conference, itself picked from the entire Church. The corresponding secretaries and clerical lay members of the board are selected in the same way. The fourteen Annual Conference representatives forming a part of the General Committee are also appointed by the General Conference, being thus also a selection from a select body of men. The entire Church, lay and clerical, is thus scanned and sifted for the formation of the Missionary Society. It is not a vain boast that it is said to be the ablest and most remarkable company of men that assemble in the United States. In this corporation of ninety-eight men, as they now stand, are found some of the most talented, scholarly, and consecrated clergymen in the United States. In the lay side are found some of the ablest statesmen, jurists, legislators, rulers, and financiers to be found in any land. Indeed, all these are picked, as indicated, from the entire American Union. Here are men accustomed to grappling with every religious, social, and financial problem. If, as is sometimes hinted, occasionally persons should find their way into this body through motives and by means not the highest, this hardly affects the statement that in this Missionary Society we have a very choice selection of tried, competent, godly men.

In presenting an outline of our Missionary Society, or, in other words, in making a kind of syllabus of the organization of the Society and legislation relating to the effectual carrying out of the object of the Society, we may approach the matter as found in our book of Discipline from two standpoints: first, from the standpoint of *organization;* second, from the standpoint of *individual persons* as related in any way to the aim of the Society. Its organization and practical working can be effectively exhibited at a glance in this way:

I. BY ORGANIZATION.

1. *The General Conference.*—Our Missionary Society is "duly incorporated according to law" and is "subject to such rules and regulations as the General Conference may from time to time prescribe." As stated in the Constitution of the Society, "This Constitution shall be subject to alteration or amendment only by the General Conference." Said Conference, as we have seen, selects those who make up the personnel of the Society, which is thus the creature of the Conference, itself the highest and most select body in the Church.

2. *The Annual Conference.*—The Discipline states that "Each Annual Conference shall carefully observe the obligations laid on it in the chapter on Missionary Work." The various demands of that chapter will appear in order in the exhibit hereby made. It is sufficient in this place to state that it is "the duty of each Annual Conference to form within its bounds a Conference Missionary Society," with officers and regulations for its own administration, which is to aid the parent Society

in its work. "It shall appoint a secretary for each Presiding Elder's District" to forward the missionary enterprise. The officers of this Conference Society are to arrange for the time and place of the annual meeting and also of the annual missionary sermon, "timely notice of said sermon to be published abroad."

3. *The District Conference.*—This subordinate Conference is to exercise scrutiny bearing on the subject of missions. Consequently one important item of business is "to inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church as recognized by the Discipline are properly attended to in all the pastoral charges, and to adopt suitable measures for promoting their success." This among other things means missions, and here is a place for effective leverage. This Conference apportions the amount to be raised for missions in each charge in its bounds. In due time it receives from the pastor a report of the amount raised.

4. *The Quarterly Conference.*—This Conference is "to observe carefully all the obligations laid upon it in reference to our benevolent causes." It is to appoint a committee on missions. It is to inquire at the first quarterly session what amount has been received from (*a*) the church and congregation, (*b*) from the Sunday school.

5. *The Sunday School.*—This school of moral power and benevolence is not overlooked. Each Sunday school is to be organized into a missionary society. The Discipline provides a form of constitution: "A collection shall be taken for missions, as far as practicable, at least once a month." This Sunday School Missionary Society shall provide "for brief missionary exercises in the Sunday school on the day that the missionary collection is taken." It shall also "cause suitable literature to be distributed in the Sunday school and to arrange for occasional missionary concerts."

This exhibit shows how thoroughly the Methodist Episcopal Church is organized from top to bottom in the interest of missions. Let us turn to our second standpoint.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL METHODIST AND MISSIONS.

1. *The Bishops.*—These chief pastors sustain a very important relation to this enterprise. The various missions are distributed among them for special personal supervision, each being in charge of a specified field. Then they are active members of the Missionary Society, being *ex-officio* presidents of the Society and members of the Board of Control. This gives them prominence in the organic working of the Society. Again, "in each Annual Conference the bishop presiding shall inquire whether the Disciplinary plan for the support of our benevolent causes is carried out in every district and pastoral charge; and of each presiding elder whether he has urged in the Quarterly Conference the collection in full for all the benevolent causes." This inquiry is made "when the character of the presiding elder is under examination," and "when

the character of the pastor is examined." The possible indolence and carelessness of human nature is here provided against in this annual episcopal inquiry. It has in view the *urging*, all along the line, so apt to be needed. At each session of an Annual Conference the bishop is to "appoint one of its members with an alternate to preach a missionary sermon at its next succeeding session." "At each Annual Conference those who are received on trial or admitted into full membership shall be asked whether they are willing to do so, shall be taken and reported to the corresponding secretaries of the Missionary Society." What an opportunity this for the bishop to form and inspire bands of recruits!

2. *The Presiding Elder.*—It is the duty of this official to see that the provisions of the Discipline "are faithfully executed in his district." The phraseology aims at making the presiding elder a diligent friend and helper of missions. He perhaps can, as no other man can, put on effective pressure in aid of the work. He and the district secretary are to cooperate "in planning and holding district missionary meetings and disseminating missionary literature." In the District Conference he is "to inquire whether all the collections for the benevolent institutions of the Church as recognized in the Discipline are properly attended to in all the pastoral charges." Suitable measures are to be adopted for promoting their success. He is to see that an apportionment of missionary money to be raised be laid on each charge in the district, and in due time he is to call for a report of the amount raised. In the Quarterly Conference he is to see that this matter again pass in review, and that the charge receive its apportionment, and in due time he is to call for a report of the collection in the Quarterly Conference.

3. *The Pastor.*—If the unit of effectual work for missions is the individual church, here we touch it. Perhaps no denomination has better methods. The pastor is chairman of the Quarterly Conference Committee on Missions, the object of which is "carrying into effect the Disciplinary measures for the support of our missions." He is to (*a*) cooperate with this committee in "the diffusion of missionary intelligence among the members of the church and congregation." (*b*) He is to "institute a monthly missionary prayer meeting in each society or church and congregation wherever practical," for prayer for missions, the diffusion of missionary intelligence, and for voluntary offering for the work. (*c*) He is "to appoint missionary collectors and furnish them with suitable books and instructions." (*d*) He is to report at the Annual Conference "a plain transcript" of the work of the collectors, giving the list of the names, real or assumed, of all contributors. (*e*) He is to present once a year the subject of missions in each congregation and take a collection for the same. No "omnibus" meets this case. (*f*) He is to see that "each Sunday school in our churches and congregations is organized into a missionary society." The Discipline aims at making the pastor an earnest, loyal supporter of missions. By some the core of the business is thought to be right here.

4. *The Collectors.*—What are these but the so-called "gleaners" in other societies? And very important they are. They are (*a*) to call on each member of the church or congregation, and (*b*) make monthly returns showing all contributors and amount collected. Here is the "last man plan."

5. *The Individual Member.*—As indicated above here we reach the "last man" as contemplated in our Disciplinary plan. The individual membership has not been overlooked. It has sometimes been stated that at this point there is a weakness in our system, but the weakness, if any, is in not working the system. The departure needed is to work the Discipline thoroughly. It provides for reaching every member of the church and congregation with (*a*) *Instruction.* It is "the duty of the pastor, aided by the Committee on Missions, to provide for the diffusion of missionary intelligence among the members of the church and congregation." The church and people are to be instructed through the cooperation, too, of the district secretary and presiding elder "in planning district missionary meetings, and disseminating missionary literature." The Sunday school also is a training center with its "brief missionary exercises," its "suitable literature to be distributed in the Sunday school," and the "occasional missionary concert." To crown all this, it is "the duty of the pastor, with the aid of the Missionary Committee, to present once in the year to each congregation the cause of missions." "The pastor shall preach or cause to be preached on the occasion one or more sermons." "One Sabbath day" may be given to the cause. Here is ample provision for instruction. (*b*) Our system provides ample opportunity for *giving* to missions. The collectors, "with suitable books," are to "call on each member of the society or church and congregation" "for his or her annual, semiannual, quarterly, monthly, or weekly contribution." The entry of names of contributors and amounts is to be made. Then we have the gleanings of the Sunday school "at least once a month." Each Sunday school scholar, however small, may be reached with the "mite boxes," "collection cards," and "occasional sales" mentioned in the Constitution of the Sunday School Missionary Society, which makes "all the members of the school members of the Society." Then there is a final grand field day, the "once in the year" in which "the pastor, with the aid of the Committee on Missions," rallies the congregation into line for the conquest of the world. This is the big collection day. We thus have a system gauged to reach the entire Church and congregation, old and young, regularly and systematically, ordinarily, and extraordinarily.

We have now inspected the missionary machinery of Methodism from top to bottom, looking at the organization from center to circumference and in relation to everybody in the Church, clerical and lay, old and young. Here is a magnificent, not piece, but piecemeal, of legislation, for it is the gradual outcome of much reviewing and legislating, with large experience, through many years. Here is a development of legis-

lation of wonderful breadth and minutia. The first impression of a rapid review, such as we have made, may be that we have too much machinery. But viewed in detail, and as related parts, nothing seems superfluous or cumbersome. Is there anywhere a better brief for pushing the missionary cause than this little book of Discipline, which may be carried in one's vest pocket? May we not well "ask for the old paths," and walk more circumspectly in them? This system carried out diligently would transfuse and transform the Church with enthusiasm for missions. Here are well-adjusted great wheels and small wheels, wheels upon wheels, wheels within wheels. From the great episcopal administrator to the prattler in the Sunday school infant class there is something for all to do. Such is the coordination and subordination of the parts of the organization that the word of counsel and urgent exhortation touching this cause from the bishop in Annual Conference, may echo through District and Quarterly Conference, through mission committee and Sunday school society, through presiding elder, preacher in charge, subscription collector, and Sunday school class, till it reaches the infant ticking a penny into the "mite box" ordered for the Sunday school. The connection is perfect; pressure from the highest governing body and from the greatest functionary of the Church can reach the entire membership of the connection and the children of the home. The great need is a missionary revival that will, so to speak, permeate and oil this machinery through and through and set it in vigorous motion. This is the true departure, into a discussion of which we cannot enter here. How can the Church be fired for this great work? It is not so much the *legislative* that is needed now as the *executive*. Let us learn, where we may, from others, but do not let us underrate what the legislative wisdom and godly judgment of our Church, under divine guidance, we may trust, have put in our hands. The system for pushing the missionary cause now in existence in our Church should put two million dollars into the treasury annually.

This paper has not mentioned our noble Woman's Foreign Missionary Society which is doing so much for the work. Our thought was the Discipline and the parent Society's missionary work. Nor have we entered into the question of a division of the Society into home and foreign, although perfectly convinced that the combined plan is a clumsy and unsuccessful attempt to work two separate interests in one overweighted organization. Let us us have two societies; failing this, two collections specially and separately taken for the home and foreign fields, and administered by the same board for the object to which contributed. Till all this comes let us appreciate thoroughly and work powerfully what we have.

Bareilly, India. T. J. Scott.

"THE NEW DEPARTURE."

It is encouraging to the overworked missionary on the field to note how heartily the Church is taking up with Dr. Leonard's proposed

"New Departure" in the policy of the Missionary Society, as elaborated in the *Review* for May, 1898. The essential features of that proposition are, (1) To send out all who give satisfactory evidence of being divinely called; and, (2) to support them only as the gifts of the Church provide for their maintenance.

In thinking the matter over it occurs to one foreign missionary, at least, that it is surprising it should have been assumed all along that the salaries of the missionaries are a first lien upon the appropriations to each field, and that these must be paid in full, whether any other work was provided for or not. It is true that in not a few fields the missionaries have generously relinquished their claim, or else have given out of their salaries proportionately large sums to keep up the other work. But this action has failed to make any marked impression upon the Church at home, as it was done in some of the remote corners of the world, and only in isolated cases.

The reason why missionaries should be satisfied to accept what the Church gives them is that that is what all other Methodist itinerants do. The pastor in America has $1,000 one year, and perhaps $800 the next. He takes his chances. Besides this change of places, which may involve a change of salary, a large per cent of charges do not pay the full claim of the pastor. But the Methodist preacher does not enter into a lawsuit against the stewards for the balance due him. He looks for his reward hereafter. The presiding elder must share these losses *pro rata* with the pastors. In fact, the only Methodist preachers who, as a class, do not have to run the risk of getting less than their full claim are our bishops, General Conference officers, and missionaries. Dr. Leonard's proposition, if it should be adopted, would place the missionary bishops, the missionary secretaries, and the missionaries of the Church in the same ranks with the other ten thousand odd Methodist itinerants who are at work in the home field. When that takes place perhaps the remaining members of the episcopal board and the handful of General Conference officers will feel so lonesome that they will join the army of their own accord.

However, in order that the foreign missionary may not be put at an unfair disadvantage in his new relation it will be necessary to put each missionary into vital connection with some church or groups of churches in the home land, which will feel responsible for his support, as the pastors and presiding elders are. The present method of responsibility is too generally distributed to be deeply felt anywhere. But if the method, so happily styled "living links" by Bishop Thoburn, is incorporated in Dr. Leonard's plan, the missionaries would not be put at any serious disadvantage over their brethren in the home field. This plan is remarkably successful in the Church Missionary Society, is advocated in the *Review* of July, 1898, by W. W. Cadle, and was recently adopted, in part at least, by the Baptist Missionary Union.

Hinghua, China. WILLIAM N. BREWSTER.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTER'S NEW YEAR.

It seems as if the observance of the new year as a special epoch in life is becoming obsolete. Hitherto it has had two forms. One was the social practice under which New Year's Day became a time for friendly visits or calls, and not infrequently excesses. Every house seemed to be open to everybody else, whether the persons were acquainted with each other or not. This use of the new year had its favorable and its unfavorable side, but the practice has vanished, and the custom is gone of calling on friends after the fashion of the days gone by. The other aspect which was emphasized was the religious feature of the day. It was the time of watch night, when people gathered together and two or three sermons were preached, when prayer meetings were held in succession, and all waited on their knees for the hour of twelve to strike and vowed to live better lives the coming year than they had done before. This observance, too, seems to be passing away.

But there are certain things in connection with the new year which the minister should not let pass. He should not become so accustomed to the onward march of time that he does not pause to review the past and to make pledges for the future. The new year affords a fitting time for him to ask himself questions and to elicit from himself candid answers. He should ask himself what work for God and man he has accomplished in the year past. Not merely how many sermons he has preached, nor how many prayer meetings he has attended, nor how many pastoral visits he has made; but he should inquire what has been actually accomplished, how many have been brought into the kingdom of God through his instrumentality, how many persons have been rescued from downward courses, how many young lives have been inspired by his example or by his instructions. He should ask how much the world would have missed had he not been at work for the past year. The new year is a good time to strike such a balance, to make up the account, and see whether as to the matter of usefulness his life has been worth living. From the standpoint of his failures thus elicited—for, however good his past may have been, he cannot on investigation find it entirely successful—he should resolve that the points in which he has erred will not be those in which he will err the coming year.

He will also do well to inquire at this stage what personal advancement he has made during the past year, intellectual or spiritual. If he has not grown in these respects he certainly has gone backward. How many books has he read that were absolutely worth reading and remembering? Has he sought out during the year the books that have had to do with live questions and those of deep and significant interest,

and has he mastered them? The world's progress is noted by its books, and the year that has not produced some vital book touching humanity and its needs is not a successful year in literature, much less in religion. The business of a preacher is to grow. He cannot stand still intellectually. At the close of the year he has either advanced or retrograded from what he was at its beginning. A review of the year ought to show him exactly what progress he has made, or what losses he has sustained, in his mental and moral life.

As a pastor he will also need to make inquiries concerning his congregation at the beginning of the new year. He does not live for himself. What his life has been, intellectually and spiritually, it has been for others. The church is an aggregation of people bound together for the service of God and humanity. The church must grow, as well as the minister, and it will not grow unless he grows. No stream can rise higher than its fountain. No church, on the whole, will advance any more rapidly than the minister does. He needs to inquire whether the end of the year finds the church alive and with vigor going forward to the conquest of the world for Christ. He should not be satisfied if the closing year has not shown missionary zeal, as well as activity, for the church's immediate neighborhood. The minister, therefore, must take account of the church's progress or decay, as well as of his own.

Out of the new year is then to come for the minister enlarged plans for the future. He will sit down and estimate the possibilities of work for the next year. He will set before himself a goal that is to be attained, and, having done this, he will take account of his forces and the instruments by which he is to accomplish it. He will study the capacities of his people and summon all his powers to employ that people in the service of Christ. He will see that they have something to do beside attending church and prayer meeting, and he will make each one an officer in his army of conquest. He will at this time also form plans for his own intellectual improvement. He will not enter the new year with purposes half formed and decisions concerning himself undetermined. Any plan for life is better than no plan. A mistake in the selection of books to be read and of discipline to be gone through is far better than the mistake of having no ideal, of attempting no work. He will, therefore, select for the year a book of Scripture, perhaps, that he may master it chapter by chapter, and verse by verse, and word by word. He will select some work on social progress which will keep him abreast of the age on the movements of his time. Books of devotion for the stimulus of his spiritual life will not be overlooked. He will not omit to read works on his own profession, shedding some new light on the duties and privileges of the minister. Above all things, he will not enter on the new year without obtaining the blessing of God upon his thinking, his feeling, his studies, and his labors.

The true minister, as he goes forward in his lifework, will not allow occasions of great interest like this to become commonplaces. When

one stops making new plans and getting fresh inspiration and taking enlarged views of things it is evident that his youth has passed. It is one of the charms of young men and young women and young ministers that they are stimulated by these occasions. It is not only a pledge of their usefulness, but a mark of their youth, and when a minister thus ceases to make fresh determinations he is no longer young, whether his age be thirty or seventy. We plead with ministers that they shall not allow the freshness of their life to disappear, and not allow themselves to lack interest in occasions like the new year, which affords so much opportunity for encouragement and inspiration. One should celebrate, then, the new year in heart and in new purposes, as well as in external religious services.

VITALITY IN BIBLE STUDY.

All should study the Scriptures, and it is safe to assume that all Christians do study them in a greater or less degree. The minister should study them both from a scientific and practical standpoint, but should especially study them as the expression of the vital truths with which his ministry has to do. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God," and is not therefore a mere collection of books on separate topics, but is a collection of writings which contains God's revelation of himself to the world. There is a reading of the Scriptures merely as a matter of habit. We read so many verses or so many chapters from day to day, and so arrange it that the whole Bible shall be read in a year, and this is well. One who breaks off the habit of reading soon loses all interest in the book.

So far as one may judge from observation, ministers have studied the Scriptures for a few years past with special reference to the critical questions involved in them. They have spent much time investigating the authorship of the Pentateuch, in discussing the question of two Isaiahs or one, and in attempting to ascertain the dates of the several books, especially if there is any argument to show that it is different from the one recognized by the Church. These critical questions have been the absorbing ones, and they have largely determined the form of the preaching of the modern pulpit. They have led to the preaching of apologetics and the announcement of critical opinions. The books that have been in vogue as reference books for Bible study have largely been those of a scientific and critical character.

Too much attention is being given to this aspect of the Scriptures. If the preacher of the Gospel is not profoundly convinced that the book which he proclaims is the word of God, it were well for him to stop then and there, and determine the question finally. But he who would read the Scriptures as a minister should read them with a high purpose. He will find them worthy of study for their ethical teachings. What interest will attach to the book if the preacher begins with Genesis and goes through the whole Bible, to ascertain what ethical principles and laws

are involved in it? Hidden these laws may be beneath general historic statements, but they will be found to underlie both the Old and the New Testaments. If one were to take up some modern work on ethics and read it in connection with the Sermon on the Mount, the concluding portions of the epistles of St. Paul, or the Epistle of James, he would enlarge his view of the moral dignity of Christianity and furnish for himself topics for discussion in practical life which would greatly enrich his pulpit ministrations.

Another purpose of reading the Scriptures should be for their doctrinal teaching. This involves the study of biblical theology. Books abound on the theology of the Scriprures, but the best text-book, after all, is the Bible without note or comment. He who studies the doctrinal statements of Paul in Romans and Galatians will find little additional light when he comes to read the scientific treatises on those subjects. He who would read these thoroughly and compare the works of the theologians with them will find that in the original books he has practically received the Christian teachings in their fullness. While the Christian doctrines are not formulated in the Bible their roots are all there, and out of them one can develop a system of truth which will be living to his own thought and which will be most fruitful as a basis of expositions for the people.

Another value in the study of the Scriptures for the minister is their historic examples. The Bible, especially the Old Testament, is a book of life, of the movements of human beings as well as of nations. It is intensely vital, and the old characters of the Scriptures afford the choicest field of illustration in the Christian sermon. The Church will never grow weary of illustrations taken from the Bible. The preacher needs to be so familiar with them that he will not handle them in the old, stereotyped way, but will employ them as apt illustrations of the point he has in view. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Daniel, and David furnish in their lives not merely instruction, but example and illustration which will be ever fresh to those with whom the pulpit has to do.

He will be a poor student who fails to study the Scriptures for spiritual inspiration. Every minister needs a book of devotion. Many such abound, and should be kept at hand either on the table or in the pocket. What blessing has Thomas à Kempis brought to the world! How his maxims and consolations have cheered and helped the believer in the duties of life! But we may find richer material for the spiritual life in the psalms of David, in the prophecy of Isaiah, in the teachings of Christ, and in the epistles of St. Paul. These books are alive with spiritual truth, the food of the soul. A passage held in memory during the day will keep life sweeter and make one work better. What seems to us important is that the minister should make his reading of the Bible fresh, vital. It should not be a mere scholarly, critical, cold discussion of authorships and language and text, but should be a study of those deep, inspired truths which God has made known to man in his sacred

word, and which it is the duty and privilege of the preacher both to understand and so to proclaim that others will understand and feel.

A LITURGICAL SUGGESTION.

It is well known that many of our liturgical forms, such as the administration of the sacraments, the marriage ceremony, and the burial of the dead, come to us as a heritage from the Church of England. We may not question the united wisdom of the Church, for it is often assumed that the whole world cannot go wrong, but it is fitting to suggest that some of the modifications have been for the worse and not for the better. This is particularly true of the marriage ceremony. Our form is well adapted to the uses of the people, in that it allows for a modified ceremony in accordance with the wishes of the parties. At different times modifications have been made by the General Conference. In 1864 the part concerning the use of the ring, when the parties desired it, was inserted. Not long ago a request was made of a minister of our Church, who was to perform a wedding ceremony, concerning the giving away of the bride, and he was asked whether it would be possible to have the question inserted in our liturgical form. The minister replied, suggesting that the question, "Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?" might be inserted at the same point which it occupies in the Protestant Episcopal ritual. This was accordingly done, and the parties were satisfied. It might be fitting for the next General Conference to make this insertion in our ritual, leaving it optional with the parties to employ it or omit it. This would satisfy many who would otherwise prefer to use the ritual of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

When the minister mentioned came to look over the matter further he found that our ritual places the benediction upon the married couple immediately after the declaration of their union, whereas the Episcopal prayer book places it at the close of the service. There would seem to be a logical connection in its following the pronouncing of the parties husband and wife, but it seems also proper that the ceremony should not close with the Lord's Prayer. As the service now stands the parties to the contract kneel down while the minister prays, and at the conclusion of the prayer they rise and the ceremony is ended. It would be better, it seems, if the Episcopal form were kept almost intact. Ours is the more brief, and is, in that regard, preferable, but otherwise it is a change for the worse and not for the better. In its present form the ceremony closes abruptly, which should be avoided in some way.

Should this suggestion be not deemed important there might be at least a form of benediction added which would meet the difficulties above suggested. If the suggestion meets the approval of ministers who are engaged in the active duties of their office as a fitting one, the attention of the General Conference might be called to the matter and the order of the prayer-book be restored.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA.

Babylonia, now generally regarded as the cradle of the human race, possessed, as the monuments of that land clearly show, a very high degree of civilization at least four thousand years before our era. Professor McCurdy, an eminent authority, maintains that the Babylonian language, even at that early period, was in an advanced stage of decay. The antiquity of this once great world-power and its intimate relations with Palestine from time immemorial make it a subject of profound interest to the biblical student. Till recently we were dependent for our knowledge of Babylonia upon the few allusions in Herodotus and a few other ancient writers, and upon the disconnected and incidental references in the Old Testament Scriptures. Happily, however, the past half century, with its archæological discoveries, has opened an entirely new field to our vision. These discoveries afford us not only direct information regarding the earliest civilization and institutions of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys but also light upon many an obscure passage in the Bible. Many a Teutonic theory has thus been exploded; and now it is far less common than it was twenty-five years ago to brand much of the Old Testament as myth and legend.

There have been no more satisfactory results in any field of archæology than in that of Babylonia and Assyria. Though not one twentieth of the mounds and ruins of these two countries have been examined, even partially, yet enough has been accomplished to enable scholars to write with tolerable certainty a connected history of these long-lost empires. We now possess the original books—clay, stone, or metal, to be sure, yet none the less valuable for that. Besides these tablets huge palaces and immense temples have been unearthed. These tell us not only of the greatness of the people but also of the nature of their civilization, their institutions, and especially their religion.

The construction and the arrangement of their temples, with their sacred utensils and mural decorations, to say nothing of the inscriptions, afford us bases of comparison. The contents of the tablets or clay-books show the intimate relation between religion and the State, between the priestly and the ruling classes of ancient Babylonia. The temple or the sanctuary of the local divinity was closely connected with the palace of the earthly ruler. Though the king was the immediate representative of the gods yet it was the priest who interpreted their will to the ruler and to the subject. He was occupied, not only in his priestly functions as a propitiator of the offended gods, but was also actively engaged in formulating laws, especially such as would secure the blessings of heaven. Moreover, the great temples of Babylonia served as the depositories of laws pertaining not only to religion, but also to the State.

The religious nature of the Babylonians, as is the case with all Semitic people, was highly developed. This is evidenced, not only by the relatively large number of religious texts, pure and simple, such as hymns, prayers, litanies, and penitential psalms already discovered, but also by the high ethical tone pervading most of their inscriptions. The hand of the priest is clearly discernible in nearly all the legal contracts of whatever nature, be they deeds of sale, transfer of property, interest-bearing notes, inventories, or what not.

The more we study the religion of Babylonia and Assyria the more we are forced to admit its similarity to that of Israel. This is natural, for were not the Hebrews of Babylonian origin? What is true of the Hebrews is also true of the Canaanites who occupied Palestine between the time of Abraham and the Exodus. When Abraham emigrated with numerous followers from Ur-Casdim, that is, modern Mugheir, in southern Babylon, to southern Palestine we are not to regard him as the first Semite who had left the valley of the Euphrates to find a new home on the shores of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, as he journeyed north to Haran, then through Syria, south to Damascus and to the territory immediately west of the Dead Sea, he doubtless found along the entire line of his march people of the same race, language, and to a great extent of the same religion. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show that there was but very little difference between the language used in Canaan, when the tablets were written, and that of the Phœnecian inscriptions and of the Old Testament. According to Sayce, Babylonian or Assyrian is more nearly related to Hebrew than to any other Semitic language. People of the same origin and tongue would, doubtless, have many religious ideas in common. Now, if the cuneiform inscriptions and other Assyrian monuments throw light upon the religious institutions of the Hebrews, may we not expect some help from the Old Testament in studying the ancient religions of Mesopotamia?

Attention has been called time and again to the similarity between the ancient Babylonian temples and that of Jehovah at Jerusalem. Professor Peters, in his recent volume on Nippur, points out some of the many coincidences between the oldest Babylonian temple yet discovered and the temple of Solomon. True, Bel was worshiped in one and Jehovah in the other, yet the underlying principles in both may be traced to a common origin. The ziggurat was built in several stories, each story even more sacred than the other. The temple at Jerusalem, like the tabernacle, was only one story high, but the sanctity of the several parts was just as clearly recognized as in the ancient Babylonian ziggurat. The little shrine on the uppermost story of the ziggurat, in some sense the habitation of the local god, corresponded to the Holy of Holies in the extreme end of the Jewish temple. The lower stories of the ziggurat had their counterpart in the Holy Place. The altar of burnt offerings was found on the outside of the temple proper. The arrangement in both cases, though differing in detail, "had its origin

in similar ideas regarding the nature of the divinity and the place and manner in which he should be worshiped. And to understand thoroughly the meaning of the Jewish temple and the method of its worship we must study precisely such a temple as Ekur, . . . at Nippur, the oldest temple of which we have any record, and one which exercised a profound influence on the religious development of Assyria and Babylonia, and through them of the whole Semitic world."

The furnishing of the Babylonian temples deserves our attention. The altar was so constructed as to present the appearance of horns, reminding us of the "horns" of the Jewish altar. Near the altar were placed huge water jars for ablutionary purposes. The "apsu," or great basin found in the temples of Chaldæa, will at once suggest the huge molten sea made by Hiram for the temple of Solomon. The two pillars Jachin and Boaz (1 Kings vii, 21) found in the porch of the temple at Jerusalem, whether purely ornamental or symbolic in their nature, were very similar to those in Phœnecian sanctuaries, and were, doubtless, copied from a Babylonian prototype. There are those who see in the "ship" of the Babylonian temple, or the miniature vessels in which the gods, or rather their images, were deposited and carried about on sacred occasions, the origin of the ark of the covenant. Similar sacred vessels were also known in Egypt, and are often represented on the mural decorations.

From what has been said it will be seen that the temple was regarded in some special sense as the dwelling place of the Deity. It is therefore quite natural that sacrifices and offerings of various kinds should have been offered to the various gods in these temples. As with the Hebrews so with the Babylonians, the sacrifices consisted of animal and vegetable products. Among the objects mentioned in the inscriptions are the following: Oxen, sheep, goats, gazelles, lambs, birds, fish, milk, cream, butter, wine, oil, honey, dates, garlic, corn, herbs of various kinds, spices, and sweet incense. All the offerings must be of the best, absolutely without blemish. It is not strange that fish was offered in sacrifice, for was not Ea a god of the sea? His temple at Eridu on the Euphrates, near the head of the Persian Gulf, was one of the most sacred and ancient of sanctuaries. As might be expected there were regular sacrifices—presumably over and above the daily—on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days. The third, sixteenth, and nineteenth were also observed. It seems, however, that different temples had their different days. The most sacred of Babylonian days was the first day of the year. "At this festival Bel entered the holy assembly room, in order to fix the fates of men, especially that of the king, for the coming year." The date of the new year's day may have varied in the several localities. Hommel thinks that it was the first of Nisan, that is, March 21. According to him, "This festival of the new year and the spring was also held in remembrance of the day of creation. Assyriologists see a resemblance in this most sacred of Babylonian feasts to the Hebrew day of atonement."

The sacred literature of the Babylonians has also much in common with that of the Hebrews; such as the story of creation, the garden of Eridu (Eden), and the account of the deluge. There is in the British Museum a stone cylinder on which "two human figures are depicted with a serpent behind them having their hands stretched out toward the fruit that hangs from a neighboring tree." There is in the Louvre a bas-relief which recalls the cherubim of Gen. iii, 24. It is a Phœnician monument on which are winged griffins guarding the sacred palm tree. Many other items pointing to a common origin could be given.

We find also many religious ideas which betray a common origin. The Babylonians were undoubtedly polytheists. However, it would be wrong to conclude that all the different divine names found in the inscriptions represented different gods, for, as El, Elaoh, Elshim, El-Shaddai, El-Elyou, Jehovah, and Jah of the Hebrew Bible refer to one and the same God, so also some of the gods of Babylonia passed under several names at different times and in different localities. The religion of ancient Babylonia, though possessing much of the grotesque and coarse, was not devoid of noble sentiments and lofty conceptions. The gods were not only omnipotent, but loving and merciful. True, the doctrine of love to them was not emphasized, but was subordinated to that of awful, not filial, reverence. Marduk, we are told, created men out of kindness toward them. Professor Jastrow, in his recent volume on the *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, reproduces in good English translation many of the cuneiform tablets bearing upon this subject. The problem of suffering and evil as explained in the Babylonian texts seems quite familiar. Suffering of every nature is the direct result of sin. Happiness can be realized only by an unconditional surrender to the divine will. Obedience to the gods was the source of all joy and gladness. Such teaching naturally elevated the standard of public morals. That this was comparatively high is shown by the tone and language of numberless commercial and contract tablets. The penitential psalms and prayers of the Babylonians contain passages of exquisite beauty, showing a profound realization of the evil of sin, and a noble ethical sentiment. The prayer of Nebuchadnezzar to Marduk, as he was about to commence his reign, compares favorably with those of the Hebrew rulers. We append Professor Jastrow's translation:

> O Eternal Ruler! Lord of the universe!
> Grant that the name (life) of the king whom thou lovest,
> Whose name thou hast mentioned, may flourish as seems good to thee.
> Guide him on the right path.
> I am the ruler who obeys thee, the creation of thy hand.
> It is thou who hast created me.
>
> And thou hast intrusted to me sovereignty over mankind.
> According to thy mercy, O Lord, which thou bestowest upon all,
> Cause me to love thy supreme rule.
> Implant the fear of the divinity in my heart,
> Grant to me whatsoever may seem good before thee,
> Since it is thou that dost control my life.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

REFLEX BENEFITS OF MISSIONS.

From time to time some writers in magazines or papers discuss at some length the reflex influences of missions upon the people who originate them, in commerce, literature, or science. It is impossible to give a catalogue of separate volumes of a purely scientific character written by missionaries. The Roman Catholic missionaries have furnished a good share of these. Protestant missionaries have been the peers of any in some of the works they have written. Ebenezer Burgess, an American Board missionary, prepared a *Text-Book of Hindu Astronomy*, which the American Oriental Society valued so highly as to translate and publish in three hundred and fifty-eight pages of one of their volumes. Missionary Hoisington, of Ceylon, wrote a book, called the *Oriental Astronomer*, which the *Calcutta Review* said "laid the scientific world under no small obligation." Mason's *Burma* is known in that country as the cyclopedia of knowledge on all things Burmese. Dr. Francis Mason prepared it himself, and it was printed by the Baptist Mission Press at Rangoon. The government adopted it for its colleges, and on Dr. Mason's death bought it of his estate, and it is still kept in the government service, revised from time to time. Its comprehensive character may be seen in part from the unquotably long title-page.

Scores of titles of strictly scientific works by missionaries lie before us while we write, and that exclusive of those relating to philology. If we include language literature we would require a large volume merely to quote titles. The American Board missionaries alone have converted into written languages sixteen previously unwritten tongues. Include folklore, and one would need another volume for the index of titles only. The *Spectator*, of London, said, not a great while since, that "no class of men on earth, except German professors, would attempt to rival English missionaries in linguistic attainments. There are men among them in dozens as familiar with the folklore of out-of-the-way tribes as Professor Darmsteter is with the folklore of the Semitic peoples, and others who have mastered thoroughly the so-called 'impossible' languages—learned Chinese and popular Cingalese."

In the department of ethnology no class has contributed more *data*. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii, is devoted to "Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," and is by no less learned an author than Lewis H. Morgan. It is one of the very bulky and elaborate volumes of the learned world. In making his acknowledgments of the parties to whom he is indebted for his facts Mr. Morgan says: "Without intending to discriminate in the least amongst the number of those named in the tables I desire to mention the fact that much the largest

number of the foreign schedules were furnished by American missionaries. There is no class of men upon earth, whether considered as scholars, as philanthropists, or as gentlemen, who have earned for themselves a more distinguished reputation. Their labors, their self-denial, and their endurance in the work to which they have devoted their time and their great abilities are worthy of admiration. Their contributions to history, to ethnology, to philology, to geography, and to religion alike form a lasting monument to their fame."

Another scientist has written: "The incidental work done by missionaries for the advancement of human knowledge would compare favorably with all that governments have done who have made that the sole object of national exploring expeditions." It is to Missionary Krapf's explorations and his reports of what he found that we are indebted for the subsequent discovery of the sources of the Nile by Speke and others. The Royal Geographical Society was emphatic in its acknowledgments of its indebtedness to Livingstone for geographical extension in South Central Africa; and even such additions to geographical knowledge as that of Missionary McFarlane in his expeditions in New Guinea and along six hundred miles of coast line and up the Fly River do not go unappreciated, for in McFarlane's case the admiralty of Great Britain warmly acknowledged indebtedness.

The writer asked a gentleman of learning familiar with the journals of oriental and other scholarly societies what proportion of the Royal Geographical, Royal Asiatic, China, Japan, Bengal Asiatic, and American oriental catalogues and specimens in museums probably came through missionaries, and he unhesitatingly said, "three fourths." Perhaps this estimate was too great; and yet it is quite true that there is not a museum in Europe which has not been enriched by the thousands of birds, animals, insects, minerals, and implements which missionaries have gathered and brought from all parts of the world. Professor Agassiz said: "Few are aware how much we owe the missionaries for their intelligent observation of facts and their collecting specimens." Wood's Cabinet, at Amherst College, has a collection of more than twelve hundred minerals, chiefly from Asia, mostly sent by missionaries, which give a tolerable idea of the geology of Syria, parts of Persia, and India. The Nineveh Gallery, of this college, was almost wholly collected by a missionary, the Rev. H. Lobdell, M.D. From Gaboon, in Africa, the Rev. W. Walker sent a single specimen which was at the time valued at $1,000. Dr. S. R. Brown, of Japan, furnished "spun-glass" corals and a giant crab of rare character. The Rev. J. Tyler sent hundreds of specimens of quadrupeds from South Africa. In the department of botany and medicine it would be a difficult task to group the knowledge which has been derived through missionaries. The contributions of African missionaries alone to the knowledge of botany is of surprising extent, though most of it is incidentally recorded. Missionaries have been not only reliable, but in many cases the only persons to

keep weather records for the use of scientists in the department of meteorology, as in the case of the Moravians in Tibet and others in remotest stations in interior Africa, China, and the sea islands. Missionaries have also disseminated scientific knowledge in distant parts of the world. *Wheaton's International Law*, translated by a missionary; Dr. Morison's great Chinese Dictionary; medical writings, like Dr. Hobson's, of Hongkong; revisions of the calendar of the Chinese; and the dissemination of information upon history, geography, and general science would, the London *Times* says, "alone redeem the work of the missionaries from the stigma of failure." It is something to start whole nations on the use of scientific knowledge, as it is certain to result in an increase of scientific observation and *data* from the inhabitants of these several countries.

BIBLE TRANSLATION INTO NON-CHRISTIAN LANGUAGES.

The Hindustani is a language understood by about one hundred millions of people, and hence is the most important language spoken in India. Several editions of the Hindustani Bible have been in circulation, with considerable variation, for some time. It has been desired by many that a thorough revision be undertaken with a view to unification and improvement in idiom. Considerable change has taken place in the Hindustani language within the century, and the qualification of the missionaries for the work of translation has improved. Provision was lately made for this work, and a committee of six translators was duly appointed—three representing the Church of England, two the Methodists, and one the Presbyterians, with whom are associated two native scholars, one a Christian, the other a Mohammedan—as referees in matters of idiom and taste. The Methodist members of this committee are Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., principal of the Bareilly Theological Seminary, and Rev. Robert Haskins, Ph.D.

A communication from Dr. Scott brings afresh to mind the great difficulty of conveying Christian ideas of ethics and of spiritual life to non-Christian peoples. Missionaries are obliged to use such words as exist, which very poorly convey ideas and sometimes wholly erroneous ideas, in the effort to give new meanings to them; or they transfer words wholly foreign, and patiently wait till the people slowly come to apprehend their meaning. Either method is fraught with dangers, and yet, strange to say, no serious heresy has disturbed any part of the native Church of any denomination in India. But this is not the obstacle to which reference is intended just now. It is rather to the difficulty of conveying spiritual concepts. Dr. Scott furnishes two illustrations, which we quote. He says: "Two cases may be given as illustrating the danger to be avoided of giving encouragement to mischievous ideas already current among the people for whom the translation is intended. In stating the true law of divorce the Saviour met the reply from his disciples that, on such conditions, 'it is not good to marry,' by affirming that 'all men cannot

receive this saying save they to whom it is given.' The idea prevails largely in India that celibacy is a peculiarly holy estate, to which special merit attaches, and our difficulty in rendering the phrase, *ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται*, 'to whom it is given,' was to avoid giving color to this idea. Again, in 2 Cor. v, 10, it said that 'we must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body.' The difficulty is in rendering the phrase *διὰ τοῦ σώματος* so as not to encourage the idea that the body is at fault. Hinduism holds the body as the cause of sin. Evil is in matter. Both the old and the new English version render '*δια*' by 'in,' but the English revisers put 'through' in the margin, showing what might be an alternative rendering, 'done through the body.' After long and spirited discussion a rendering in Hindustani identical with this was adopted, the committee being divided in the final vote. A preposition that caused the committee a good deal of perplexity was *ἐν*. The difficulty often was to decide whether it has an instrumental or locative meaning. In such phrases as *ἐν Χριστῷ* (2 Cor. v, 17), 'in Christ,' and *ἐν πνεύματι* (Rev. i, 10), 'in the spirit,' the locative meaning seems clear, but it is difficult to convey any lucid idea to a mind unprepared for it. To the instructed Christian the phrases 'in Christ' and 'in the spirit' have a meaning and unfold a blessed mystic experience, but to the Mohammedan they are unmeaning. He would never think of being 'in' Mohammed or 'in' God; indeed, he does not seem able to think it. As a rule in such cases no attempt by paraphrase or circumlocution was made to avoid this difficulty, but the ability to grasp the meaning was left to the result of experience and the development of spiritual perception in the reader."

The Hindustani language differs somewhat in various localities over the large area in which it is spoken, but hardly more than the English language varies in Great Britain. The Delhi idiom was adopted as the best type of the language. The ablest native scholars of that city were secured to work with the committee. The Hindustani as a highly inflected language, having some connection with the Greek on its Sanskrit and Persian side, and some kinship with the Hebrew on its Arabic side, is an excellent medium for a translation of the Bible. Besides being the language of peoples possessing almost all possible shades of moral feeling and religious thought, often, too, coming from the Bible, it is comparatively well adapted to the purpose of the translator.

MONEY AND MISSIONS.

In considering the opportunities and facilities afforded the Christian Church for the evangelization of the world there is one fact which needs to be accentuated far more than it is, namely, the vast increase in the wealth of Christendom. In an English periodical, *Pearson's Magazine* for March, 1898, are found statements which ought to attract the attention of the Church. In treating of the wealth of the world the

writer follows Mulhall and Sir Richard Giffen in their statistical summaries. Setting down the wealth of the world at five hundred thousand million dollars, it is shown with tolerable accuracy that three hundred and fifty thousand million dollars are in the possession of Christian nations. That is, two thirds of the entire capital of the world is in the hands of the nominally Christian population of the globe. If one thinks of the power of money in war, commercial enterprises, and other avenues of activity, and for a moment will fancy this condition reversed and the money of the world in Moslem and heathen hands, the formidable force to be overcome in the advance of Christianity would at once appear greatly augmented.

But what is still more noticeable is the fact that of the three hundred and fifty thousand million dollars in the control of Christian nations Protestantism is estimated to be possessed of four sevenths of it. Or, in other words, the Protestants of the world have an accumulated capital of two hundred thousand million dollars.

The fact that God has given this wealth forces on conscientious possessors of it the question as to the obligations of the people in its use. The chancellor of the exchequer of England estimates that the waste in cigar ends alone is just about equal to the aggregate contributed by the nation for Protestant foreign missions. The common conscience needs elevating as to the use of surplus wealth.

THE PARIAH'S FRIEND.

The work among the submerged tenth, or the fifty millions of the lower classes of India's population, has met with considerable criticism in some quarters. A large proportion of the work done by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the territory of the North and Northwest India Conferences has been among this class of people. Dr. Jenkins, in his speech at the recent Wesleyan Conference on mission work in India, said:

"The problem of the Indian pariah is beginning to be understood. Those neglected millions, once deprived of all rank, driven beyond the shelter of law, not counted as a class of the population, the victims of an insolent and oppressive caste, thank God, are now rising into notice. Their rights as citizens are not only discussed and conceded in Hindu debating societies and in native journals, but are demanded and justified by the growing intelligence of the pariahs themselves. This transition —call it translation—of out-castes to the position and immunities of citizenship was not initiated by government; it is a brilliant missionary record. For many years before legislation touched the condition of the out-caste the missionary was the pariah's friend. Missionaries fought single-handed the pariah's battle, and there is no period in my Indian life —if you will pardon a personal reference—upon which I look back with more satisfaction than the time when I joined other men in resisting the infamous assumption of Brahmanism that the pariah was not equal, and therefore was not entitled, to the privileges of education."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

J. Rülf. Seldom, as here, are we able to name a rabbi as one of those taking a leading place in the general thought of the world. Rülf has undertaken nothing less than the erection of a new system of metaphysics. The last of the four volumes devoted to the exposition of this system has but recently been published, *Wissenschaft der Geisteseinheit* (Science of Unitary Spirit). Leipzig, H. Haacke, 1898. The entire system is called the science of the unitary idea, and is in reality a system of monism. The single idea which includes all others is that of force. This is the substance which remains constant in the midst of change, and which causes all beginnings, controls all becomings, and determines all endings. The concluding volume undertakes to prove that all force is spirit, that all spirit is force, and that all forms of spirit and of force are one and identical. Force and matter are one and the same; hence, body and soul, nature and spirit, are identical. Spiritual force is nothing but conscious force. Spirit is either individual, distinguishing itself from other individuals, or personal, in which case it is possessed of self-consciousness, which the individual spirit lacks; or universal, which is nothing but a personal spirit—with the consciousness that in it all spiritual life is congregated and unified, that as the world belongs to it so it belongs to the world, that this world as a thing of force is also a thing of spirit, and that all is one force and at the same time one spirit. This universal spirit is God—not the world-order, but the absolute personal spirit—in whom man and every creature, organic and inorganic, finds its significance, reality, and permanence. This is a very brief summary of an extensive and really great system. Critics have already pointed out that Rülf has merely modified the system of Hegel, and that therefore he cannot expect to realize his hope that his system shall regenerate philosophy and the philosophical world-view. His critics may be right. Indeed, we have no doubt they are; but, though not all shall be accomplished which Rülf hopes, it does not follow that nothing shall be achieved for the solution of the great problem with which he has so vigorously wrestled. Monism in philosophy is not new, but he has given us some new points of view. If he has not always gone to the depths of the problem he has at least done as much as the majority of the best thinkers have done.

R. Schaefer. The Lord's Supper, which has recently been the subject of so much literary strife, is made the theme for a study by this student, who reaches a good, old-fashioned, orthodox Lutheran conclusion. He

discusses, first, the question of the origin, and, second, that of the significance, of the supper. He reaches the conclusion that they are wrong who believe Jesus did not intend the institution of a sacrament, to be continued through all time; but that, in connection with the passover, he established a festival which was to take the place of the old Jewish feast. The Lord's Supper sprang from the institution of Jesus, not from any felt need of the early Christians for such a memorial. The disciples repeated the meal because Jesus provided for its repetition. They fully understood him. Every attempt to explain the origin of the Lord's Supper, apart from a provision of Jesus himself, leads to insuperable difficulties. The recognition of it as his institution makes all clear. In the second part, after a careful and extended examination of the words of institution found in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul, the author concludes that if—as all the reports of the establishment of the Lord's Supper testify—Jesus spoke of his own nature as body and blood, it follows that the institution has to do with realities and with a real partaking of the real Christ, and not with symbolic acts or a mere ideal appropriation of Christ. Schaefer thinks that the language of Paul teaches the same thing. But this is in reality the doctrine of consubstantiation. Speaking of the report in Mark he says that the words mean what they say, that Jesus passed around to his disciples his real body and blood, and that by faith the disciples received the same. There is always a suspicion in our minds, when anyone takes up a matter afresh, and comes to conclusions so perfectly accordant with those of the Church or party to which he adheres, that he was determined to reach those conclusions before he began. Particularly do we so suspect when, as in this case, the orthodox opinions reached are erroneous from our standpoint. What necessity there is for insisting on the literalness of the words "body" and "blood," unless that necessity arises from dogmatics, it is impossible to say. When Luther and his followers so insisted, for professedly dogmatic reasons, they were in some measure excusable. When, however, a modern scholar, who professedly pursues a critical method, allows himself to interpret as literal that which can be literal only on the supposition of a miracle, and yet fails to point out how his documents indicate any intention to record a miracle, he vitiates his entire conclusion. Schaefer carried his love of old Lutheranism too far.

Paul Volz. If anyone imagines that the labors of Old Testament criticism are not as zealous and numerous as formerly he greatly mistakes the facts. Phase after phase of the Old Testament is studied with commendable diligence, if not always with unquestionable results. Volz has chosen for the subject of a recent investigation the preexilic Jahweh prophecy and the Messiah (*Die vorexilische Jahwehprophetie und der Messias*). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897. He states and defends three propositions, (1) that the Messianic idea is foreign to

the true character of preexilic prophecy, (2) that in the preexilic prophecies, from Amos to Ezekiel, there is not a single Messianic passage, (3) that the Messianic hopes uttered in Ezekiel did not spring from the preexilic prophecy, but from an intellectual movement of an entirely different sort. When anything seems to be said about a Messiah in the prophecies prior to the exile the character described is not a religious, but a political, figure. For Israel he is simply the Saviour in a temporal sense, maintaining order within and compelling respect for Israel without. Along with this went no duty relative to religion or morals. The Messiah was neither a prophet, a priest, nor a teacher. His work was not to enlarge the knowledge of God among his own people, nor to instruct the heathen nations and convert them to the religion of Jehovah. Preexilic prophecy is chiefly a condemnation of sin and a pronouncement of judgment. By preaching the Messianic-theocratic king the prophets would have suppressed the popular consciousness of Jahweh. Only by a procedure which must be called hypercritical can Volz sustain these conclusions. Everything which contradicts his idea is carefully eliminated from the prophetic writings and stigmatized as spurious. Apparently there is no sufficient reason for this procedure. It is done that nothing may interfere with his conclusions. That many passages of the Old Testament which had no Messianic significance when originally uttered have been filled with Messianic meaning by those who knew the life of Christ, and were anxious to make him the subject of prophetic foresight, is undoubtedly true. But to decimate the religious hopes of Israel prior to the exile by declaring all literary expressions of such hope during that period spurious is a piece of critical legerdemain which it is not difficult to detect, and which all unprejudiced minds must condemn. The early conception of the Messiah was not always clear nor unmixed with unrevealed opinion, but they had a conception of a Messiah as a natural result of their faith in God as their Saviour and guide.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Religion im modernen Geistesleben (Religion in Modern Life). By Martin Rade. Freiburg, i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1898. Rade is the editor of *Die Christliche Welt*, and a thoroughgoing Ritschlian in theology. The book here noticed is composed of lectures delivered at Frankfort-am-Main before an audience presumably composed of men of all shades of belief and unbelief. They evince in their make-up the fact that their author could not courteously insist on all that he personally believed. Nevertheless, he does not lose sight of the fact that he is a Christian nor even that he is a Ritschlian among theologians, though he makes less of the person of Christ and relatively more of Christianity as a whole and in its relation to other religions than a Christian and a Ritschlian naturally would. Besides this comparison of the great religions the book

contains valuable thoughts on "Religion and Morality," "Religion and Natural Science," "Religion and Art," and "Religion and Politics." In his treatment of the first theme he conceives of the great religions of the world as historical-psychological facts, giving special prominence to the specific peculiarities of each. On the subject of "Religion and Morality" Rade takes the position that the superiority of Christianity, if not its peculiar significance, is found in the fact that it unites the two in the most perfect manner. The Sermon on the Mount is the monument at once of the identification of the two and of the superiority of Christianity to all other religions. Here, perhaps, is the weakest point in Rade's book. In the first place, he gives too much prominence to the Sermon on the Mount. Much as this discourse contains, it by no means exhausts all there is of Christianity. Hence it cannot be the monument of the alleged identification of religion and morality. But, furthermore, Christianity does not identify the two, since morality is not all there is of Christianity. The two are not even diverse aspects of the same thing. Nor is Christian morality identical and coterminous with Christianity. Christianity is primarily a religion; but it is a religion which includes morality of a particular kind. Apart from each other neither the Christian religion nor that element of it known as Christian morality can be understood, nor can one practice Christian morals without the forces and aids furnished by the Christian religion. But were such a thing possible it would still be true that the two are to be considered, not as one and the same thing, but, rather, under the idea of the relation of the whole to the part, or of the inner to the outer life.

Genesis, erklärt von H. Holzinger (Genesis: A Commentary by H. Holzinger). Freiburg, i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. This is one volume of a commentary on the Old Testament, issued under the general editorship of Professor Marti, with the assistance of several scholars, among whom is Professor Budde, whose lectures at various universities in this country attracted so much attention among scholars during the past year. The volume differs in some important respects from all other commentaries on Genesis hitherto published. Accepting the results of the modern critical investigations relative to the various sources traceable in Genesis, it treats each theme according to its representation in the individual sources. For example, the story of the flood as given by P., then the story as given by J.; the history of Abraham according to P., afterward as given by J. E. This method of procedure has certain disadvantages, but it certainly makes easy the task of keeping in mind the different themes and of comparing divergent accounts where such are afforded in the text. Holzinger is very certain of the correctness of the distinctions made by the modern critical school as to the sources, carrying this matter, with so many others, even down to individual words. Whether he is justified in so doing we cannot determine; but on general

principles it is well to remember that such fine points, made with such appearance of infallibility, are less likely than an exhibition of greater modesty to carry conviction to the thoughtful mind. In general Holzinger is extremely radical. This is evinced in his treatment of the patriarchal histories. It is not well to make every patriarchal story to consist of mere legend. All legends have a basis of historical fact. It is the business of one who attempts to estimate legendary matter to determine, if possible, what is fact and what is fiction, and, if that is not possible, at least to admit the kernel of truth in the legend. Nor is it necessary to affirm that every alleged patriarchal history is intended to be the history of a tribe. There may be at least some instances in which the account has to do with a person rather than a tribe. Furthermore, it is erroneous to allege that none of the institutions, religious and political, belong in the time in which Genesis places them, but rather in the time of the kings. The names of "Abraham" and "Jacob" were given to individuals in Mesopotamia as early as 2000 B. C., as the Babylonian discoveries of recent times show. The extremes of the critics hinder the cause more than they help it, and will be inevitably followed by a reaction.

Het Christendom der tweede eeuw (The Christianity of the Second Century). By Dr. H. M. Meyboom. Gronigen, J. B. Wolters, 1897. The nonconservative camp of theologians in Holland is filled with the idea of Loman and others that there is nothing certain with reference to the origin of Christianity. Neither Jesus nor Paul are certainly historical characters, it is held, and it is uncertain whether Christianity arose before the second century. Meyboom's work suffers from this species of hypercriticism. It professes, indeed, to be nothing more than a collection of material for the student, with an appendix on the Christianity of the first century. Judged even from the standpoint of the author's purpose it becomes necessary to point out that many interesting phenomena of the period included are passed over in almost absolute neglect. But, allowing Meyboom the right to reserve his judgment in disputed matters, it is still a question whether he could not have accomplished his work more successfully had he at least betrayed more definitely than he does a sense of consistency in the movements depicted. Even a collection of *data* is more serviceable by being based upon some philosophy of the subject. But it is just here that we come upon the interesting fact in connection with Meyboom's book. He gives us no suggestion of the philosophy of the history, because he has no such philosophy. It is the peculiarity of the Dutch school that it does not know how Christianity originated. It teaches that not one single document of the New Testament canon is genuine, and Meyboom does not give us any conclusion as to the date even of the principal so-called Pauline epistles—whether they originated in the first or in the second century. As for Christianity itself, he intimates that it arose from a Messianic agitation

in Palestine, from Alexandrian Hellenism, and from the contemporaneous philosophy of Seneca and others combined. Now, all this assumes that there is no historical basis for Christianity, and that, as a result, we are driven back upon speculation for a solution of the question of its origin. But Christianity is a historical fact. Its existence can be traced back at least to the time of Nero in the literature of secular history. And, furthermore, early in the second century Christianity was the subject of a decree by Trajan regulating the persecution of its adherents. It was then a widely diffused religion. Its roots must have extended well back into the first century. If we entirely rejected the New Testament documents, therefore, there would be no excuse for the substitution of speculation for historical investigation.

Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen character der apostel geschichte (The Purpose and Literary Character of the Acts of the Apostles). By Johannes Weiss. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, und Ruprecht, 1897. It is pleasing, in the midst of so much relative to the sources of the material of the Acts, to find a book which, while it does not neglect the question of sources, lays the stress of the inquiry upon other points. As to the purpose of the Acts, Weiss holds that it is an apology or explanation to the heathen, designed to show how it is that Christianity in its world-mission came to be separated from Judaism. The starting point of Christian missionary effort was Jerusalem, and nothing but the willful rejection of salvation by the Jews occasioned the complete and permanent transfer of missionary effort to the heathen world. The preliminary history of the mission to the heathen (chaps. i, viii, ix) shows how the conversion of the Samaritans, the Ethiopian, and Paul, and even the establishment of the first heathen congregation, resulted from that persecution to which Stephen fell a victim. The Cornelius episode in particular brings to our attention the divine ordination of the heathen missionary movement and its sanction by the primitive Christians at Jerusalem. Paul's three missionary journeys are distinguished by three separate and solemn reminders to the Jews that, as they had refused Christ, the apostle must turn to the heathen ; and this is repeated at the end of the work (See chaps. xiii, 46, *f.*; xviii, 6, *f.*; xix, 9; and xxviii, 25, *f.*). But the middle point of the entire document is the Apostolical Council with its recognition and establishment of the heathen Church. By this very act, however, Christianity lost its protection as a part of Judaism, and thus became liable to persecution. In connection with Paul, Weiss sees in the Acts an attempt to make it appear that the Roman authorities regarded the Christians as innocent of any wrong of which they could take cognizance, and that they declared they had no jurisdiction in cases of complaint by Jews against Christians, since it was a question of strife among Jews themselves. Along with this event go Paul's effort to show that Chris-

tianity was the true Judaism, and the prominence given to the statement that Paul observed the Jewish ceremonies at Jerusalem. At the same time the writer of Acts attempts to show that, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Jews, the Christian cause triumphed by finally being preached in Rome. The rejection of the Gospel by the Jews and the acceptance of it by heathen gave the latter the place divinely designed for the former. Hence no Roman authority should heed Jewish denunciation of Christians, but give them the protection formerly given to the Jews.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The United Brethren of Germany and the Higher Criticism. For some years the German United Brethren have been disturbed by the outspoken advocacy of the results of the so-called higher criticism on the part of certain of their ministers, particularly by the faculty of the theological seminary at Gnadenfeld. A couple of years ago the situation became acute, and a synod convened at Herrnhut to determine the proper action to be taken. The vast majority of the members of the synod, representing, doubtless, about the same proportion of the Brethren at large were personally opposed to the theology taught at Gnadenfeld; and not only so, but they felt that the minority were, however unintentionally, disturbers of the peace of their Zion. A general discussion continuing between four and five days, in which perfect freedom of speech was indulged, resulted in the conviction that neither side could win the other to itself. Upon what ground the United Brethren could remain united was, therefore, a burning question. Fortunately, the very same debate which had served to betray the hopelessness of unity in opinion also developed the fact that, on the questions which centered about the personal trust of each individual in Jesus Christ, and with reference to the inner religious experience of each, there was perfect unity. The question then was whether they had more to bind them together than to drive them asunder. This question was answered in the affirmative, and the synod was thereby able to reach a peaceable solution of its vexing problem. The result is in no wise considered a victory for the new theology. Rather was it a victory of religion over theological theory. The United Brethren have proclaimed to the world that, though there may be an imperfect union on theological points, they are united in Christ; and that, so long as they are united in him, they will give the subordinate place to differences of theological opinion. This was the spirit of John Wesley, and the Methodist Episcopal Church seems to be following in his steps.

Peculiar Church Discipline in Hannover. In the early days of March, 1897, the Royal Consistory (ecclesiastical) of Hannover, Germany, issued

an order that every clergyman should, on Sunday, March 21, during or subsequent to the sermon, speak of the significance of the day as the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Emperor Wilhelm I, call upon the congregation to recall with gratitude the blessings they had received under his reign, offer a prayer of thanksgiving, and cause to be sung one of two hymns designated. Now some of the Hannoverians have never been reconciled to the events connected with the annexation of that province to the new empire, and consequently have no great feeling of kindliness for the old emperor's memory. Nevertheless, all but three of the clergy managed to live up to the letter of the consistorial decree. These three stated to the authorities beforehand that they could not conform to the requirements, but were in return notified that nothing was demanded of them contrary to God's word or their consciences, and that obedience would be expected. When the day came all of them did something that was required, but none of them all. In defense they pleaded their conscientious scruples and their well-known loyalty. Nevertheless, all of them were dismissed, though with a pension for three years, provided they did not meantime secure new positions with salary equal to the pension. The vast majority of the German newspapers of all political and ecclesiastical tendencies condemn the procedure, and some of them declare that the action of the consistory is in direct contravention of the recent orders of the present emperor that the clergy shall not meddle in politics. The instance is instructive as to the disadvantages of a connection between Church and State, and also as to the real degree of religious liberty enjoyed in the Fatherland. Obedience, it seems, is to be exacted according to the will of governmental authorities without regard to individual scruples.

Defective Application of Christianity to Practical Life. A German writer, speaking of the unfavorable conditions of the laboring classes in the Fatherland, brings out in striking contrast the superiority of English to German applied Christianity. He makes the point maintained by the Consumers' League that the so-called employers are only the agents of the people, and that the conditions they make for the laboring classes are, in the final analysis, the conditions which the masses will have made. But he proceeds to point out that the hack drivers have no accommodations in Germany except those furnished by the saloon keepers, thus encouraging drunkenness. He blames the German people for the fact that the waitresses in restaurants are mostly fallen women, while in England—and he might have added in America—a woman known to be morally astray cannot secure such a position. There is no doubt that Germany is behind in these particulars, but America needs improvement also; where is there an open door for the workingman? The insistence upon the responsibility of each individual for the betterment of social conditions is an essential to progress.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In the profitable retrospect which a new year brings it is natural to recall the weighty incidents which have happened to the Church, as well as to individuals, in the past twelve months. "Every now and then," writes D. L. Leonard, D.D., in the *Missionary Review of the World* for January, "it comes to pass that, after many days marked by absence of progress, or even by retrogression, suddenly the kingdom begins to move forward by leaps and bounds. . . . Who that observes and reflects can doubt that we are in the midst of just such a pregnant period? The claim may safely be made that the twelvemonth just ended is to be eminent among these years of destiny. It is more than doubtful if another can be named to match it as the period of occurrences so many, so diverse, so far apart in longitude and latitude, and yet in such close coöperation for the effectual spread of the multitudinous good things of the Gospel to the ends of the earth." Giving to his article the title of "Five Epochal Events of 1898," Dr. Leonard proceeds to indicate some conspicuous "happenings" which have a bearing upon the spread of Christ's kingdom in the world. The first he specifies as "the Spanish-American War." Such opportunities has it opened for Christian propagandism that "the Churches of America must rise at once, and with energy and zeal tenfold increased, to the sublime height of these new opportunities and obligations." The second noticeable event of the past year is the "Anglo-American friendship." The fact signifies much. "Here are two of the mightiest peoples on earth, numbering already 120,000,000, and a few generations hence to be increased twofold, fourfold, tenfold. This race is already dominant over some 16,000,000 square miles, or one third of the earth's land surface, and ruling about 500,000,000, or again not far from one third of the earth's inhabitants. The Anglo-Saxon is easily the greatest civilizer and Christianizer extant, was evidently chosen to be just this, and for this high calling has been in training, lo, these fifteen hundred years." The third epochal event of 1898 is "the Czar's proposal" for the disarming of the nations. "The future historian will recall that, as the nineteenth century was closing, . . . the czar of all the Russias, first of crowned heads since the creation, published his protest against the maintenance of huge standing armies, and so took a step in the interest of peace and fraternity." The fourth incident has been "the reformation in China," prophesying great results for the race. "Radical reforms are evidently on foot in the Celestial empire which may be hindered, but cannot be defeated." And the last of these epochal events has been "the opening of the Sudan." No great change of policy is to be anticipated from the Fashoda incident. "It is far more reasonable to expect to hear, ere long, of the proclamation of a protectorate over the

20,000,000 of Sudanese and Egyptians, to continue till these hosts are fitted for self-rule. . . . To Britain then will belong nearly one third of the Dark Continent, with well-nigh one half of its 160,000,000 degraded inhabitants committed to Anglo-Saxon hands to be redeemed and enlightened. . . . Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands to God." Of these five great events, says the author, any one "were sufficient to give the year a unique position in the passing decades; but when they all are found within the compass of a single twelvemonth they stand for more than the happenings of some entire centuries. They show in what a marvelous way our God is marching on among the nations."

In the *Expository Times* for October, 1898, Professor J. Agar Beet replies to Dr. Petavel's criticisms on Dr. Beet's teaching in his book, *The Last Things*, concerning immortality and the fate of the wicked. In his reply Professor Beet says: "On page 193 of my book I give the result of my research as follows: 'To sum up, the writers of the New Testament agree to describe, with more or less definiteness, the punishment to be inflicted in the day of Christ's return as actual suffering and as final exclusion from the blessedness of the saved.' So far Dr. Petavel agrees with me. But he goes beyond me by asserting that the Bible teaches, not only the final exclusion of the lost, but their final extinction; and invites me to join him in this position. This step, however, I cannot take until I find in Holy Scripture solid ground on which to tread. This, after much careful search, I have not found." Dr. Beet does not find, either within or without the Bible, any clear disproof of, or serious objection to, Dr. Petavel's doctrine. But he says that this absence of disproof does not justify acceptance of the teaching in question as true and reliable; that to accept a statement as true simply because it cannot be disproved is a common and dangerous mistake; and he repeats: "I therefore differ both from those who assert that the lost will ultimately sink into unconsciousness and from those who assert that they will continue in endless suffering. On these matters the Scriptures, as I read them, give no decisive judgment. They give no ground for hope that the agony of the lost will ever cease; but they do not plainly and categorically assert its endless continuance. In Dr. Petavel's books and open letter, and in the Bible, I cannot find anything which justifies one step further than this." Dr. Beet uses the word "ruin" as the best translation of the Greek word ἀπώλεια, as used throughout the New Testament, and says "ruin" is a nearer equivalent than the rendering in the Accepted and Revised Versions, "destruction," "perdition," "lost." "The word means neither extinction of consciousness nor endless conscious torments, but simply the loss of all that makes existence worth having." In his exposition of the future punishment of sin Dr. Beet gives only a small place to the teaching of the Old Testament, not for want of authority, but because so

little is found therein which adds to the plain and abundant teaching of the New Testament. After prolonged search he is unable to find in the Bible words which, describing the fate of the lost, imply clearly their final extinction. He says: "There are passages and groups of passages which at first sight seem to teach the extinction of the lost or the ultimate extinction of evil; as there are others which describe their continued suffering, without any hint of its cessation. But in neither case do the words of Holy Scripture justify confident assertion. And he who speaks in God's name is bound to go no further than the written word clearly warrants." Dr. Beet holds that the popular doctrine of the *necessary, intrinsic* and *endless* permanence of the human soul is not taught in the Bible; and says that the Christian pulpit ought not to go beyond the clear teaching of Holy Scripture.

THE opening article of the *New World* for December is "Imperial Democracy," by David Starr Jordan. Its vigorous trend may be inferred from the following quotation: "So far as the Philippines are concerned, the only righteous thing to do would be to recognize the independence of the Philippines under American protection, and to lend them our army and navy and our wisest counselors, our Dewey and our Merritt, not our politicians, but our jurists, our teachers, with foresters, electricians, manufacturers, mining experts, and experts in the various industries. Then, after they have had a fair chance and shown that they cannot care for themselves, we should turn them over quietly to the paternalism of peace-loving Holland or peace-compelling Great Britain. We should not get our money back, but we should save our honor. The only sensible thing to do would be to pull out some dark night and escape from the great problem of the Orient as suddenly and as dramatically as we got into it." R. M. Wenley follows with an appreciative article on "John Caird." In his paper on "Religious Ideals and Religious Unity" J. W. Chadwick concludes with the sentiment, "Of all unities of the spirit that is the best which gathers into one great family all those who try with patient minds to know what things are true, and with courageous hearts to do the best they know." W. B. Smith follows with an article on "Harnack *versus* Harnack," whose claim is that in the work of the great critic somewhat recently issued "there are two Harnacks, one speaking in the preface, one reasoning in the volume itself, and these in no wise resemble each other." The contention of "The Religion of Mr. Kipling," by W. B. Parker, is that certain feelings "which make up the body of our faith" have been uttered afresh for us by Kipling "in poems which, like the 'Recessional,' have at once voiced the prayers and solemn hopes of our own generation and given their maker his chief title to a place among the greater names of English poetry." The concluding papers of the number are "Adin Ballou and the Hopedale Community," by G. L. Cary; "'Beyond Good and Evil,'"

by C. C. Everett, or a study of the philosophy of Frederick Nietzoche; "Nanak and the Faith of the Sikhs," by J. T. Bixby; and "Paul and the Jerusalem Church," by J. Warschauer. "To recognize the greatness of Paul," the last author argues, "it is not an indispensable condition that we should find his opponents guilty of crass imbecility or malignity for its own sake."

Prominent among the articles in the *North American* for December is a discussion of "Our Indian Problem," by Dr. Lyman Abbott. The reservation system he declares to be "wholly bad." His indictment against it is fourfold. The Indian Bureau "is, and always has been, a political machine, whose offices are among the spoils which belong to the victors;" the federal executive is peculiarly unfitted for administering a paternal government "over widely scattered local communities;" this paternalism "is thoroughly bad for the Indian, whose interests it is supposed to serve;" and, lastly, it is impossible to maintain the reservation system. Dr. Abbott's solution of existing evils is the abolishment of the reservation system. "Apply to the solution of the Indian problem the American method; treat the Indian as other men are treated; set him free from his trammels; cease to coddle him; in a word, in lieu of paternal protection, which does not protect, and free rations, which keep him in beggary, give him justice and liberty and let him take care of himself."

For general interest the January *Chautauquan* maintains its high average. The opening article, by J. C. Thornley, is entitled "The Old Bailey," and by its vivid illustrations emphasizes the tragedy of human suffering. T. Raleigh, D.C.L., follows with an article on "Lord Melbourne;" Professor L. H. Batchelder, in "The Central Element of Organized Matter," takes "a little excursion into the fascinating country of the carbon compounds;" Mary H. Krout discusses "English Journalism;" and O. F. Bianco tells of "Shooting Stars." Bishop Rowe, of the Diocese of Alaska, writes of the "The Yukon Country," in interesting description, and Mrs. M. Burton Williamson continues her discussion of "Some American Women in Science." The article is interesting in its portraits.

The *Conference Examiner* continues its efficient work as a promoter of ministerial education. The November-December number includes in its table of contents: "The Study of Shakespeare for Preachers," by Rev. S. N. McAdoo; "The Revival and Its Methods," by Rev. J. W. Heard; "The Newer Education and the Ministry," by President W. J. Tucker, D.D.; "Guarding the Conference Door," by Rev. W. H. Slingerland, Ph.D.; "Religious Formula," by Rev. W. G. Loyd; "Special Theological Encyclopedia;" "Making a Sermon Grow," by the Editor; and "Defects in Pulpit Prayer." C. M. Heard, D.D., is Editor.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology. By ABRAHAM KUYPER, D.D. Translated from the Dutch by Rev. J. Hendrik De Vries, M.A. 8vo, pp. 683. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $4.

Professor Kuyper was directly introduced to our readers by his dissertation on "Pantheism's Destruction of Boundaries," which we printed in this *Review* in July and September, 1893. Professor Warfield, of Princeton, writes that as a force in Church and State Dr. Kuyper is probably the most considerable figure in both political and ecclesiastical Holland; that he is organizer and leader of the Antirevolutionary party, and chief editor of its organ; founder and developer of the Free University of Amsterdam, in which the people of the Netherlands have an object lesson of the possibility and quality of higher education conducted on Christian foundations, free from interference from the State; and is advocate in the Church of freedom of conscience, confessional rights, and the principles of that religion to which the Dutch people owe all that has made them great, endeavoring to bring all who love those principles together into one powerful communion, free to confess and live the religion of their hearts. His presence in this country for three months last autumn and his course of lectures at Princeton University on Calvinism help to draw fresh attention to him and to the volume which the Scribners lay upon our table. The whole work fills three volumes the size of this one. The first and third have not been translated. The reason for preferring the second volume to introduce the work to the English-speaking public and test its desire for the rest, probably is that, though only a fragment of his theological work, it is "possibly thus far his most considerable contribution to theological science." The first volume is introductory; the third treats of the several divisions of theology; while this one contains the general part and discusses questions relating to the place of theology among the sciences, and the nature of theology as a science with a "principium" of its own. There is no doubt that Dr. Kuyper is the most affluent, prolific, and brilliant mind at work to-day in the civil, educational, and ecclesiastical life of Holland. He serves the State as a member of the lower chamber of the States-general, and the Church as Professor of Dogmatics in the Free University at Amsterdam. Dr. Kuyper regards Methodism as a necessary reaction against influences which threatened to petrify the life of the Church. He thinks it was born from Calvinism ; and it was to the extent and in the way that abolitionism was born from slavery. He believes that, as a necessary reaction, Methodism had a high calling which

it is bound to obey, and a real spiritual significance. He admits apologetically that owing to his environment he has spoken of Methodism in a way which would have been impossible either in England or America. We respectfully submit that opinions which it would have been impossible for him to utter in England or America, about any Church, would better have been omitted from a volume translated for the special use of Englishmen and Americans. Still, it is satisfactory to find that the author felt that the few slight criticisms contained in his references to Methodism were so inapplicable to Methodism in general as to require a virtual retraction when he came to write the Preface to this volume. The nature of his references to Methodism and of his misconceptions thereof may be sampled from page 165, where he says that the new life in the soul which springs from palingenesis (the new birth) has not always been balanced and guided by scientific knowledge, but has sometimes manifested a dislike or disdain for science, and then follows this sentence: "The history of mysticism has its tales to relate, and Methodism comes in for its share." He does not tell us, but we infer that he means "its share" of criticism. The last chapter of the book contains a history of theology, in the closing sections of which he describes the apparent defeat, in the eighteenth century, of the great Reformation movement, and the period of resurrection which glorifies the nineteenth. He attributes that apparent defeat to the effects worked by Deism, which spread across the Continent from England; the effects worked by the spirit of the Encyclopedists, which caused its power to be felt in France; and the effects worked by the Aufklärung (Illumination), which asserted itself in Germany. These produced a low moralism which clipped every wing, mocked every form of the ideal, and weaned men from all high impulses. And the Christian Church and Christian theology in those days lacked the holy fire and the energy of heroism to withstand with righteous indignation these malign and stupefying influences. Then was developed in the Church Rationalism, the attack upon which by the Supernaturalism of the time was so clumsy, unskillful, and inadequate as to make the defeat of Christendom still more humiliating. At this point the author notes, as if it were almost the only star of hope in a dark time, the fact that "Pietistic circles were maintained in Lutheran lands, and mystical and Methodistical circles in Reformed lands, which hid the salt of the Gospel, lest it should lose its savor;" but he remarks regretfully that "these spiritually attuned circles failed of exerting any saving influence upon official Churches and official theology." This expounder and champion of Calvinism correctly narrates the history of the latter part of the last century when he says that, in order that the salt of the Gospel should not altogether lose its savor in the world, it was hid in "Methodistical circles," circles which were "spiritually attuned." That statement need not be withdrawn or modified anywhere; it is as suitable to be printed in English as in Dutch. The author, speaking of

the nineteenth century as the "Period of Resurrection" for the doctrinal and spiritual life which marked the Reformation, says that in this century the mystical-religious movement rivals the effects of the Reformation. "Revivals of all sorts of tenets are the order of the day in Europe as well as in America. In spite of its one-sidedness Perfectionism has gained a mighty following. Methodist and Baptist Churches have developed an activity which would have been inconceivable in the eighteenth century, and which affords its masterpiece in the Salvation Army. Missions have assumed such wide proportions that now they have a universal historical significance. New interest has been awakened in religious and churchly questions, which make manifest how different a spirit has come to the world. Even negative tendencies have found it advisable, in their way, to sing the praises of religion. . . . If then, after the shameful defeat of theology in the period of the 'Illumination' (Aufklärung), we may affirm an undeniable *resurrection* in the nineteenth century, let it be said that this is owing, first of all, to the many mystical influences which, against all expectation, have restored once more a current to the religious waters. A breath of wind from above has gone out upon the nations. . . . The power of palingenesis (new birth) has almost suddenly revealed itself with rare force. . . . It has pleased God, in almost every land and in every part of the Church, to raise up gifted persons, who, by him 'transferred from death into life,' as singers, as prophets, as statesmen, as jurists, and as theologians, have borne a witness for Christ such as had not been heard of since the days of Luther and Calvin." There is on page 403 a statement which, we think, cannot have even an intelligible meaning in England or America—the statement that "the Methodistic tendency in particular has degraded" the Holy Scripture into a mere "collection of inspired utterances concerning the Being of God, his attributes, his will and counsel of grace."

The Gospel for an Age of Doubt. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: The Macmillan Company Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the sixth edition. Revision of the book and omission of the Appendix have reduced its size. The additional interest of this edition is found in a new Preface of fourteen pages containing brief replies to some critics who have misconceived the purpose of the book and misrepresented its meaning. Dr. Van Dyke's book is the substance of his course of lectures on preaching delivered before the divinity students of Yale University. The aim of his lectures was not to teach the art of making sermons, but "to accentuate the truth that the question, What to preach, comes first, and the question, How to preach, comes afterward. A man must have a distinct message, clear and luminous to his own soul—a message which comes to him with a joyful sense of newness and demands utterance—he must feel the living fitness of this precise message to the needs of the world before he can learn to deliver it with

freedom and power." Dr. Van Dyke wanted to tell the young men studying for the ministry that they "must not let themselves be educated out of sympathy with the modern world; that they must understand the trials and difficulties of the present age in order to serve it effectively; that they must keep in touch with living men and women, outside of the circle of faith as well as within it, if they wish to help them." More than this, he wanted to show that "there is a message of religion especially fitted to meet the needs of our times, an aspect of Christianity which comes to the world to-day as glad tidings, a newness in the old Gospel which shines out like a sunrise upon the darkness and despondency that overshadow so much of modern life. This aspect of Christianity centers in the person of Jesus Christ, as the human life of God. This newness of the Gospel lies in believing in him as a real man, in whose sonship the Fatherhood of God is revealed and made certain to all men. And the power of this message to enrich and ennoble life lies in the fact that they who receive it are set free from a threefold bondage: first, from the heavy thought that they are creatures of necessity whose actions and destiny are determined by heredity and environment; second, from the haunting fear that the world is governed by blind chance or brute force; and, third, from the curse of sin, which is selfishness. To see Christ as the true Son of God and the brother of all men is to be sure that the soul is free, and that God is good, and that the end of life is noble service. This is the true Gospel for an age of doubt. The present is a doubting age, but also a hopeful age, an earnest age, an age of generous feeling and noble action. What it needs is a clear answer to its doubt and a powerful remedy for its sadness. Answer and remedy are found in the person and power of Jesus Christ. His life is a fact which cannot be explained without God. His character is a standing proof of the reality of the spiritual world. A universe of matter and force could never have produced such a person. His teaching is a direct witness to things which are unseen and eternal. Those who will receive it shall find his words a fountain of living waters springing up within them unto everlasting life." The closing paragraph of Dr. Van Dyke's answer to his critics will arouse expectant interest in all who read it: "I know very well that this book is incomplete. It touches only one aspect of the greatest of all subjects. It needs a sequel to make it harmonize more fully with the truth as it is in Jesus, and to bring it into touch with another side of the needs of humanity. Very soon I hope to be permitted to follow this volume on *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt* with another on *The Gospel for a World of Sin*."

Quiet Talks with Earnest People. By CHARLES EDWARD JEFFERSON. Small 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The author is the new pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York city, long known as Dr. William M. Taylor's Church. The volume is "affectionately dedicated to the laymen of Christendom by a minister

who esteems and reveres them." Twenty-five frank, friendly, confidential talks with laymen about ministers and ministerial life and work, in a style which is a model of simplicity, clearness, and directness, make this a book of practical value, well worthy to be read by every layman in Christendom. It might pay both ministry and laity to divide between them the expense of putting a copy of it in every Protestant pew as well as on every minister's desk. A better understanding of mutual rights and duties would result. The topics are these: "The Unknown Man;" "The Maligned Man;" "The Misunderstood Man;" "The Importance of Knowing Him;" "The Sermon;" "What is the Matter?" "Who is to Blame?" "Why Time is Needed;" "Vacation, and Why;" "Objections to Vacations;" "Money;" "Ministerial Liberty;" "Liberty Defined;" "Sympathy;" "Cooperation;" "Considerateness;" "Thoughtlessness;" "Ways of Killing a Sermon;" "Inspiring the Minister;" "Appreciating the Minister;" "Criticising the Minister;" Securing a Minister;" "Dismissing a Minister;" "The Minister's Wife;" "The Mission of Laymen." To quote at length would be interesting and profitable, but space permits only a few brief bits. "There are more brave men in the pulpits of Christendom than in any army which ever followed a general to the mouths of the guns." "The best people in the world, so the author thinks, are laymen. The tallest and sweetest saints whom it has been his privilege to know have been not in the pulpit, but in the pew. There is probably no subject on which a true minister of Christ so loves to dwell in his thought as the sacrifices which laymen are making continually to advance God's kingdom." "A clergyman, unless providentially hindered, ought to accept the leadership of the largest church which he is capable of serving. Every man ought to enter the largest door which Providence opens in his face." The radical defect in much of the preaching of our time is its "lack of spiritual passion. The tone of authority is faint. Too much of the preaching is like that of the scribes. Clergymen are numerous, but prophets few. . . . Only a prophet can achieve genuine success in these hurried and fascinating days. . . . Woe to the preacher who in these days shirks the wrestlings and agonies of the prophet." R. H. Hutton went to hear one of the afternoon sermons of the chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, Frederick D. Maurice. He "heard and saw and felt that day things which lived in his memory through life. He heard a prophet. Maurice spoke for God. The intense and thrilling tones, the pathetic emphasis, the passionate trust, the burning exultation, the atmosphere of reverence and devotion, awed and subdued the worshipers. The church became indeed a holy place. The words of the service seemed put into the preacher's mouth, 'while he, with his whole soul bent on their wonderful drift, uttered them as an awestruck but thankful envoy tells the tale of danger and deliverance.'" It is known to our denomination that the Congregationalist author of this book is a Methodist product, a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University.

The Life and Letters of Paul the Apostle. By LYMAN ABBOTT. 12mo, pp. 332. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author says that Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul* remains, in spite of much subsequent development of biblical criticism, the best account of the times and circumstances of the apostle; he also acknowledges obligation to Dr. George Matheson's *Spiritual Development of St. Paul* and A. Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul.* With the views of Dr. Abbott at various points most of our readers doubtless disagree, but a mind fit for the ministry is capable of reading with discrimination and independence, finding some profit and stimulus even from opinions which must be rejected after being weighed. Perhaps a fair idea of the general drift of the book may be obtained from a passage near its close, which says that "the history of actual organic Christianity through the ages is the history of the intermingling of these three conceptions: the pagan conception of God as one whose wrath must be satisfied by a sacrifice; the Jewish conception of God as a lawgiver who can be approached only by obedience to his laws; and the Christian conception of God as a Father who gives life freely to all who will accept the gift. These three ideas are still strangely intermingled in our conglomerate theology. The gospel of God's infinite and unpurchasable love finds its way slowly, though surely, to the hearts of the children of men. Wherever we find in modern theology the doctrine that man can be saved only by a sacrifice offered to placate the wrath of an angry God, we find the relic of paganism. Wherever we find the doctrine taught that man can trust the love of God only as he has first proved himself a righteous man by obeying the law of God, we find a relic of Judaism. Wherever we find men putting up an altar, and a sacrifice, and a priest, and insisting on it that only through the altar, the sacrifice, and the priest can one come to God, we find a relic of paganism. Wherever we find men putting up a law, whether ceremonial or ethical, and teaching that there is no way to acceptance with God except through water baptism—sprinkling or immersion—or that there is no acceptance with God except by compliance with some ritual or ceremony, or insisting that the essence of the Gospel is the Ten Commandments, or the epitome of the Ten Commandments—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul, and thy neighbor as thyself—insisting, in other words, that the essence of the Gospel message is not what God does for man, but what man should do for God, we find essential Judaism. And wherever we find the message that God is infinite and eternal love, that the way to his heart is always open, that he gives life without price, whether we find it in the free Gospel of the Methodist, or in the large and spiritual teaching of such ministers as Brooks and Beecher and Maurice and Robertson, or in such movements as the Keswick movement, so called, or such ministries as the ministry of the so called Higher Life, or such theologies as the misnamed New Theology, there we find a revival of Paul's teaching."

Christianity and the Progress of Man. A Study of Contemporary Evolution in Connection with the Work of Modern Missions. By Professor W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE. 12mo, pp. 250. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Professor Mackenzie dedicates his book to his father and mother, who have labored together as missionaries of Jesus Christ in South Africa for the past forty years. The conviction underlying the book is that the two greatest facts of the nineteenth century are the unification of the race and the establishment of the Christian religion as a working force among nearly all nations. Throughout this volume two matters are kept constantly in view: first, that practically the whole race is now within the reach of the Christian Church; and, secondly, that wherever the Church, through its missionaries, touches heathendom, progress at once begins in all directions. In the concluding chapter the difficult problem of what is meant by the "progress of man" is discussed and the relation of Christianity to the various elements of progress is described. The means which the missionaries employ for reaching the heathen and the effects produced are studied one by one. The effects of the Bible in its innumerable translations; the effect and the dependence of popular education upon the Christian faith; the moral changes wrought in the individual and community by faith in Christ, and the effect of this upon social conduct and ideals; the influence exerted by the self-sacrifice alike of the missionaries and converts and the real value of martyrdom; the relation of Christianity to other religions; the supreme motive for the missionary life and labor, which is the desire to see individuals brought to salvation through faith in Jesus Christ—these and other important matters under these various heads supply the material and evidence for the conviction held by the author that religion has been at the root of all progress and that the Christian religion is the only one fitted to secure the progress of man in the future.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Guesses at the Riddle of Existence. By GOLDWIN SMITH. New Edition with Additions. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

We notice this new edition only because of the author's "One Word More" contained in the last forty-eight pages. He thinks nothing has been said in answer to these essays which seriously calls for a reply, but he adds a chapter filled mostly with reiterations of the views expressed in the essays. His concessions, though few, are more interesting than his denials. He recognizes the unspeakable importance of religion to each of us spiritually, and that its necessity to society, to the commonwealth, to the home, and even to the æsthetic part of our nature, to poetry, and art, is such that nobody can think of dealing with it lightly or consider without dread the possibility of its departure. He affirms

that the "churches are still full, perhaps fuller than ever," and that "ministration is more active than ever." He says that the speculations of the critics as to the dates of Old Testament books and their specific sources have not yet advanced beyond hypothesis; that the people only care to be assured that these books are the inspired word of God, the genuine manifestation of his will, and the true record of his dealings with mankind; and that the religion of the many cannot be founded on a literary criticism or philosophical manipulation of the Bible, any more than it can be founded on metaphysics—it must be founded on plain fact. He notes that Dr. H. P. Liddon, full of all theological learning, maintained the literal interpretation of the Book of Jonah, and that Dr. A. P. Stanley, a leading liberal, in his *Sinai and Palestine* treated the Exodus as certainly historical. As to the blending of divine and human elements in the Bible, he writes: "How are we to distinguish the divine from the human? No test is suggested to us except the test of reason and conscience. Dean Farrar tells us, as Bishop Butler had told us, that reason and conscience must be supreme." It is pointed out that "the moral strength of the Old Testament is its preaching of righteousness, which has furnished powerful weapons to those who were protesting against injustice." In the old days of slavery John Brown used to read at his family altar on thanksgiving and fast days the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, where God demands, "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" The Bible is the arsenal where Liberty and Justice get their weapons. The author says that no expedient could be more desperate than that of identifying revelation with evolution. "If revelation is in a constant state of evolution, where is the process to end? What stage in it is denoted by the coming and the teaching of Christ? What did Paul mean when he anathematized all who should preach any other gospel?" On the warrant of alleged new revelations we have seen, not in the twilight of the first or second century, but in the meridian light of the nineteenth, the Virgin Mary declared immaculate in her conception, and infallibility, a long step toward divinity, conferred upon the pope. The Mormons also claim to be favored with various authoritative new revelations. Dean Farrar's words in his book, *The Bible; Its Meaning and Supremacy*, are quoted: "About the miracles performed by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—about the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, which are the most stupendous of them all—I can still say, with all my heart, '*Manet immota fides.*'" In his "One Word More," Professor Smith still adheres to his ridiculous notion that the Gospel history has for its necessary postulate the Ptolemaic idea that the earth is the center of the universe; a notion which an undergraduate in theology could easily explode. A curious statement, indeed, is this, "What we cannot possibly understand we cannot possibly believe." How many things are there, we wonder, in this unfathomable universe which this professor really and fully understands?

Very few, we judge; and we are confident that he believes, and daily orders his life by, a great many things which he cannot understand. He thinks that the really operative influences of Christianity have been those of the Character and the Words of Christ; that the first disciples were drawn to Jesus by his character and words, and that we and all men to whose convictions and hearts the Character and the Words come home should follow him all our days as did Peter and Andrew, James and John, by the Galilean sea. Not a few queer statements, hardly indicative of intellectual vigor, are in this book; for example, that a practical system of morality is possible in which the ethical teachings of Jesus, as ratified by experience, both personal experience and that of Christendom at large, would be preserved, though without the theistic basis of those teachings. Now surely a Christianity excluding theism is an amazingly grotesque impossibility. These economical thinkers who push the Law of Parsimony to suicidal extremes in their passion for trying how much which mankind counts essential they can possibly do without, provoke us to remark that we think we could possibly do without *them*—the economical thinkers themselves—thus going farther than they do in one point at least. On page 286 this professor says, "The universe is inconceivable and unimaginable;" from which we infer that the universe is a thing which he does not understand. And yet, though he tells us he cannot believe what he cannot understand, we presume he feels compelled to believe, though with an advanced skeptic's painful reluctance to believe anything, that the universe is a tolerably obvious and even to some minds a somewhat demonstrable reality.

The Making of Religion. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 380. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

These chapters on the early history of religion represent, without reproducing in form, the Gifford lectures delivered by the author at St. Andrew's. In our judgment the book is of unequal dignity and value in its different parts; the chapters on "Opening the Gates of Distance," "Crystal Visions, Savage and Civilized," "Hallucinations," and "Demoniacal Possessions," being less scientific and solid than the others. The book sets strongly against the theory of the origin of religion favored by Herbert Spencer and Professor Tylor. Mr. Lang gives proof that belief in a Supreme Being was found among primitive savages previous to all traces of Animism. The rudimentary elements of religion exist in savage tribes; and there is no tribe anywhere wholly destitute of religious belief. Competent scientists report to-day that the weight of evidence proves that man, as man, is "incurably religious." In this Mr. Lang stands with Daniel G. Brinton's *Religions of Primitive Peoples.* The conclusions of this particular anthropologist tend to make an end of the purely anthropological view of the origin of religion, and "throw us back on the old theory that the Supreme God did not leave himself without a witness in the human mind, and that it was only by a process of degeneration and obscuration that this divine witness was lost. For the

rest Mr. Lang by no means shuts evolution out of the history. He starts from a divine germ, and not from a purely humanistic origin. He provides for a divine direction of the evolution, and brings it at last to a predetermined divine end in the Christian religion." According to him "there are two chief sources of religion: (1) The belief, how attained we know not, in a powerful, moral, eternal, omniscient Father and Judge of men; (2) The belief (probably developed out of experiences normal and supernormal) in somewhat of man which may survive the grave." "This second belief," says Mr. Lang, "is not, logically, needed as given material for the first, in its apparently earliest form. It may, for all we know, be the later of the two beliefs, chronologically. But this belief, too, was necessary to religion; first, as finally supplying a formula by which advancing intellects could conceive of the mighty Being involved in the former creed; and next as elevating man's conception of his own nature. By the second belief he becomes the child of the God in whom, perhaps, he already trusted, and in whom he has his being, a being not destined to perish with the death of the body. Man is thus not only the child, but the heir of God, a 'nurseling of immortality,' capable of entering into eternal life. On the moral influence of this belief it is superfluous to dwell." Thus concludes a scientist, an anthropologist, in a scientific study; no preacher, no retained advocate of Christianity or of religion. His argument "exhibits religion as probably beginning in a kind of Theism, which was then superseded, in some degree, or even corrupted, by Animism in all its varieties. Finally the exclusive Theism of Israel receives its complement . . . and emerges as Christianity." Among significant sayings he quotes Herbert Spencer's concession of "the truth that the power which manifests itself in consciousness is but a differently conditioned form of the power which manifests itself beyond consciousness." (The words are Mr. Spencer's.) The fact is also noted that "Professor Tylor dismisses the idea that any known race of men is devoid of religious conceptions. He disproves, out of their own mouths, the allegations of several writers who have made this exploded assertion about 'godless tribes.' He says, 'The thought and principles of modern Christianity are attached to intellectual clews which run back through far pre-Christian ages to the very origin of human civilization, *perhaps even of human existence.*'" "We find no race whose mind, as to faith, is *a tabula rasa.*" Such is the latest report of reputable ethnology and anthropology. It looks in the same direction as Paul's teachings.

By the Aurelian Wall. By BLISS CARMAN. 16mo, pp. 132. New York and Boston: Lamson, Wolffe & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The author of *Low Tide on Grand Pré, Behind the Arras, Ballads of Lost Haven*, etc., brings us a new budget of eighteen poems, mostly elegies. We confess to a liking for Bliss Carman's work. The poet's spirit is in him, the sensitive, impressible, responsive soul, the wonder and the awe, the deep ecstasy, the solemn joy, the winged imagination, the

felicitous expression of genuine feeling, the fine shaping of crystalline phrases, and over all and under all a sense of the Greatness which lies around our incompleteness. The first poem, giving title to the volume, is a memorial to Keats, whose much-visited grave is "where the long shadows of the centuries fall from Caius Cestius's tomb," by the Aurelian Wall. Of Keats this poet says that his splendid name "Spreads through the world like autumn—who knows when?—till all the hillsides flame." "The White Gull" was written for the centenary of Shelley's birth. High above the idling reef-set bell buoy, rocked by mighty tides, the poet sees a sea gull "searching the blue dome with keening cry," and in its wild free flight finds an emblem of the venturous poetic flight of Shelley, to whom he writes:

> Surely thou wert a lonely one,
> Gentle and wild;
> And the round sun delayed for thee
> In the red moorlands by the sea,
> When Tyrian Autumn lured thee on,
> A wistful child,
> To rove the tranquil, vacant year,
> From dale to dale;
> And the great Mother took thy face
> Between her hands for one long gaze,
> And bade thee follow without fear
> The endless trail.
> And thy clear spirit, half forlorn,
> Seeking its own,
> Dwelt with the nomad tents of rain,
> Marched with the gold-red ranks of grain,
> Or ranged the frontiers of the morn,
> And was alone.

The thirteen stanzas on Phillips Brooks were written on the white winter day of his burial, when the town's traffic paused at high noon as his body was borne out from the portal of the temple he builded into the broad open square where the grieving crowd waited, and the wealth-mongering city showed that it

> Sets higher than gold
> Just the straight manhood, clean, gentle, and fearless,
> Made in God's likeness once more as of old.

In greatness of manhood he was file-leader and head of the column; he was the white captain who wore his life without stain, who was never dismayed by darkness or distance, never swerved right or left from duty's high pathway; who stayed up the courage of men with his voice, "Stand fast, hold fast, push on, for the night wears to morning, and our God of promise is the God who performs." In him Boston honored its utmost in man. He showed the possibilities of manhood when it is strong in the Lord and in the power of his might. Faith made him; let infidelity match him if it can, and, failing that, let it reverently uncover in presence of the simple majesty of human nature molded and modeled after Christ. As Bliss Carman says, the doubting world, not overspiritual, not oversure of unseen realities, when asked, "Have you seen the

Lord, and do you know the Saviour?" may answer, "Phillips Brooks was his brother, and we have known Brooks." The poem entitled "The Country of Har" was written for the centenary of William Blake's "Songs of Innocence." "A Seamark" is a threnody for Robert Louis Stevenson, whose grave looks off over the sea from the mountain island of Samoa, where that "master of the roving kind," in whom the truant gypsy blood stirs and whom the wander-spirit leads beyond many horizons, was last heard from by the world. Of him, at tidings of his death, Bliss Carman wrote:

> Our restless loved adventurer,
> On secret orders come to him,
> Has slipped his cable, cleared the reef,
> And melted on the white sea rim.

A fond brotherliness beats in Carman's words in his tributes to Stevenson, "the loveliest child of earth," who passed from land to land, "the fleeting migrant of a day, heart-high, outbound for otherwhere;" whose lone grave is a seamark set for evermore, high on a peak wheeled round by tropic birds, and at whose wave-washed rocky base the green sea breaks its dragon teeth; and for whose soul our poet prays "that by whatever trail he fare, he be refreshed in God's great care." One of the tributes here is to Henry George, a man of the common people, "who worked for his daily bread and loved his fellows before himself," believing that "love is the only creed and honor the only law." Fifteen verses are to Raphael, "Master of adored Madonnas." Twelve are to Paul Verlaine. Most lavish in length and tenderness is the poem to Carman's friend, Andrew Straton, a tribute of friendship which minds us somewhat of Tennyson's "In Memoriam" to Arthur Henry Hallam. Straton was a "son of consolation; peace and cheer were in his hands, and their secret in his will." He was steadfast as the sun, and could keep silence like the stars. "Fearless man and faultless comrade, a great heart whose beat was love." Bliss Carman, we say again, has the true poetic spirit. This new volume makes us call him once more the poet of the wind and of the rain. The one blows the other through his pages. Here are twenty-seven verses of "Wind Songs," which also are sung for Andrew Straton's death. In pauses of wind and rain is the whip-poor-will's cry by night and the thrushes' fluting by day. To the poet, life and the world are great and wonderful and beautiful.

Poems Now First Collected. By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. 12mo, pp. 210. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.50.

These are Mr. Stedman's fugitive poems of the past twenty years, left scattered while he has been busy with volumes of literary criticism and poetical history. Here is his entreaty to the Muse whom for long periods he has perforce neglected:

> Return and be thou kind, bright Spirit of song,
> Thou whom I yet loved most, loved most of all
> Even when I left thee—I, now so long strayed
> From thy beholding! And renew, renew
> Thy gift to me fain clinging to thy robe!

A fit theme for a poem is "The Hand of Lincoln," the hand of labor and of liberty, the hand that drove the team, and held the plow, and poled the raft, and swung the ax, and wrote Emancipation for the slave. More alike in nature and in nurture than is usually noted were our two greatest Americans. Washington's mother was unlettered; Lincoln's father was unable to read or write. Washington had not schooling enough to teach him spelling and grammar; Lincoln was not over a year in school. Both were self-made men. Washington was six feet two; Lincoln six feet three and a half. Both were powerful, athletic men, champions at running, jumping, and wrestling; men of great endurance and patience. And both had huge hands. Lafayette said Washington's hands were the largest he had ever seen on any human being; and the bronze cast of Lincoln's hand, which inspired Stedman's poem, shows its large mold, big boned, knotted with cords and veins. Two sons of Anak held the helm of this nation with giant hands in the two greatest crises of its history. A tribute to Grant is in the poem "On the Death of an Invincible Soldier." Sweet and tender are the verses to Helen Keller, the wonderful girl whom deafness, dumbness, and blindness all together are not able to imprison or disable from knowledge, intelligence, delight, and the fellowships and accomplishments of life. In "Mors Benefica" our poet seems to say that he would choose to die without a day of sickness, unwitting of the hour, in life's brave heat, with senses clear, stricken at his work and on his feet, or else go down at sea:

> With no cry in vain,
> No ministrant beside to ward and weep,
> Hand upon helm, I would my quittance gain
> In some wild turmoil of the waters deep,
> And sink content into a dreamless sleep
> (Spared grave and shroud) below the ancient main.

In his "Proem to a Victorian Anthology" Stedman tells England, on the death of Browning and Tennyson, that since Shakespeare died she has seen no loftier day than the finish of such lives, "nor statelier exit of heroic soul conjoined with soul heroic," nor a lay excelling theirs, the two great singers "whose chanting large and sweet shall last until our tongue's far doom." The fourth division of the volume contains fifteen poems of the Caribbean Sea, a region not much sung by poets hitherto; and the poems take us over the map which last summer's Spanish-American war made familiar to us and to the keels of our warships. The poems go singing in many keys to the Bahamas, bleak San Salvador, the Windward Passage, the Pelican Shoal, Cape Haytien, Port-au-Prince, the green and watered and bloomy island of Jamaica, and Porto Rique, and Martinique. The cracked bells of Panama clanging in the two old cathedral towers seem to the poet to be still saying as of yore, "Come out! Come out! There's a heretic to singe to-day!" In the Caribbean Sea, "afloat on tropic wave," Stedman sings in 1892 the last poem of this volume, "Ariel," which is a tribute to the poet Shelley a

century from his birth. Shelley is "Nature's prodigal," the "boy divine"—

> The incarnate child of song,
> Who gazed, as if astray
> From some uncharted stellar way,
> With eyes of wonder at our world of grief and wrong.

We are astray in our opinion if Edmund Clarence Stedman is not dear to many who love what is best in American literature, and who deplore the rude years which have grudged his noble voice the notes it fain would have sung if burdens had been lighter and battles fewer. What he has written is marked by beauty, grace, and finish, by pure diction and well-nigh perfect measure, by a happy spirit, feeling felicitously expressed, and smooth musical utterance. The perfect taste which makes him one of the first of literary critics marks his own poetry and protects it from criticism.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Old Virginia and Her Neighbors. By JOHN FISKE. 2 vols., crown 8vo, pp. 318, 421. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, per set, $4.

No more delightful and illuminating histories are being written in these years than those which come from the diligent and fertile pen of John Fiske, the aggregate value of whose contributions to literature is already so great as to be difficult of measurement. The settlement and growth of Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, are here narrated, nearly up to the outbreak of the Revolution, with a critical insight, philosophical grasp, and literary charm never equaled by any historian of the same period. In the series which the author is writing the present book finds its place between the *Discovery of America* and *The Beginnings of New England.* Its aim is to follow the main stream of causation from the time of Walter Raleigh to the time of Dinwiddie. Raleigh's Virginia extended from Florida to Canada. With the charter of 1609 Virginia was practically severed from North Virginia, which presently took on the names of New England and New Netherlands. From the territory of Virginia, thus cut down, further slices were carved: first Maryland in 1632, then Carolina in 1663, then Georgia in 1732. The social and other features in which North Carolina, South Carolina, and Maryland differed from each other and from Virginia are described. Attention is called to the fact that the Cavalier society was reproduced nowhere save on Chesapeake Bay; that three fourths of the people of Maryland were Puritans, and that English Puritanism with the closely kindred French Calvinism swayed South Carolina. It is the author's opinion that there is much more Puritanism surviving in the South to-day than in New England. The Cavaliers made the greatness of Virginia; and the chief element of the immigration thither after the death of Charles I consisted of picked men and women. The book begins with a chapter on the sea kings of the "spacious times of

great Elizabeth," in which the names of Drake and Hawkins are vindicated from the charge of being no better than buccaneers. That in old times, as now, there were lugubrious lamenters over the inevitable progress of events, is shown by the elaborate essay which the Abbé Genty published at Orleans in 1787, on *The Influence of the Discovery of America on the Happiness of the Human Race*, in which Genty shows that Columbus only opened a new chapter in the long Iliad of human woe, the only unqualified benefit from that discovery being the introduction of quinine into Europe as a preventive of fevers. Charles Francis Adams has recently asked whether the discovery of America was not, for at least a century, fraught with more evil than benefit to mankind. When Columbus sailed westward from the Canaries his aim was not to discover a new world, but to find the coast of Asia and acquire wealth for the purpose of driving the Turk from Europe and setting free the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem. The first American legislature was the House of Burgesses of Old Virginia, a judicial as well as legislative body. Its enactments dealt with many matters, small and great. The authority and dignity of the ministry were cherished. Any person found drunk was, for the first offense, to be privately reproved by the minister; the second offense received public reproof; the third time the offender must be put in irons for twelve hours and pay a fine; for any subsequent offenses the punishment should be severely increased at the discretion of the governor and council. For public contributions every married man was assessed in church "according to his own apparel," and every married man "according to his own and his wife's apparel;" a law calculated to promote plainness of dress. Speaking against the governor or any member of the council was liable to be punished by the pillory. The minister's salary was made as sure as possible even in the worst times by a law that no planter could dispose of so much as a pound of tobacco until he had laid aside a certain specified quantity toward that salary. It was not prudent to speak too freely of ministers. One enactment read, "Noe man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishioners may be alienated from him and his mynistrie prove less effectuall, upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell." An item in the history of names tells how one of the finest of American cities preserves on the banks of the Patapsco River an old Irish name. "On the southwestern coast of Ireland, not far from Cape Clear, the steamship on its way from New York to Liverpool passes within sight of a small promontory crowned by an ancient village bearing the Gaelic name of Baltimore, which signifies 'large townlands.'" In Maryland, under Lord Baltimore, there were statutes threatening Unitarians with death and fining a man ten shillings for calling his neighbor a "Calvenist" or a "Prespiterian." The early rise of an abolitionist party in Virginia is referred to as follows: "In 1784 Thomas Jefferson announced the principle upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency in 1860, the prohibition of slavery in the

national domain; Jefferson attempted to embody this principle in an ordinance for establishing territorial government west of the Alleghanies. In 1787 George Mason denounced the 'infernal traffic' in flesh and blood with phrases quite like those which his grandchildren were to resent when they fell from the lips of Wendell Phillips." The book closes by telling how, in 1745, the sixth Lord Fairfax came to spend the rest of his days in Virginia; how, there being much surveying to be done, the lord of Greenway Court gave this work to a young man for whom he had conceived a strong affection, the name of Fairfax's young friend being George Washington; how, when Governor Dinwiddie, at a perilous crisis, had need of the ablest man Virginia could afford, to undertake a journey of unwonted difficulty through the wilderness, to negotiate with Indian tribes, and to warn the advancing Frenchmen to trespass no further upon English territory, the shrewd old Scotchman selected, as the best person to intrust with this arduous enterprise, a a lad of one-and-twenty, Lord Fairfax's surveyor, George Washington, a most extraordinary choice, but one completely justified by subsequent events, many and great, and reaching on to the time when that young land surveyor became President of the United States.

Memories of Hawthorne. By ROSE HAWTHORNE LATHROP. Crown 8vo, pp. 482. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $2.

Hawthorne's daughter, the author of this delightful book, disavows its authorship in her Preface, which says: "It will be seen that this volume is really written by Sophia Hawthorne, whose letters from earliest girlhood are so expressed, and so profound in thought and loveliness, that some will of sterner quality than a daughter's must cast them aside." As this intimates, the story of Hawthorne's life is here given us mostly through the letters of his wife, a medium or mirror in which his life and character appear with a peculiar and tender charm. The first chapter deals largely in family ancestries; the second, tells of the courtship and engagement of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sophia Peabody; the third, of their early married years; the fourth, of their life in Salem; the fifth, of the change from Salem to Berkshire; the sixth, of Lenox; the seventh, of the removal to Concord; the eighth, of his Liverpool consulate; then three chapters of "English Days," and two of "Italian Days;" then the life at "The Wayside," "The Artist at Work," and "The Leave-Taking." Rockwood Hoar is quoted as saying that England is "the only place fit to live in out of America." Wordsworth's wise saying is on an early page: "He that feels contempt for any living thing hath faculties which he has never used." Mr. Hosmer glorifies John Adams, and says that "at eighty-three (when he sat near him every Sunday at church) he was a 'perfect beauty;' that his cheeks were as unwrinkled as a girl's, and as fair and white, and his head was a noble crown; and that any woman would fall in love with him." Mrs. Hawthorne writes of her husband, "I do not believe there is another spirit so little disturbed by its body as his." Here is Mrs. Hawthorne's

comparison of historians: "Froude's style is wholly unlike that of the stately but rather tiresome, unchangeable *canter* of Macaulay's. Macaulay takes care of his style, but Froude is only interested in his theme. I do not suppose any one historian has yet climbed up to the pinnacle of perfect impartiality, unless my darling Herodotus, who has the simplicity of a child, and no theories at all. But Macaulay's style tires me. He is so *ferociously* lucid that he confuses me as with too much light. The regular refrain of his brilliant sentences finally has the effect of a grand jangle of musical instruments." When Hawthorne had finished the manuscript of one of his books, his wife writes: "As usual, he thinks the book good for nothing and based upon a very foolish idea which nobody will like or accept. But I am used to such opinions, and understand why he feels oppressed with disgust of what has so long occupied him. He has regularly despised each one of his books immediately upon finishing it." Motley writes to Hawthorne: "Believe me, I don't say to you half what I say behind your back; I have said a dozen times that nobody can write English but you." Oliver Wendell Holmes talks of Hawthorne to his daughter thus: "I delighted in suggesting a train of thought to your father. Perhaps he would not answer for some time. Sometimes it was a long time before the answer came, like an echo; but it was sure to come. It was as if the high mountain range, you know!—*The house-wall there* would have rapped out a speedy babbling response at once; but *the mountain!*" In "Italian Days" we have glimpses of many people, including the Brownings. No richer or more radiant personality appears in the memory of the Hawthorne family than Robert Browning. Mrs. Hawthorne's Roman diaries have such memoranda as this: "I went with my husband to call at Miss Hosmer's studio. Mr. Browning darted upon us across the piazza, glowing with cordiality;" and on another day, "I met Mr. Browning, or rather he rushed at me from a distance, and seemed to come through a carriage in his way." The daughter, Mrs. Lathrop, who was then a little girl, remembers Browning as talking merrily, surpassing anybody she knew in sounding gayety of voice, and full of glorious cheer. Of the influence of Browning's strong and healthy presence on her father she writes: "I have wondered whether the Faun would have sprung with such untainted jollity into the sorrows of to-day if Mr. Browning had not leaped so blithely before my father's eyes." Hawthorne himself wrote: "Browning's nonsense is of a very genuine and excellent quality, the true babble and effervescence of a bright and powerful mind; and he lets it play among his friends with the faith and simplicity of a child." Hawthorne's last years were pinched by poverty and made weary by illness. But this book ends with this sweet declaration by Mrs. Hawthorne, written in her lonely widowhood and near the end of her own life: "I have 'enjoyed life,' and its 'hard pinches' have not too deeply bitten into my heart. This is because my hopeful temperament, together with the silent ministry of pain, has helped me to a perfect belief in

the instant providence of God, in his eternal love, patience, sweetness. To stand and wait after doing all that is legitimate is my instinct, my best wisdom; and I always hear the still small voice at last. If man would not babble so much we could much oftener hear God. The lesson of my life has been patience. It has only made me feel the more humble that God has been so beyond count benignant to me. . . . With 'lowering clouds' I have never been long darkened, because the sun above has been so penetrating that their tissue has directly become silvered and goldened. Our own closed eyelids are too often the only clouds between us and the ever-shining sun. I hold all as if it were not mine, but God's, and ready to resign it."

Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 414, 362. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, gilt top, $7.50.

These are the "Reflections and Reminiscences of Otto, Prince von Bismarck, written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office; translated from the German under the supervision of A. J. Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge." This edition, issued by the Harpers, is a revision, and a great improvement on the one published in England. It is no disparagement of Dr. Busch's valuable book to say that this has the advantage of being Bismarck's own story, told in his own way and in his own energetic and pithy words, the chapters of which were revised many times with great care by Bismarck himself. This ought to be a great book—it is. The most powerful personality on the continent of Europe in our time records here his political thoughts, his recollections of persons and events, his reflections upon the conduct of men and the course of affairs, and his explanation of his own attitude and action through the mighty changes in which the Man of Blood and Iron was a dominant participant. There was no exaggeration in the words which Lewis II, King of Bavaria, wrote in a letter to Bismarck in 1870: "Great, undying is that which you have done for the German nation, and, without flattery, I may say that you hold the most eminent place among the great men of our century." There is not space here for an adequate notice of so important and impressive a piece of reality as this book is. Its value will last as long as the gigantic figure of Bismarck is visible to the backward-looking student of European history when his eye scans the annals of the nineteenth century. This autobiography reminds us of General Grant's—not in its style, for the styles are as different as the men, but in being the revelation of a sturdy and sincere nature, the utterance of a man of action habituated to simplicity and directness of speech. Both books belong in the category of reality, and preserve for coming generations the quality as well as the opinions of two solidly genuine and supremely memorable men, whose immense personal force dinted deep decisions into the history of nations—men who made history before they wrote it. These are the stalwarts who can be seen afar across the wide landscape of human history, and their deliberate words are as well aimed and as weighty as blows.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Friendship. By HUGH BLACK, M.A. 12mo, pp. 236. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, decorated cloth, boxed, $1.25.

Dr. W. Robertson Nicoll says that Hugh Black, associate pastor of Free St. George's Church, Edinburgh, is now "the most popular preacher in Scotland," and that this book is "full of good things winningly expressed; and though simply written is the result of real thought and experience," for young men especially "a golden possession." Printed in two colors, with marginal decorations on every page, it is an excellent gift book for any occasion. The chapters are entitled, "The Miracle of Friendship," "The Culture of Friendship," "The Fruits of Friendship," "The Choice of Friendship," "The Eclipse of Friendship," "The Wreck of Friendship," "The Renewing of Friendship," "The Limits of Friendship," "The Higher Friendship." The most beautiful lament of bereaved friendship is David's: "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant hast thou been unto me: thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women." Friendship is inexplicable, a miracle; but it happens. "If a man should importune me to give a reason why I loved him I can only answer, because it was he, because it was I." The Book of Ecclesiasticus says: "If thou findest a good man, rise up early in the morning to go to him, and let thy feet wear the steps of his door." When Charles Kingsley was asked the secret of his strong, joyous life, he answered, "I had a friend." The Persian poet Hafiz wrote: "Thou learnest no secret till thou knowest friendship; since to the unloving no heavenly knowledge enters." The old Scandinavian *Edda* said: "Go often to the house of thy friend, for weeds soon choke up the unused path." Carlyle wrote in *Sartor Resartus:* "How were Friendship possible? In mutual devotedness to the Good and True. Otherwise impossible, except as Armed Neutrality or hollow Commercial League." The Book of Proverbs is a sort of manual on friendship. In Shakespeare we read:

> Thy friends thou hast and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.

Here is a well-known bit of Bacon's wisdom: "Whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wit and understanding do clarify and break up in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he *marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words;* finally he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation." More than once an honored white-haired friend has repeated to us this verse:

> He that hath a thousand friends
> Hath never one to spare;
> And he that hath an enemy
> Shall meet him everywhere.

At the opening of the last chapter of the best book we have seen on Friendship Hugh Black quotes Thomas à Kempis: "Love Him and keep Him for thy Friend who, when all go away, will not forsake thee, nor suffer thee to perish at the last."

Through Asia. By SVEN HEDIN. 2 volumes, 8vo, pp. 1,255. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, in a box, $10.

The travels described in these two great copiously illustrated volumes place the author in the front rank of modern explorers. Desiring to visit some of the least known regions of Central Asia, Dr. Hedin enlisted the interest of King Oscar of Sweden and one or two private individuals, who consented to support his project of exploration. In October, 1893, he started on his far journeying and spent most of 1894 investigating among the Pamir Mountains, which the people of High Asia call with awe the Roof of the World. From this elevated region radiate stupendous mountain ranges, the Kwenlun eastward, the Himalayas southeastward, with the Kara-korums between them stretching into Thibet, the Tian-shan highlands branching northeast, and the Hindu-kush Mountains southwest. The loftiest peak of the Pamirs is Mus-tagh-ata, 25,000 feet in height. Dr. Hedin attempted to scale it, but was forced to turn back at a height of 20,000 feet. The winter of 1894–95 was spent at the ancient and remote city of Kashgar, studying its curious life. In 1896 he continued his explorations of regions little known, crossing the Takla-makan Desert, between the Yarkand and Khotan rivers, in April, and nearly dying of thirst before, after crawling over the sands for five hours, he heard a wild duck splash and came upon a pool of water. Later he made his way to Koko-nor, and through Alaskan and the Ordos country across the Hwang-ho River to Peking, and thence home by way of Siberia. Nearly three hundred sketches and photographs made by the author himself show us the regions traveled through, the people and their customs, and many incidents of his adventurous years.

Dwellers in Gotham. A Romance of New York. By ANNAN DALE. 12mo, pp. 392. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

The authorship of this book is known to but few. It goes out upon its merits with its message. It is better than Edgar Fawcett's, *A New York Family*, which some have highly praised. The reader of it is reminded of Vinet's definition of eloquence, because it does "make the primitive chords vibrate." It touches the strings of feeling continually and the fountains of tears now and then. It is incessantly interesting, a vivid and nervous reproduction in story of the vital elements which beat and burn through human experience; with noble lessons driven in on heart and conscience. The meaning swings ahead without a pause and carries the reader with it. The bits of meditation in interjected paragraphs do not interrupt the story, but illuminate the region through which it runs. There are no dull pages in the book, and many sparkle with bright surprises of thought and expression. New York's social,

commercial, and religious life is the sphere of the story, and the general plan of the book is to show that the three phases of the temptation of Christ—the appeal to hunger, to pride, and to ambition—are in the life of all men, some yielding to the temptation and some overcoming it. It will catch and hold a large variety of readers. It is good for young people and old folks. The publishers have issued it in beautiful form.

Social Life in the British Army. By "A British Officer." 12mo, pp. 95. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Mostly about the relaxations and pleasures of officers and men in her majesty's service, but in a fuller way a picture of military life in the great Anglo-Saxon nation, with familiar details of sports, pastimes, and pursuits intended to foster a hardy manliness and efficiency in British soldiers. Also the fact appears that in exploration and adventure British officers have contributed to the advance of modern science and geography. The British army is peculiar in European countries in that it is the only large standing army maintained without compulsory service. This book is fully and effectively illustrated from life by R. Caton Woodville.

Crooked Trails. By Frederic Remington. 8vo, pp. 151. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.

One of the unique features of Mr. Remington's books is that he is artist as well as writer, and does his own illustrating. His pictures are lifelike and powerful, vigor and action quiver and rush in them all. And his letterpress description and narrative go with the picture, the two together making a living unity. This book, like *Pony Tracks*, deals with wild life on the plains and mountains, experiences among the cowboys, "greasers," and Indians; and also goes back to the life of the Texas Rangers in the days when they fought the Mexicans in front, with the Comanches behind and on both flanks.

Dumb Foxglove, and Other Stories. By Annie Trumbull Slosson. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The author of *Fishin' Jimmie* needs only her name to commend any new book she may write. Tales of Connecticut village life fill her latest offering. A certain sweet, pathetic vein runs through them, and none of them go entirely out of sight of religion. For a gift or for the home table they are wholesome and engaging.

Old Chester Tales. By Margaret Deland. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

There is much artistic power and dramatic feeling in these eight stories. Most, if not all of them, have proved attractive to the readers of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*. "The Promises of Dorothea," "Good for the Soul," "Miss Maria," "The Child's Mother," "Justice and the Judge," "Where the Laborers are Few," "Sally," "The Unexpectedness of Mr. Horace Shields"—all have a quality which sets them above the ordinary collections of stories.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1899.

ART. I.—WYCLIF THE PROPHET OF PROTESTANTISM AND OF THE METHODIST ITINERANCY.

IT was formerly thought that Wyclif reached his full position at once. But the truth is that there was a gradualness in his theological history which makes him less a portent, but more a remarkable teacher.* Take, for instance, his attitude toward the pope. Down to 1378 he recognized the papacy as useful and, within certain limits, as a divine institution. He allowed it a spiritual supremacy in the Church, but only when it was true to its spiritual ideals. It had no civil jurisdiction, nor any right to levy taxes on the State. The greatness of the pope stands in humility, poverty, and readiness to serve; when he becomes degenerate and secularized he becomes an arch heretic and must be put down. But even in its spiritual province the papacy is not necessary to salvation, nor has it unconditioned plenary power; and, moreover, one has the right to investigate its claims to plenary power. †

Even in this early stage Wyclif had reached the point allowed by Melanchthon, that the pope might be recognized as the head of the Church by human right, but not by divine right. The infallibility of the pope and of the Church he stoutly denied. Before 1378 Wyclif's position was exactly like that of the Gallicans and the present ultra High Churchmen of England. It is a singular instance of historic evolution that the only representatives of the moderate Romanism of the

* See Lechler, *John Wicklif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, translated with additions by Lorimer, chap. viii, sec. 11.

† See the two earliest and two of the most important of Wyclif's Latin treatises, *De Civili Dominio* and *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, the latter written in 1378.

pre-Vatican times are now to be found within the bounds of the Church of England.

The next stage of Wyclif's antipapal progress was brought about by the schism of 1378, when Urban VI and Clement VII were cursing each other and using every other weapon of hostility. He now declared that the Church would be much better off without either, and professed himself independent of both popes.* But this neutral position could not be long maintained. Wyclif must either retreat or advance. Lechler expresses this admirably:

> It was inevitable, from the nature of the case, that an ever-sharpening antagonism and a warfare against papacy, growing continually more uncompromising, should develop itself. And to this the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, in which Wyclif began to engage in the year 1382, essentially contributed. The more violently he was calumniated and attacked by the friends of the papacy, on account of his criticism of the doctrine of transubstantiation, all the more did the papacy itself appear to him to be a limb of Antichrist. To this period of his life—1382-84—belong all the strong assaults upon the Church which have been heretofore known to the world from his *Trialogues* and several popular writings in English. But these attacks become better understood, both psychologically and pragmatically, only when we think of them as a climax gradually realized. All the usurpations of the papacy hitherto censured and opposed by Wyclif were now seen by him for the first time in the light of a corruption of Christianity of the widest extent and immeasurably deep, for which he could find no more appropriate name than "Antichristianism." The systematic spoliation of the national churches, the haughty pride, the worldly character of the papal government, the claim to hierarchical domination over the whole world—all these features of the degenerate papacy were attacked by Wyclif after this date, as well as before, but were now for the first time seen by him in their connection with what was the worst feature of all—with an assumption of divine attributes and rights which seemed to him to stamp the pope as Antichrist.†

Wyclif saw that such absolutism was the very kernel of the papacy, and inasmuch as the pope could not be content with the pastoral care of souls, in humility and sanctity, but must labor for worldly greatness and dignity, and rests his claim on the blasphemous assumption that he is vicegerent of Christ on earth, Wyclif boldly contended that the very office itself is of

* See his *De Ecclesia*, written in the latter part of 1378, and his *Cruciata*, probably written soon after.

† Lechler, pp. 316, 317.

the wicked one, and did not hesitate to use the well-known words of Paul (2 Thess. ii, 3) as characterizing this great apostasy of the "man of sin." The veneration given to the pope is blasphemy all the more detestable since by it divine honor is given to a limb of Lucifer, who, because of his wickedness, is a more abominable idol than a painted block.*

As to the doctrine of the Church in general, Wyclif reached a stanchly Protestant position. He abolished the unscriptural distinction between the clergy and laity which is at the bottom of the Catholic claim, both Roman and Anglican. The noble word of Wyclif was worthy to be written in gold as the eternal charter of Protestantism, "*Omnem Christianum oportet esse theologum.*" "Every Christian," he says, "ought to be a theologian, because it is necessary for every Christian to understand the faith of the Church, either by an inspired knowledge or a knowledge humanly acquired; for otherwise he could not be faithful, since faith is the highest theology." † He holds that, while the clergy may go astray in both doctrine and life, the laity may remain faithful, and in case the former should err from the way the laity have a right to withhold from them their earthly goods, or, in other words, to repudiate them. Wyclif nowhere uses the words "priesthood of all believers," but he cordially accepted the idea, and thus parted completely from the Catholic conception. A Christian layman stands before God infinitely higher than a priest or bishop, if the latter is only Christian in name.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years before Luther, Wyclif restored the apostolic theory of the ministry. The hierarchical gradation, which the Anglican Church has retained from the Roman, he entirely repudiated. As early as 1377 Gregory XI mentions his belief in the parity of the ministry as one of his nineteen heretical tenets. Every priest, says Wyclif, has the power of ordaining and administering all the sacraments.‡

* See all this set forth at length in Wyclif's last writings—the *Trialogus*, the *Supplementum Trialogi*, the *De Blasphemia*, the *De Apostasia*, the Latin *Sermons*, the *De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo*, and others.

† *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, XXIV.

‡ *Hoc ergo catholice credi debet, quod quilibet sacerdos rite ordinatus habet potestatem sufficientem qualibet sacramenta conferendi . . . absolvendi, nec aliter potest papa absolvere. Nam quantum ad postestatem ordinis omnes sacerdotes sunt pares.*— *De Civili Dominio*, i, 38.

He says again: "I assert boldly, first, that in the primitive Church, from the time of Paul, two orders of clergy sufficed, namely, the priest and the deacon. I say, second, that in the time of the apostle the presbyter and the bishop were the same. See 1 Tim. iii, and Titus i."* This ought not to have been considered very heretical, as the canon law contained the same idea and the quotation from Jerome in which he speaks of the original identity of bishops and presbyters.† It is, however, a singular illustration of the state of historical knowledge in the fourteenth century that Wyclif traces the development of the episcopate as a separate order, and all the hierarchical assumptions of the papacy—as well, of course, as the temporal possessions of the pope—to the pretended Donation of Constantine to Silvester I. "*Superbia Cæsarea*," he says, "imperial pride has brought in these orders and grades."‡ Nowhere, perhaps, does the originality and penetration of Wyclif's genius shine out more than in his spiritual conception of the Church, and in his anticipation of the modern restoration of the ecclesiology of Christ.

High Church scholars—and nearly all Episcopal scholars are now High Church—depreciate greatly Wyclif's work on account of his Protestantism. One of these in an able article on Wyclif says:

> Wyclif anticipated most of the abuses by which the extreme fanaticism of the Puritans was subsequently characterized. [The effort of the Puritans to reform the Church on a scriptural basis is called fanaticism.] In the first place, he rightly insisted on the supremacy and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures. But he held them to be supreme, not only in matters of faith and revealed truth, but in political affairs and in rites and ceremonies. [This is misleading. He held that no rites and ceremonies were of divine obligation except such as were deduced from Scripture.] In the second place, he entirely mistook the nature of the Church. He regarded the institution as consisting only of holy persons who were predestined to salvation, and held that her sacraments were vitiated by the imperfections of her ministers. [This is incorrect. Wyclif held that ungodly men ought not to minister in the Church, but he never taught that

* *Trialogus* iv, 15. He says also, in the *Supplementum Trialogi*, vi, "*Ut olim omnes sacerdotes vocati fuerunt episcopi.*"

† See *Decreti*, Pars i, *Distinct.* 95, c. 5, and Jerome's *Commentary on the Epistle to Titus*, i, 5. See Lechler, p. 311.

‡ *Trialogus* iv, 15. He says again, "*Tertia introducta est secundum ordinationem Cæsaream præsidentia episcoporum.*"—*Sermons for Saints' Days*, No. 46.

the efficacy of the sacrament to the recipient depended upon the holiness of the priest. On the contrary, he asserted plainly more than once that an unworthy minister can administer the sacraments validly to the spiritual health of the faithful recipient, but to condemnation to himself.* He maintained that God himself worked in the sacrament and was not dependent therefore on the character of the minister. "Thes Antichrist's sophistris schulden knowe well that a cursed man doth fully the sacramentis, though it be to his dampnynge, for they ben not autoris of thes sacramentis, but God kepeth that dygnyte to hymself."† Lechler has fully elucidated this.‡] In the third place, he recognized only the two orders of priests and deacons in the Church, and held that episcopal ordination was unnecessary for the ministry. A predestinarian in religion, a presbyterian in Church government, almost a Zwinglian in his latest views of the eucharist, he was the progenitor of the extremes of the Puritans. By his one-sided insistence on the supremacy of the Scriptures he fostered the unreasoning detestation of the cross in baptism or of the ring in marriage, ignored the functions of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies, denied the value of apostolic tradition, and let loose upon the interpretation of the Bible the caprice of human ingenuity. By this misconception of the nature and constitution of the Church he sacrificed historical continuity, founded the principles on which the reign of the "saints" was established, distorted the true view of the efficiency of the sacraments, and opened the door to the multiplication of sects.§

This is a good indication of the differences between so-called Catholicism and Protestantism.

In his idea of Church and State Wyclif is also thoroughly Protestant. The spiritual and temporal sovereignties are kept asunder. One has no right to interfere with the other. Each is responsible to God. The pope has no authority in the civil realm. "To rule temporal possessions," says Wyclif, "after a civil manner, to conquer kingdoms and exact tributes, appertain to earthly lordships, not to the pope; so that, if he pass by and set aside the office of spiritual rule, and entangle himself in those other concerns, his work is not only superfluous, but also contrary to Holy Scripture."‖ Wyclif, in fact, looks forward to an ideal in which civil polity and law will be no longer necessary in the Church. "The law of the Gospel," he

* See *Trial*, iv, 10. 12; *De Ecclesia*, xix; *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, xii.

† *Wiclif's Select English Works*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, iii, 27.

‡ Chap. viii, sec. 12.

§ Article "John Wyclif," in *Church Quarterly Review*, London, Oct., 1891. p. 135.

‖ *De Civili Dominio*, i, 11. R. L. Poole in his invaluable *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, London, 1884, chap. x, has given a full exposition of Wyclif's views under the head of "Church and State."

says, "is sufficient by itself, without the civil law or that called canonical, for the perfect rule of the Church militant."* As to lordship itself, it is founded on grace. The meek "shall inherit the earth." Righteousness is the only test of valid property holdings. On the one hand this invalidates the claim of the pope and bishops to their immense estates, and on the other it puts in jeopardy the property of all men and absolves the people from allegiance to a wicked ruler. But this principle Wyclif did not push to an extreme. It was an ideal only. "In the perfect state," he said, "all things would be in common."† In the meantime men must obey their rulers.

It has been often asserted that Wyclif's principles here were revolutionary, that he taught insubordination and anarchy. Nothing could be farther from the truth. He repeatedly inculcated obedience to rulers and masters. "If thou art a laborer," he says, "live in meekness, and truly and willingly, so thy master, if he be a heathen man, by thy meekness, willing and true service, may not have a grudge against thee, nor slander thy God nor thy Christian profession." And much more he writes to the same effect. Every man ought to live in quietness and obedience, in love and equity, according to the estate in which Providence has placed him.‡ Wyclif had to meet this misrepresentation in his own day. "Some men that are not of charity slander poor priests [his itinerants] with this error, that servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rent and service from their lords when lords be openly wicked in their living." His earnest scriptural character—he appealed himself to 1 Pet. ii, 18, and Rom. xiii, 1–7—should save him from any charge of this kind. Wyclif's great service in relation to the doctrine of Church and State was in holding that the Church should keep to its spiritual functions purely, that "property has its duties as well as its rights," that property is responsibility—responsibility to the Suzerain of the universe to use it well for God's glory and the good of men, and that when wasted in evil ways God has a right to resume control.§

* *De Civili Dominio*, cap. 17. † *Ibid.*, cap. 30.

‡See Wyclif's tract, *A Short Rule of Life for each Man in General, for Priests, Lords, and Laborers in Special.*

§See Burrows's *Wiclif's Place in History*, p. 16; John "Wicliffe: His Life and Work," in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, Dec., 1884, pp. 750, 751.

When we consider his attitude toward the Bible, the completeness with which Wyclif grasped the fundamental idea of Protestantism is apparent. In this respect nothing was lacking. He said:

> The Holy Scripture is the faultless, most true, most perfect, and most holy law of God, which it is the duty of all men to learn, to know, to defend, and to observe, inasmuch as they are bound to serve the Lord in accordance with it, under the promise of an eternal reward. . . . The Holy Scripture is the one word of God, also the whole law of Christ is one perfect word proceeding from the mouth of God; it is therefore not permitted to sever the Holy Scripture, but to allege it in its integrity according to the sense of the author. If God's word is the life of the world, every word of God is the life of the human soul; how may any Antichrist, for dread of God, take it away from us that be Christian men, and thus suffer the people to die of hunger in heresy and blasphemy of men's laws, that corrupteth and slayeth the soul? . . . It is impossible that any word or deed of the Christian should be of equal authority with Holy Scripture.*

Wyclif accepted unreservedly the principle of the sole and sufficient authority of the Holy Scriptures as the only rule of faith and practice, thus anticipating the Reformation in announcing the formal principle of Protestantism. This gave him among his contemporaries the title of "Doctor Evangelicus," as embodying the distinctive trait of his teaching and character, just as Adam Marsh was called a "Doctor Illustris;" Alexander of Hales, "Doctor Irrefragabilis;" Albertus Magnus, "Doctor Universalis;" Henricus de Gandavo, "Doctor Solemnis;" Bradwardine, "Doctor Profundus;" Bacon, "Doctor Mirabilis;" Duns Scotus, "Doctor Subtilis;" and Thomas Aquinas, "Doctor Angelicus." He declared his faith in the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture, which he identifies with the incarnate Word, rejected the apocryphal writings by which the Church supported her doctrines, and stigmatized those who read the decretals as fools. Wyclif's opponents charged him with borrowing the opinions of Occam in regard to the Bible, but this he denied, saying that his views on this matter were taken from Scripture and the writings of the fathers. In this he was correct. Occam appeals to the Bible

* See *De Veritate Scripturæ Sacræ*, *Trialogus*, *De Civili Dominio*, and *De Ecclesia*, passim.

constantly, but his appeal is to the Bible and Church teaching combined, and it does not occur to him that the doctrines of the Church should first be independently judged to find out whether they are in accordance with Scripture, and thence received or rejected.* But Wyclif with a bound swept away all other supports, and appealed to the word of God and to that word alone.

In the reaction from Ullmann's excessive emphasis on the evangelical elements of the pre-Reformation reformers,† Karl Müller has gone to the other extreme in denying them any evangelical conception whatever. ‡ He says that the teaching of Wyclif and Hus, namely, that Church membership depends on keeping God's law and not on the recognition of the hierarchy, and that this law is in the Bible and not in the hierarchy, does not leave the mediæval ground, because the Church as a means of grace with clergy and sacraments is still recognized and honored.§ But Protestantism constantly recognizes Church and sacraments as a means of grace, only insisting with Wyclif that everything must be true to the norm, the word. If otherwise it is not Protestantism, but Rationalism and the new Unitarianism. There is a degree of truth, however, in Müller's thought that Wyclif's doctrine of dominion is congenial with mediæval ideas. All mankind form a great complex life under God as supreme feudal lord, from whom every man receives in fee his worldly possessions; and they may rightly be lost by a breach of vassal obligations. But so much is conceded to the minimizing judgment of Karl Müller concerning Wyclif's Protestantism as to say that it is not to be expected that he should have attained to the fullness of the evangelical assurance of faith. He swept away all notions of merit and of works of supererogation. He denied utterly the idea of a treasure house of merits held in heaven to the credit of the pope, an idea which played such an important part in the Middle Ages and on which the doctrine of indulgences was founded.

*See Lechler on this, chap. viii, sec. 2, whose treatment of Wyclif's attitude to the Bible is exhaustive and admirable.

† See his well-known book, *Reformers Before the Reformation*, in German, 1842, 2d ed., 1866; in English, Edinburgh, 1842, 4th ed., 1874.

‡ *Bericht über den gegenwärtihen Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiet der vorreformationschen Zeit, in Vorträge der theol. Konferenz zu Giessen*, 1887.

§ H. M. Scott, in *Current Discussions in Theology*, vi, 229.

He held to the necessity of repentance and conversion, and his ideas on both were quite satisfactory; but he does not grasp the simplicity and freedom of faith as taught by Paul and received by Luther and given its rightful place and power by Wesley. With Wyclif faith is still too much a belief with the intellect and not enough a trust of the heart. In his doctrine of faith as a belief of the Gospel, Wyclif still stood on mediæval ground. Every man is the product of his age; and, however far Wyclif went beyond it in many of his ideas, it was perhaps absolutely impossible for him to arrive at the material principle of Protestantism—that principle which makes it what it is, which forms its matter or substance—the doctrine of justification by faith. And it was this failure which marks the gap between Wyclif and Luther. But it was not until two hundred years after Luther that this doctrine was made a principle of evangelism.

Professor Shirley was the first to call attention to Wyclif's anticipation of Wesley's itinerancy—the resemblance between the "poor priests" and "Wesley's lay preachers, such as they were while his strong hand was upon them." * Nothing illustrates better Wyclif's practical genius than his determination to sow England deep with evangelical principles by sending out priests and laymen—for he employed both—armed with copies of the gospels and epistles which he had just translated, and with his vigorous English tracts and pamphlets. They went forth in long garments of coarse woolen cloth—barefooted, with staff in hand, as pilgrims wandering from village to village, town to town—preaching, teaching, warning, wherever they could find hearers, in church, churchyard, street, and market place. The Church authorities were deeply enraged by this itinerant propagandism of heresy; and Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, calls attention to "certain unauthorized itinerant preachers, who set forth erroneous, yea, heretical, assertions in public sermons, not only in churches, but also in public squares and other profane places, and they do this under

* *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, London, 1858, p. xli. The first modern biographer of Wyclif, Lewis, hardly mentions the poor priests; but that enthusiastic Wyclifite, Robert Vaughan, does full justice to this aspect of the reformer's work. See his *Life and Opinions of Wycliffe*, 2d ed., rev., London, 1831, ii, 163, *ff*. Lechler is full and satisfactory here, as everywhere. 2d ed., London, 1884, 189, *ff*. Wesley himself never mentions Wyclif.

the guise of great holiness, but without having obtained any episcopal or papal authorization." * The sermons of Wyclif's preachers were simple presentations of Gospel facts and ethics, especially the latter, which they enforced with great vigor and plainness of speech. They were sent out by Wyclif from Oxford and from Lutterworth, their special field of activity being Leicestershire, though they extended beyond that; and their time was in the last part of Wyclif's life, perhaps 1375–82. Wyclif wrote many tracts, both in English and Latin, in defense of them, one of which, *De Graduationibus Scholasticis*, is a support of the right to employ men not graduates to preach the Gospel, which he proves from Scripture and the practice of the Church.†

In another of these tracts, *Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices*, he gives a scathing picture of the state of the Church. In order to obtain a pastoral charge a priest must usually buy his way, presenting to the prelate firstfruits and other unlawful contributions, or he must combine with it some worldly office inconsistent with the life of a priest. Vicious and incompetent men, therefore, may obtain the care of many thousand souls. Says Wyclif:

> But if there be any simple man who desireth to live well, or to teach truly the law of God, he shall be deemed a hypocrite, a new teacher, a heretic, and not suffered to come to any benefice. If in any little poor place he shall live a poor life he shall be so persecuted and slandered that he shall be put out by wills, extortions, frauds, or worldly violence, and imprisoned or burnt.

Some lay patrons, "to cover their simony, will not take for themselves, but kerchiefs for the lady, or a palfrey, or a tun of wine. And when some lords would present a good man, then some ladies are the means of having a dancer presented, or a tripper on tapits, or a hunter, or a hawker, or a wild player of summer gambols." It was almost impossible, therefore, for poor priests to accept benefices without contracting the guilt of simony. Another reason why poor priests could not accept benefices was the fear of being compelled to misspend poor men's goods—misspending, that is, the income of the cure on ecclesiastics, patrons, rich entertainments, and the like. Wyclif

* Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 158.

† This tract is still in manuscript in Vienna.

here mentions a curious custom which shows the depth of infamy to which the Church had descended:

> On each holy day these small curates shall commonly have letters from their ordinaries to summon and curse poor men [for not paying more into the coffers of the Church], and for naught except the covetousness of the clerks of Antichrist; and if they refuse to summon and curse them, though they know not why they should, they shall be injured, and summoned from day to day, from one far place to a farther, or be accursed, or lose their benefice, or their profits.

Wyclif reprobates in the strongest language these "accursed deceits."

But Wyclif's chief reason for the itinerant life for his helpers is that in this manner they can better "help their brethren heavenward, whether by teaching, praying, or giving example." He adds:

> By this they most surely save themselves and help their brethren; and they are free to fly from one city to another when they are persecuted by the clerks of Antichrist, as Christ biddeth and the Gospel. And thus they may best, without any challenging of men, go and dwell among the people where they shall most profit; and for the time convenient, coming and going after the moving of the Holy Ghost, and not being hindered from doing what is best by the jurisdiction of sinful men. Also they follow Christ and the apostles more in taking voluntary alms of the people whom they teach than in taking dimes and offerings by customs which sinful men have ordained in the time of grace.

Parish priests who were faithful to their trust are not condemned. On this Wyclif writes:

> Nevertheless, they condemn not curates who do well their office, and dwell where they shall most profit, and teach truly and stably the law of God against false prophets and the accursed deceptions of the fiend. Christ, for his endless mercy, help his priests and common people to beware of Antichrist's deceits, and to go even the right way to heaven. Amen, Jesus, for thy endless charity.*

It is the glory of Wyclif that he saw that the true work of the minister was preaching. When one of his preachers, William Thorp, was examined by Archbishop Arundel, the accused itinerant made the following noble confession, fully

* See Vaughan, *Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe*, illustrated principally from his unpublished manuscripts, ii, 184-189. Arnold, *Wyclif's English Works*, iii, p. xx, classes the tract, *Why Poor Priests Have No Benefices*, as one of the doubtful works of Wyclif, and does not print it.

worthy of Wesley when experiencing like persecutions four hundred years later:

By the authority of the word of God, and also of many saints and doctors, I have been brought to the conviction that it is the office and duty of every priest faithfully, freely, and truly to preach God's word. Without doubt it behooves every priest, in determining to take orders, to do so chiefly with the object of preaching the word of God to the people, to the best of his ability. We are accordingly bound by Christ's command to exercise ourselves in such wise as to fulfill this duty to the best of our knowledge and power. We believe that every priest is commanded by the word of God to make God's will known to the people by faithful labor, and to publish it to them in the spirit of love, where, when, and to whomsoever we may.*

It was formerly believed that Wyclif's poor priests were priests, but Lechler and Buddensieg have both proved by an examination of the Vienna manuscripts that later in the history of this itinerancy laymen were also employed.† In one place Wyclif insists that a simple unlearned preacher, "ydiota," can do far more good for the building up of the Church than "many graduates in schools and colleges," because he scatters the seed of the law of Christ more humbly and copiously both in word and deed; and in a sermon the reformer lays down the scriptural and Protestant doctrine that for a ministry in the Church the divine call and commission are perfectly sufficient, that God installs himself, even though there has been no imposition of hands by the bishop.‡ Wyclif is an illustration of the oft-proved fact that whenever a reformer goes back of Church tradition to Scripture, whenever he emphasizes the spiritual and ethical over against the formal and ceremonial, he is bound to return to a nonprelatic theory of the ministry. It is the greatness of Wyclif that in the fourteenth century he clearly grasped this principle, and acted on it in his effort to evangelize England by preaching. In the sixteenth century, with the flood of new light which came in with the printed Bible, it is not strange if the reformers returned to the original

* Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iii. 260; Lechler, p. 194.

† Lechler, p. 195; Buddensieg, *Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer*, p. 65.

‡ "*Videtur ergo, quod ad esse talis ministerii ecclesiæ requiritur auctoritas acceptationis divinæ, et per consequens potestas ac notitia data a Deo ad tale ministerium peragendum, quibus habitis, licit Episcopus secundum traditiones suas non imposuit illi manus, Deus per se instituit.*"—*Sermons for Saints' Days*, No. 8, fol. 17, col. i; Lechler, p. 196.

constitution of the Church; but the clear and satisfying insistence on a Christian theory of the ministry two hundred years before is a proof of the clearness, boldness, and accuracy of Wyclif's mind in its simple and unaided studies of the truth.

It is for this reason that Episcopal scholars are inclined to belittle Wyclif's work.* They resent his spiritual views of the ministry and his destructive attitude, and also deny his originality. There were, indeed, noble men to protest against the abuses of mediæval times, but there was not one who in his protests sought also to lay again "the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," and in a large and practical way to build for Christ and country. In Wyclif's emphasis on preaching and on the study of Scripture, and in his effort to use these for popular evangelization, he is entirely unique in the Middle Ages. His itinerancy was to work within ecclesiastical limitations so far as possible, and Shirley states that it was at first employed under episcopal sanction;† but, where the work was needed and consent was withheld, the work of God must not thereby be hindered.‡

* See article "Cardinal Repyngdon and the Followers of Wycliffe," in *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1884, especially pp. 60–63.

† *Fas. Zizan.*, p. xl.

‡ See, also, "Wiclif and his Works," in the *Quarterly Review*, London, clxviii, 525, 527, April, 1889.

John F. Hurst

Art. II.—THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN THOUGHT.

I. 1. Our age has been the age of developing democracy. "We must educate our masters," said the statesmen who saw the coronation of the people. The schoolmaster shall be the saviour of our newer commonwealth. Knowledge, or what was counted knowledge, was diffused with enthusiasm—which went well enough until knowledge disappeared in speculation and skepticism, leaving the startled multitudes to amuse themselves, if they could, in carnivals of doubt. We in America were slow to feel the movement, but we feel it now. We were isolated by our situation, busy with the conquest of our frontiers, taught chiefly by men and women of devout faith, who rejoiced in the traditional creeds. But the tremendous inventions of our age reunited us to Europe. They made us sharers of European ideas and tendencies; they brought about an immigration of thought more potent than the immigration of people. The doubts of learned Germany, the desperate dreams of socialistic France, the serious skepticism of England and Scotland began to operate upon us. Strauss and Goethe, Fourier and Comte, Carlyle and Spencer, Colenso and Darwin, Renan and Victor Hugo began their sway, and signs of religious dissolution soon appeared. Here, as in Europe, the masses began to imbibe, often unconsciously, the opinion that science, philosophy, history were all combined to shake and overturn the throne of Jesus Christ. Now the people are to be the sovereigns of the future, and the Christ of the future must be the Christ of the multitude. The question to be decided is this, Can the Christ of the New Testament satisfy the necessities and the aspirations of the masters of the modern world? If he cannot satisfy them as they now are, can he enlarge, transfigure, and then realize their expectations? The reign of democracy may be brief, but it is inevitable; and no saviour will be accepted, while it lasts, whose victory does not include the triumph of the poor.

2. Coincident with the democratic movement of our century, the movement of the masses into power and into knowl-

edge, there has been another movement of an intellectual character, the movement toward reality. This has shown itself alike in science and in literature, in history and in art, in philosophy and in poetry. They mistake who think that our modern thought is enslaved to materialists and utilitarians. The master of our modern thought is reality. We care for microscope and telescope and spectroscope because they are "open sesame" to reality. We care for documents and monuments, nay, we care for logic and reason, only as they help us to reality—the reality of the past, the reality of the future, before and beyond all the reality of the present. We have grown too familiar with the potencies of the Invisible to crave like little children only realities that we can see and handle. But we refuse to be cheated with ghosts and phantoms. If the universe is only a process, let us know it; if it holds a Person who demands our worship, let him bow the heavens and come down! If we may know only the phases of this body or that being, we are determined to know each of these with perfect accuracy. And this is signally the case with literature and art. The poetry of our age must tell us of the things that are and can be. We have no time for Aladdin's lamp and the regions of the impossible. Poetry, says Mr. Arnold, is a criticism of life. He means it is our highest conception of reality.

But nowhere is this dominion of reality so evident as in the field of history. We are not now seeking epics to thrill us and to give us entertainment. We are seeking to recover the actual, the forms and faces of men and women that worked and wept, hated and schemed, failed and died, as we are going to do. The narratives and documents that satisfied our fathers no more satisfy us than their charts of the seas and their maps of the skies. Nor are we content with their interpretations of the ancient archives. We must read and analyze, interpret, illuminate, and reconstruct them for ourselves. Few escape the spell of this master, Reality. Hegel's attempt was the last desperate effort to dispense with him, to substitute a thought for a fact. "Reality," said Hegel, "we can do without it. We are rational beings. Let us live upon ideas. These are the pith and substance of the world.

Our noblest conceptions of the past are the quintessence of history. The historic process as we discover it by reason, this is the veritable thought of God manifest in the movement of humanity." But philosophy and history succumbed at last to the hunger for reality. History followed science. Even Strauss could not be content with Hegel's disdain of details. The idea of Christ must have had its historic nucleus and process. To discover these, he thought, is essential to a proper treatment of the divine idea. And the panic that ensued when he published his volume was the inevitable result of trying to do without reality. It was the explosion of an ill-concealed dread, the horror of men at the publication of a secret they had buried out of sight. The Hegelians had reconstructed Christianity, but every vestige of history had been expelled in the process. And here now were men clamoring for the actual, and crying fiercely, "Bring out the facts. Who and what was Jesus Christ?"

3. Another characteristic of our age is the tendency to despair. This is the more surprising when we remember the vast extension of human power over nature, through the discoveries of science and the triumphs of inventive genius. True, we have had our optimists, like Emerson and Victor Hugo. Great poets, moreover, like Tennyson and Browning, have tried to soothe themselves and their age with lyrics of the larger hope or lullabies of

> God's in his heaven,
> All's right with the world.

But the moan of their misery is too audible. They are singing to drive away the ghosts. All except the tranquil Emerson—and even he at times—were troubled with a woe that they could neither explain nor abolish, and were tormented by questions they could neither answer nor silence. Malthus depicted a human multitude involved in a grim struggle for existence; Darwin enlarged the picture until it included every form of vegetable and animal life. And this took place just as the full import of the teachings of Copernicus and Galileo dawned upon the common mind. Whether the earth went round the sun or not would matter little, after all, if the telescope had not revealed the vastness of the universe, and the

microscope had not revealed in every clod a world beyond our apprehension. To use an algebraic phrase, our knowledge has been growing in arithmetical, and our ignorance in geometrical, progression. We have increased in certain kinds of power only to become more conscious of our weakness, of the brevity of life, the certainty of pain, and the doubtful issue of this universal struggle in which all engage and all succumb. There is, indeed, something appalling in the thought of a struggle that extends over spaces so immense and into worlds so multitudinous. One staggers at such possibilities of suffering in so many regions crowded, perhaps, with creatures like ourselves. What Galileo with his demonstrations and his telescope disclosed but faintly, seems in certain dreadful moments to the modern thinker like the pall of a dead God, terrible in its glittering splendor, but concealing forever the form of one that never was and never shall be. David's firmament was small, flecked with a few thousand splendid points, every one of which, however, proclaimed the presence and the glory of Jehovah. But the firmament of Herschel and of Bessel stretches beyond the reach of human thought, and through the spaces roll tremendous globes and countless systems, which to the modern agnostic are bereft of angels and bereft of God. They blind the searcher's eyes with mystery, while they freeze his heart with visions of universal struggle and universal death.

To complete now this degradation of man Kant appeared, and pointed out the narrow limits in which the human mind was forever banned and bound. The import of his teaching made itself felt but slowly. Indeed, not a few intoxicated expounders of the Absolute danced about the sober sage of Königsberg and obscured his meaning. Reluctantly enough men succumbed to the new doctrine—some to erect their ignorance into an idolatry by making a dogma of agnosticism, and some to begin anew the search for truth with chastened and humbled spirit.

In an age less democratic, in an age less hungry for reality, the despair of which we are speaking would have been the sorrow of the few, and not the misery of the many. Or, if the increase of human power over nature, if our mills and our

machinery had been followed by an early and vast diminution of poverty and an enormous increase of human happiness, men and women exulting in their triumphs and their joys would have bothered their brains but little about the struggle for life, or the limits of knowledge, or the possibilities of suffering in a universe without a God. But the masses of men have been disappointed with the outcome of science and invention. The necessity of effort and of combat is the staple good-spel or ill-spel of our generation. Even the children in the public schools are taught to face their environment with deliberate hostility, and that they must win—or, rather, wring—from their surroundings a living or a fortune, escape from misery, and possibly a tiny cup of bliss.

II. What, then, is Jesus Christ to this democratic, realistic age beclouded with despair?

1. Would it be too much to answer, in the first place, that he is the identification of God with the people? We note simply an obvious fact. Thousands of men and women worship as divine a poor, despised, rejected, crucified man. They worship, not a king, but a carpenter—not a conqueror, but a penniless teacher, who taught the equality of men before God in words too plain for misconstruction. And the real charm, the divine magic of this poverty lies in the belief that it was deliberately chosen. The Pauline letters are older, probably, than the gospels. To the unlettered reader both agree in their conception of Jesus Christ, and it is this conception that holds men loyal to him. If—so their hearts tell them—if God went forth in this marvelous fashion for the salvation of the poor, then God is forever on the side of the people. And he who is not for the people has not the mind of Jesus Christ. As Paul and John portray that mind it gives a sanction to democracy, an inspiration to its champions, a guarantee of its triumph the like of which the boldest poet never dreamed. For the only hope of democracy is the perfectibility of man. And the pledges of that perfection are the stained cross and empty tomb of Jesus Christ. Degrade the crucifixion, now, to a merely human event, and it becomes simply a great, perhaps the greatest, popular crime in the annals of Jerusalem. This, at most. If, however, the cross is what Paul thought

it—the symbol of divine love, the infinite stretch of divine tenderness resolved upon the salvation and perfection of humanity—then the cross is also the symbol of the people's victory, the sign of a conquering but transformed humanity. The biology of our time, untempered by the Christ-ideal, will make short work of democratic visions. We shall return to absolutism, directly the gospel for the strong supplants the gospel for the poor. We can see, therefore, how the powerful might look with complacency upon a vanishing Christ, expecting him to salute them humbly as he abdicates his throne, but we cannot see how the masses can see him discrowned without a shudder of despair.

2. All the more important is it, therefore, that we reach reality. For not even to save democracy will our age accept of dream-gods. It is one thing to say that democracy will perish with the idea of Christ's divinity; it is quite another thing to hold it fast as an imperishable reality. It is one thing to say that the divine Christ is necessary to the progress of the world; it is quite another thing to show that the divine Christ is the actual marshal that leads the mighty column to victory. The progress of humanity is, after all, not necessary. Who knows? Man may be doomed to an eternal treadmill. We may be compelled to give up Christ and our democratic dreams together. Let us hear, then, the verdict of history. What was he—human or divine?

Well, what does the retrospect of nearly a century of historical criticism tell us touching him? This criticism, beginning with Gibbon, has been bold, searching, learned, ingenious. It has attracted men of various tempers and of different genius. Strauss and Renan, Seely and Tolstoï are as conspicuous for their peculiarities as for their abilities. These, however, were not the critical historians. A saner company has explored the records of Jesus and his times with unexampled thoroughness and illuminated his story with amazing erudition and surprising subtlety. What has been the result?

(*a*) It is evident that the power of Jesus Christ in the world is inexplicable upon any theory other than that of the apostles. Mark the phrase—the power of Christ in the world, not now the story of his life. A book is never a man. The gospels

are not Jesus Christ; they are only echoes and reflections of him. From the lips and hands of Jesus himself there streamed a potency which created an atmosphere in which his disciples might work their miracles. The gospels are feeble records of that radiated power. No historian of our time would follow Gibbon in his contention that Christ was a calamity, and none would accept as complete Gibbon's explanation of the tremendous miracle that he tried to argue away—the miracle of the Christian conquest of the old society. The more it is understood in detail the less tenable is Gibbon's explanation of it. The wonder grows with every discovery. What energy has been expended by historians upon the early Christian centuries! And yet how much remains to be explored! One thing, however, stands out clear enough—the triumph of the Church! How gloriously divine, then, must have been the momentum imparted by Jesus himself to his disciples and to his hearers! How mighty, too, the impulse imparted by the Holy Spirit, the divine Companion and Comforter, to keep him and his truth alive and efficient in the minds of them that believed! Given this divine momentum, given this unfailing stream of spiritual influence, and the miracle is not so difficult to understand. But any other view enthrones a magnificent delusion as the Saviour of ancient society, and refers the rescue of the world in the moment of extreme peril, not to an incarnation of God and a revelation of truth, but to an eclipse of reason and the worship of a dream.

(*b*) A second result seems to be this: the gospels and the letters of Paul are inexplicable upon any theory but their own. This theory is very simple. The letters of Paul reveal the Jesus to whom he gladly gave all the energies of his powerful and peculiar genius. The four gospels give us the character and conduct of Jesus as he was remembered and conceived by those who had known him, believed him, proclaimed him, suffered with him, died for him. Harnack, in his *Chronology of the Early Christian Literature*, writes as follows:

> There was a time—*indeed, an ignorant public thinks it still existing* *—in which the old Christian literature, including the New Testament, was regarded as a tissue of delusions and fabrications. This time has passed

* The italics are the present author's.

away. For men of science it was never more than an episode, in which they learned much and after which they have much to forget. But the results of the following investigations carry the reaction far beyond the middle lines of recent criticism. The oldest literature of the Church is in its main points and in most particulars truthful and reliable. Let us call things by the right names. We are, in our criticism of the sources of the earliest Christianity, beyond all question moving backward to tradition.

In other words, the New Testament contains the archives of the early Christian communities in the days of their primitive power. They tell us how these honest people conceived of the Jesus that they worshiped in the midst of tremendous influences and temptations to conceive him otherwise.

The writer has no wish to press these words, as many have done, beyond their author's meaning. Nevertheless, we think, as Harnack's friend, the Dutch professor, told him, that they carry with them the implication of a supernatural Christ. For the New Testament has made of Jesus the mightiest personality in the world. It is not so wonderful that men like Spinoza, and Stuart Mill, and the author of *Supernatural Religion* stand with bowed head before his majestic moral being. But here is the strange thing. Reconstruct these records as the critics might, there resulted always a man-miracle, a human energy divine, a being whose life would be our condemnation and despair if he were not also our deliverance and inspiration. Now, if it is asked which quality in the gospels gives them this perennial Easter power, we should reply, without hesitation, the prophetic quality. Men talk about the disappearance of the miraculous element from the New Testament, forgetting in their foolishness that prophetic power is the divinest form of the miraculous, forgetting also that the verification of New Testament prophecy is going on before our eyes. These prophecies of Jesus are indelible and indestructible, because they relate, not to particular events, but to the eternal energies of human progress, to his ethics and to his person. The former he reveals beforehand as the ultimate principles of human society. These seemed to his contemporaries, and even to his disciples, absurd and ridiculous. But the march of history has vindicated and enthroned them as divine decrees. The carnal mind hates them now as it hated

them when they were first proclaimed. For "the carnal mind is enmity against God." But Jesus got them started in the world, and only his total and perpetual eclipse could prevent their further sway. The Son of man is already on the judgment throne; men and nations are now being summoned to his bar. Reluctantly enough they come. But come they must. The code contemned and ridiculed, then evaded and explained away, now reasserts itself in majesty, and is hailed by the angel of the future as the harmony of the world.

But the prophetic forecast of his personal power is just as manifest in the New Testament as this foregrasping of the ultimate ethical system. The judge is inseparable from the code that he administers, and Jesus appears in the gospels and everywhere in the New Testament as the sovereign of a redeemed world. When we construct in our imaginations the little groups to which the letters of Paul and the gospels of Matthew and of John were originally read, the contrast between these "weak things" and the majestic claims to which they listened would make us laugh, if it did not subdue us so quickly into solemn astonishment. For we are familiar with the fulfillment of their sublime expectations, of this "foolishness of God." Jesus is already in our modern world what he predicted he would become. We have seen, at least, the outriders of the coronation columns. Pliny and Trajan might be surprised to see the place of Jesus Christ and the nature of his dominion; Matthew and John and Paul could only be delighted. For to them he was the ruler of the repentant and the redeemed of every age. All that rally for the rescue of the world they knew would rally around the standard of the Lamb of God. The dove that fluttered above him was but the symbol of what is now perpetually happening. Every revelation of a divine purpose in human society that whitens modern thought hovers above the head of Jesus Christ, the voice within us proclaiming meanwhile, "This is my beloved Son: hear him." This alone accounts for the persistence of the New Testament Christ in our modern literature throughout the period of radical criticism. Even those who rejected him with the lips worshiped him in their hearts. Like Simon Peter they could not escape, they could not endure his look.

They knew that they were grotesquely illogical; but the incoherence was in their speech, not in their conduct. To accept his ethics, to seek his mind, to long for his approval, this was to follow and to worship him; and they knew well enough that he who conquered their homage was not the handful of Galilean dust left them by the destructive critics, but the Christ of Christmas and of Easter, the Christ of Matthew and of Paul, of Luke and of John—Christ, the Son of the living God. Poets tormented with doubt held to this Redeemer. Tennyson, Whittier, Browning, each in his own way discerned the reality of Jesus and his divinity, Mr. Browning chanting it with an awe that verged toward rapture. This is the modern manifestation of the divine momentum imparted by Jesus to his disciples. This created the New Testament. This vibrates eternally in its pages. This triumphs alike over stupidity and subtlety. This is stronger than criticism and defies prejudice, for it is the power of an endless life. And now that the destructive critics have yielded to saner men, now that the New Testament is handed back to us with the assurance, "Thus and not otherwise did the first disciples conceive of him whom they loved and worshiped," we do well to yield ourselves unreservedly to their convincing magic, and to bow our knees in gladness to the Way, the Life, and the Truth.

(*c*) For a third result of this inexorable criticism has been to restore to us the real Jesus. The writer will do the past no injustice. The Jesus of the eighteenth century, nay, the Jesus of the eleventh, even, was not wholly an abstraction. Schemes of theology never could hide completely the Saviour and the Son of man. Charles Wesley's famous hymn, "Jesus, Lover of my soul," indicates a rapturous recognition of his real nature; and so did Bernard's

> Jesus, the very thought of thee
> With sweetness fills the breast.

The cross, moreover, kept for ages the thought of Jesus close to the ground. It fastened him forever to the earth and human experience. And yet the Jesus of Wesley, the divine conqueror of the cross so dear to St. Bernard, was not the Jesus of the New Testament. He was that Jesus in his mightiest aspect, but he was not the Jesus to whom our age

has given a new and glorious Easter festival. When this Jesus of the nineteenth century first appeared to his frightened disciples they took him for a specter. But the presence, the voice, the outstretched hand, so real, so human, were nevertheless divine. And this recovered Christ is just what we needed —so serenely accordant in his speech with all our best discoveries and all our cherished aspirations, so free from blunder and from blame, so tranquilizing in his revelations of God, so majestic in his revelation of himself, so surprising in his reconciliation of all contradictions, so divine in his humanity, and so human in his divinity that he holds us with an indescribable charm, and explains by his influence upon ourselves what we have called the divine momentum of the early disciples.

Think for a moment of the tremendous strain to which the character of Jesus has been subjected. And yet who has found him less lovely in his majesty or less royal in his loveliness? Nay, more. Seen in the light of sober history, is he not the Saviour needed for our day? The cry of "Back to Jesus!" is, after all, a cry of recognition. Earnest men descry in this sublime figure the features of One mighty to save to the uttermost. Instinctively they exclaim, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life." However they may differ about the details of history or of theology, they agree on this—surrender to Jesus Christ is the hope of men and the liberation of humanity, while the rejection of him as Guide and Redeemer, as moral goal and moral impulse, means a revolution the outcome of which would be the misery of millions. Just as the author wrote these words there came to hand a singular confirmation of them. A woman of South Africa, a woman of great genius, tormented with cruel doubts and the sight of wickedness and misery, appeals to England in behalf of the wretched natives of Mashonaland. And how does she, who hardly believes in God, how does she set about it? Why, she invokes the living Jesus Christ! She brings him to the camp fire of the lonely British trooper, that he may convert the youthful ruffian into a man and a martyr, convert the boy forgetful of his mother's Saviour into the gentle and fearless benefactor who dies to set a negro free. O, but this is poetry, not fact! We say, rather, Jesus

Christ is a living fact confirmed perpetually by the truth of poetry. Let us explain our meaning by a saying of Aristotle, quoted so fondly by Matthew Arnold. "The superiority of poetry over history consists," says Aristotle, "in its possessing a higher truth and a higher seriousness." No wonder, then, that Tennyson and Browning and Whittier have held firmly to a divine Christ, while the radical critics would have abolished him from human history! No wonder that Olive Schreiner, when she pleads for the little ones of Jesus Christ, gets nearer to him than in all her thinkings! But what shall we say when history and poetry combine to give us the same Son of God, the same revelation of infinite love? What shall we say when the radical historian, after thirty years of investigation, tells us, "Yes, your New Testament is an honest book," and a woman of genius in her agony urges instinctively the Jesus of the cross, him with the pierced hands and pierced feet, to stir the hearts of modern men and women?

If the result of historical inquiry had been different, literature shows us how desperately men would have clung to Him who was rich, yet for our sakes became poor. They would have clung to him as their last possible dream of God, personal, tender, infinitely kind. In a kind of dumb terror they would have watched that dream dissolve, in spite of all their frantic efforts to detain it, as it vanished into the eternal silence and the eternal dark. But the gospels have not been taken from us; there they are, and there they remain. Jesus has been restored to us, his reality transcending all our traditions and all our conceptions of him!

3. But, finally, our age is beclouded with despair, beset with difficulties, and faint from vanished hope. What is Christ in such distress? The answer is obvious enough. This age must accept Christ as the perfect and the only perfect speech of God or resign itself to what Ibsen calls the eternal silence of the stars. The feeling is becoming more intense as our difficulties increase; a dumb God in bewilderments like ours were no God at all. This found an almost frantic expression in the poem entitled "Hope in God," with which Alfred de Musset concluded one of his celebrated nights. It is the cry of the prophets of Israel, "Tell me thy name! Show me thy glory! Bow

the heavens and come down!" The yearning has been intensified by the comparative study of religions. For these have shown us how the whole creation groans, how the search for truth is universal, and the disappointment also, unless, peradventure, Jesus is the Truth, and Jehovah did reveal himself to the prophets of Israel. In that case we can conceive the divine splendor striving to break through everywhere and finding it possible at last to make the glorious breach among the Jewish people. We must indeed take our choice. It is Christ or the eternal silence! Speech—consoling, quickening, divine speech—or hopeless, unbroken, implacable stillness! "How can God bear it?" exclaimed Dr. Holmes, in a moment of agonized reflection. "This ceaseless hum of human misery!" "He could not bear it," said Jesus Christ, and so "he sent me, that men might not perish but have everlasting life." Take this away, and the story of the search and struggle for God, the religious history of the world, is a tissue of delusions, drenched and dyed in the bloody sweat of humanity. And in that case we do well to be angry and to fling away our hopes! Who are we to dream of immortality or even of progress? The universe is not a product, but a process. We are midgets only, maddened with our little touch of mind!

And what is true of the religious aspirations is true equally of the social aspirations of our race. When the astronomer scoffs at my conceit and tells me it is a fragment of the worn-out geocentric system, and when the biologist tells me that I am a moving sepulcher of inherited tendencies lighted by a little lamp I fondly call my soul, what shall I answer them, once you take away my Christ? Pascal used to say that the incarnation reinstated man in his self-respect. It revealed at once his meanness and his magnitude. Luther gloried in a similar thought. Out of Christ, Dr. Martin Luther was a pitiful worm; in Christ, he felt the throbbing of eternal life. We may strut and we may amble in the presence of our modern science after we give up Christ, but we dare not reflect, we dare not ponder, ourselves, under penalty of despair. Directly we do that we shrivel into hopeless insignificance. Hence the interest felt in Jesus Christ, the return to him in history and in theology, the desperate tenacity with which the best of men

cling to him personally, in spite of much bewilderment. Applied ideas, said Walter Bagehot, require two generations to make their consequences felt. Two generations have elapsed almost since Mr. Darwin startled the world with his *Origin of Species*, and we are beginning now to feel the consequences. The world is working toward a new morality, or, rather, the world is working back to the old morality that might makes right. The morality of Jesus is not natural; it is either divine or absurd. It is either the outflow of his perfect knowledge of God, or it is the mere dream of a Galilean peasant who mistook his own heart-beats in the presence of human sorrow for the throb of eternal love. Men are mad, it seems to us, who expect to save the moral code of Jesus after they have surrendered his divine authority. He started it. He must sustain it. And when his moral code has perished, what will remain? We are not saying that the Darwinian theories are incompatible with the Gospel of Christ. Our point is this, without Christ as Paul and John conceived him the ethics of Jesus will soon be ground to powder by those theories. For the ethics of Christ are the mind of Christ, and this mind has never been dominant. It has been barely possible even to believers, and, as Paul declared, it would have perished from their hearts but for the image of the living Christ and the promise of his victory. And we repeat our question, After Christ, what then? Why cheat ourselves with new terms and fine phrases? Altruism is at best a tendency, transient and limited. Why strive to make it universal? Why not assist nature by artificial selection? Why not drive the helpless cripple to the wall? *Virtus* is the only virtue. Weakness is the only vice. The brotherhood of man meant something to a divine Redeemer, friend, and brother, of the poor; but what does it mean to a candid biologist who attributes every existing species of life to the persistence with which each struggled to preserve itself and its offspring? "In Christ Jesus," to quote Pascal once more, "all contradictions are reconciled." In him we learned that God had "chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." In him we learned that the future of humanity depends, not upon the perpetuation, but the extinction,

of the struggle. In him we learned to care for the least and the feeblest, lest we lose the noblest and divinest. And therefore we enrich the modern world with ministries of mercy, therefore we go forth, like Jehovah in Habakkuk's vision, for the salvation of the poor.

But even if the ethical system of Jesus survived, whence could it derive the energy which it requires for its application? The influence of ideas is feebler than we imagine. They may appeal to us as eternally true. They may entrance us by their unearthly beauty and yet be as powerless to change our conduct as our stature. The crest of the wave is not the moving impulse of the billow; the ideas that break in beauty over the mind are not the shaping forces of the soul. The mere thoughts of Jesus Christ cannot save the generations, splendid as they seem. It is not the sight of his face that lifts us from the trough of the sea. This may help to keep us afloat, but the strong arm of the deliverer must snatch us from the devouring flood. Now the pessimism of our age, whether of a philosopher like Schopenhauer or a dramatist like Ibsen, is rooted in the conviction that character is not transformable. This is the deadly skepticism. This is the ruin of hope. This is the denial of God. We are what we must be. The essence of man is what he eats and what his ancestors have eaten. To educate him you must begin with his grandparents and the like.

But Jesus Christ, with that wisdom which, as Mr. Romanes points out, prevents all conflicts with the discoveries of real science, met this difficulty with triumphant candor. "Yes, you are, without me, simply what you have inherited. The best of you and the worst of you must be born from above. You are not to be saved by your impulse, nor can you be saved by ideas; you must be saved by power, by the inflow of a diviner life." Ideas may regulate this new energy when it arrives; but ideas will not create it. Neither do ideas remove the hindrances to life. The poison of sin, the slavery of nature, the fear of men and of death, the tyranny of the multitude, the greed of the carnal mind—all these must perish in a divine combustion, and out of the flames must emerge a new creature in Christ Jesus.

The writer, for one, is ready to go with Ibsen and help blow up the world, if this deliverance is not within our reach. Paul thought it was. Jesus Christ delivered him from the body of death. Jesus Christ renewed him day by day. He was the source of courage, he was the replenishment of strength, he was the power of an endless life. This Jesus of Matthew and John and Paul is clothed with eternal and miraculous might. And this is the only Jesus that men ever worship. A teacher they might admire, thrilling to his utterances as one thrills to sublime music or the majestic murmur of the forest. A defeated and crucified enthusiast they might love and pity, bemoaning the wasted outpour of his precious being. But worship him they will not. The only Christ who can rule humanity must be at once the wisdom and power of God. For this age is writhing in the coils of the old misery; it stutters forth the old cry, "O wretched men that we are, who shall deliver us from the body of this death?" Only our age is more desperate than its predecessors. We are determined to know the worst and the best. Phantom theologies may have their little day. We may have, for a while, the Christ that wavers preached in the hazy splendor of uncertain imaginings. But we shall hear, and that right soon, the imperative command of an age fiercely in earnest, like the sharp voice of Cromwell to the preacher of his time, "Quit your fooling and come down!" Jesus of Nazareth was either a human creature like ourselves, or he was the miraculous inbreak of Almighty God into the common order of this world! Which of the two do you say that he was?

The coming century will never establish any nebulous pretender upon the throne of Jesus Christ. Men may chatter glibly about the Christ ideal, about the Messianic consciousness and the God-consciousness of Jesus. They will talk to the clouds. Democracy clamoring for a leader, humanity hungry for reality, yet bereft of hope and dignity by its discoveries, will push them aside with scoffs and blows. We are seeking, they will say, consolation and redemption. We might find them in a risen and a living Christ, but you are fools to mock us with your incantations over a handful of

Galilean dust! The revival of religion with which our century began was therefore a return to sanity. It would have been another form of madness but for the reality and divinity of the Lord of life and glory. The noblest spirits of our time have not been rainbow-chasers. Shaftesbury battling with the greed of English capitalists and the prejudice of English statesmen, Denison wasting away in the London slums, Livingstone hunting the lost sheep in the wilds of Africa, Gallaudet thinking out speech for the dumb, Fliedner with his ministries of mercy, Florence Nightingale aflame for righteousness and helpfulness, Frances Willard with her vision of the nobler home—these fought under the standard and in the presence of a Christ that stood, as Stephen saw him, at the right hand of God. For them, to live was Christ. They applied to him the one conclusive test. They followed him whithersoever he led. The one necessary requirement indispensable for apprehending him they had, the faith that works by love.

Knowledge, in the strictest sense, must be always for the few. Faith is for the many. One discovers; thousands can believe. The modern world is too busy for each man to examine the foundations of his creed. But in the modern world knowledge is power; the supreme test of truth is experiment. "Jesus lives," the first disciples said. "Silver and gold we have none, but, Crippled Humanity, in the name of Jesus of Nazareth stand up and walk!" "Jesus lives," we keep on saying. But where is our power? If he lives, the people answer, that can be tested easily. Bid the modern world rise up and walk!

Charles J. Little

Art. III.—THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERS.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury under Charles the First, was condemned by an ordinance of Parliament, and suffered decapitation on Tower Hill on January 10, 1645. He met his doom with perfect composure and quiet dignity. His policy as a prelate had been characterized by reckless courage and the temerity with which he threw himself across the religious instincts of his time. He defended the extreme doctrines of the Stuart monarchy, and associated them with a type of churchmanship which proved to be, in the sequel, the precursor of the Oxford movement. The Laudian temper has been the bane of the Anglican Church from his day until now. This unhappy defect largely caused the ruin of the Establishment which followed his administration. In the eighteenth century it subserved the practical rejection of the evangelical revival, and during our own times its prevalence has enabled the temporary triumph of the followers of Pusey, Newman, and Froude.

The period immediately preceding the issue of *Tracts for the Times* did not promise any revival of those principles for which Laud had laid down his life. The two predominant schools of the "High Churchmen" and the "Evangelicals" were unsatisfactory in their hold upon the life of the State and of the universities. The High Churchmen were looked upon as teaching a mere morality, even at the best, and, at the worst, as allies and servants of an unfriendly world. The Evangelicals had insisted upon the beginnings of Christian teaching with so much fervor that they had neglected its higher development and, specifically, its ethics. The guarantees of faithfulness to doctrine were too often found in jealous suspicions and fierce bigotries. The religious world at large was too conventional; men were afraid of principles; they shrank from the suspicion of enthusiasm; their utterances were full of self-complacency. The great evangelists of the Church, the Wesleys and their coadjutors, beneath the direct guidance of God, had built up sister Churches whose progress

astonished the world, and whose existence was a standing contradiction of the basal claims of the parent body. A wave of political liberalism swept over Europe, and was strongly felt in England. During 1825–30 the orthodox political traditions of Anglicanism, as a State Church, underwent severe examination and incurred several defeats. Ten of the Irish episcopates were abolished, and the bishops of the English Church were sternly commanded by Earl Grey to set their house in order. This sudden onslaught greatly disconcerted the leaders of the Church. They, as a rule, were too half-hearted and too shallow to meet it with any vigor. The Evangelical party, whose theology and life had been profoundly affected by the Methodist revival, was now in the second or third generation, and had lost its strength and aim. In the controversies which followed the beginning of the Oxford movement the Evangelicals were no match for antagonists who were in deadly earnest, and who put them to shame by their zeal and courage. In the beginning of the century there was growing, slowly and out of sight, a type of manhood of rare culture and great gifts, destined to precipitate the impend ing reconstruction. In the ultimate, as we now see, the two schools—that founded in Cambridge by Maurice, Sterling, and other members of the Apostles' Club, and the one at Oxford, led by Newman, Pusey, and their associates—have reacted upon each other, and with gratifying results.

Let us now consider those names which have right to be mentioned in the Oxford movement, a movement which, notwithstanding its deterrents—and their name is legion—is the most remarkable religious event of the nineteenth century. John Keble, the son of a rural clergyman and a scholar, poet, and saint, was born at Fairford Rectory, Gloucestershire, in 1792. He left Oxford in 1823, carrying with him the greatest honors of the university. His retirement was voluntary and singularly unselfish; he felt himself bound to the work of the ministry, and for this end he cheerfully gave up the most brilliant prospects of an academic career. Keble was not intended, however, to be the leader of a far-reaching and revolutionary change. He mistrusted popular effort and excitement. His temper enabled him to forego preferment with ease, and even

pleasure. His "soul was like a star and dwelt apart" from the haunts of the throng. But he was peerless in his influence upon men for the molding of their characters and the inspiration of their purposes. Archbishop Whately's pupil, Newman, did not respond with more alacrity to his tutor's masterly guidance in the use of language than did the young men whom Keble controlled in their use of life. There were with him three Oxford students reading for their degree in the long vacation of 1823, Robert Wilberforce, Isaac Williams, and Richard Hurrell Froude. He won for all time the veneration and love of this little circle. But in Froude he won more, for Froude became Keble's disciple, taking all he had to communicate, and because of his highly tempered intellect and his determination he reacted on his master, carrying him forward to still bolder enterprises and becoming their champion and mouthpiece. Newman wrote of Keble: "He is the first man in Oxford. Isaac Williams tells us that a short walk with him and a few words spoken marked the turning point in his life." Hurrell Froude declared: "Where Keble was donnishness and humbug would be no more in college, nor the pride of talent, nor secular ambition." But, like all the Tractarians, Keble's willful ignorance of sister Churches bred even in his generous nature a profound dislike for what he calls "dissent." He shared the attitude of Newman, who once refused to marry an unbaptized woman; and this disposition has shown itself in so many unfortunate arrogances that it mitigates the usefulness of these men to the Church catholic. In it they were true children of William Laud.

The devotional poetry of Keble has been read the world over, and innumerable multitudes thank God for so precious a gift to the Churches. But who remembers Hugh James Rose? Yet he, more than Keble, gave shape and tendency to the earlier phases of the Oxford movement. Dean Burgon, in his *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, describes him as "the restorer of the old paths." He was young—forty-three years of age—when death overtook him, yet there is but one opinion concerning his success as a public teacher. Those who have bestowed attention on such matters will not be surprised that Hugh Rose's public reading of Scripture—an act which Hooker

in a famous place declares to be "preaching"—partook of a most weighty and impressive character. Says Burgon:

A very competent judge once assured me that his reading of the fifty-third of Isaiah in a village church in Sussex so affected him that, at the end of many years, he was able to recall his grand intonation and the solemnity with which he delivered those awful words. Something similar the same friend related to me concerning the way he had heard Mr. Rose read the parable of the Prodigal Son. . . . The subject of impressive reading having once cropped up in Exeter College common room (we were a small party sitting round the fire after dinner), I mentioned the substance of what immediately precedes, when one of the fellows (the Rev. Henry Low), to the surprise of us all, in the quaintest manner and with no little emotion thrust out his legs on the hearth rug and, with an ejaculation expressive of his entire assent to what I had been saying, broke out somewhat as follows: "Never heard him read but once, and shall never forget it as long as I live. It was the Ten Commandments. Never heard anything like it. Never!" . . . I remarked to the speaker that it is difficult to read the Ten Commandments with any special propriety, and asked him what it was that had so struck him. "O," exclaimed Low, "it was as if Mr. Rose had been personally commissioned to deliver the decalogue to the congregation!"

On July 25, 1833, Mr. Rose called together a number of clergymen to Hadleigh Rectory to consult upon the condition of the Church. There was a great fear that the re-created Parliament elected by the Reform bill would imperil her political privileges and prestige. The bishops were overwhelmed with pamphlets demanding change and the liberalizing of the institutions of Anglicanism. Four men were present at the Hadleigh conference, Rose and William Palmer being the leaders. Froude also was there, but Keble and Newman were both absent. The news of this gathering spread far and wide, and when controversy assumed a bitter tone it became customary to refer to it as the Hadleigh conspiracy. It is doubtful, however, if any direct result justified such an appellation. Rose died seven years later, after a long and wearying illness; had he lived he must have been reckoned with as one of the chiefs of the movement, utterly opposed to its later Romeward tendencies, and the one man in every way fitted to have prevented that disaster, could he have prevailed against the logic of the case.

Dean Church, in speaking of Richard Hurrell Froude,

likens him to Pascal. Certainly he was brilliant and possessed of unusual originality and clearness. His imaginative faculty was in itself rich, and continually exercised by a love of beauty he vainly endeavored to repress. Beneath his irony and wit ran a swift undercurrent of intense sadness and a deep, overwhelming yearning for the satisfaction of religious truth. His audacity both bewildered and shocked his opponents; at times it alarmed his friends; and his unsparing warfare reminds one of dashing Rupert of the Rhine, "who came but to conquer or to die." And Froude died, as did Rose, while he was yet young, cut short in a career of unusual strength and promise.

In 1828, when writing to a friend, Froude mourned over Newman's supposed liberalism and his subtle and speculative temper. In fact, at that time Newman had not accepted the high Anglican theology; he still retained a measure of allegiance to the Evangelicals, and Froude says, "I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic." However, the state of Newman's religious opinions rapidly matured, and it is well for us to remember that he who first gave shape, foundation, and consistency to the claims of "Catholic Anglicanism" was afterward their uncompromising enemy and ruthless destroyer. Ten years later, in 1838, Newman had become the champion of the extreme clerical party in the English Church and such an avowed foe of Romanism that it is small wonder his secession has proved a puzzle to so many. We quote a characteristic denunciation of Rome which he wrote but a short time before his lapse, and which could scarcely be excelled by the most ardent devotee of an Orange lodge:

> If we are induced to believe the professions of Rome, and make advances toward her as if a sister or a mother Church, which in theory she is, we shall find too late that we are in the arms of a pitiless and unnatural relative who will but triumph in the arts which have inveigled us within her reach. . . . Let us be sure that she is our enemy and will do us a mischief when she can. . . . We need not depart from Christian charity toward her. We must deal with her as we would toward a friend who is visited by derangement; in great affliction, with all affectionate tender thoughts, with tearful regret and a broken heart, but still with a steady eye and a firm hand. For, in truth, she is a Church beside herself, abounding in noble gifts and rightful titles, but unable to

use them religiously; crafty, obstinate, willful, malicious, cruel, unnatural as madmen are. Or rather she may be said to resemble a demoniac. . . . Thus she is her real self only in name; and, till God vouchsafe to restore her, we must treat her as if she were that evil one which governs her.

For us who have not deserted the ancient and apostolical faith this is a wise and comprehensive description of the worst side of the papacy. But Newman had committed himself to a method of theological research and to a series of unhistorical ecclesiastical claims which, if practiced and followed, must find their logical sequence in the Roman hierarchy.

It is needless for one to argue at length upon the question of the "apostolical succession," save to point out the thoroughly inconsistent position of the English Church thereupon. She has been formally and officially excommunicated to the ranks of nonconformity by the present pope, and while upholding the Old Catholics of Germany in their protest against the Vatican decrees she denounces John Wesley and his followers for a similar protest against her own spiritual death. What, with her, is right in Germany is wrong in England, and, indeed, in all English-speaking nations. Dr. Döllinger was as much a dissenter as the founder of Methodism, but his conduct in repudiating Rome's authority seemed to the Anglicans a strengthening of their own peculiar position; and hence came their approval. That position may be likened unto Mohammed's coffin as touching its suspended attitude.

Our admiration for Newman should not hold judgment in bonds. A certain reverent wonder, due to his great gifts and sweetness of temper, has grown around the recluse at Edgbaston Oratory. The luster and grace of his style and his continual habit of delicate discrimination in the use of words are fascinating, yet perilous; for behind them lurks a vast and willful ignorance of the nobler developments of Christianity, as seen in the last four hundred years, and a steady attempt to redeliver the Church to the cerements she had escaped only by the most heroical efforts. The romances of Sir Walter Scott exercised a significant influence upon Newman and some of his associates. The necromancer's vivid imagination evolved a mediævalism before their eyes which, as Thackeray's satire has since reminded us, was very far from being a true

portrait of those times. But, with them, poetry supplanted facts, and especially so since it seconded their efforts for a return to the Church of the former days. Newman's impatience with modern thought, his scorn, to use no harsher word, for the purest and best-equipped Christianity of his own surroundings, his contempt for the scientific methods of sacred study, his efforts to limit the soul's appropriation of the life which is in Christ to the delegated authority of a priestly hierarchy—these characteristics stain all his theology and make it untrustworthy. He discussed the controversy with an acuteness of the greatest service to those his arguments fail to convince. That he will increase as a literary light seems as sure as that he will decrease as a theological doctor. He fought against the stars in their courses, and small wonder is it that where he most hoped to win he should have lost. Stanley describes an interview with him in 1864:

> What was the upshot of the whole? It left the impression, not of unhappiness or dissatisfaction, but of a totally wasted life; unable to read, glancing at questions which he could not handle, rejoicing in the caution of the court at Rome, which had kept open question after question that he enumerated as having been brought before it; also, although without the old bitterness, still the ancient piteous cry, "O my mother! why dost thou leave us all day idle in the market place?" Studiously courteous, studiously calm.

But the outcome of these ecclesiastical pretensions to which Newman had surrendered his very life with passionate ardor went beyond his power to follow, and he did not receive their last proclamation. The Vatican Council was his nightmare, and the decree of the papal infallibility provoked his passive resistance. Hence in Pius IX's court—thanks to the adroit political maneuvering of Manning—he was an object of suspicion, treated with coldness and neglect, misrepresented and assailed with vituperation and with scorn. The scene reminds one of Samson bound in the house of the Philistines, its one redemption being the magnificent spirit Newman never failed to manifest. For in him there was a light of the other world, ever shining and disclosing itself in every tone and look. With the accession of the present pontiff his enemies were silenced and chained, and he received the cardinal-

ate; but this honor was not bestowed until Manning had done his worst—and that was bad—to prevent it.

In retrospect one is saddened by the reflection that a great work in constructive theology could have been accomplished by such men as we have named. For it they were eminently fitted, because of natural gifts of the highest order. Some of them, notably Pusey, were scholars with large resources. All possessed that culture which has made the Oxford school—of which the late Matthew Arnold, Lord Justice Bowen, and others were notable examples—to be widely known and appreciated. If a correct estimate of their great powers of usefulness had been secured and acted upon the natural world and its sanctity might have been vindicated, the limits within which ecclesiastical parties confine the exclusive operations of spiritual influences could have been broken down, the deep basis of morality upon which all true theology rests could have been shown forth, and a readjustment of our conception of the unchanging facts of the Gospel of God might have been attempted. But to Oxford's sister and rival, Cambridge, English-speaking men have had to turn for the methods of historical science and the law of historical development applied to the Christian faith with a reverent and yet fearless instinct which rightly guards the great interests at stake. Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, and their compeers have done much to wipe out the reproach of earlier failures, and in nothing is this more shown than in the recent commingling of the two schools of Oxford and Cambridge as seen in Canon Gore and men like him, whose high churchmanship is moderated by an active humanism and an acceptance of the assured facts of loving toil and patient investigation in the sacred studies.

In this brief review Richard William Church, Dean of St. Paul's, stands like a rock in a morass. An Oxford man, the dearest friend Newman had after he had severed so many friendships, and his constant friend to the end, Church is worthy of mention, since in the surging controversies of fifty years he never lost his balance. Indomitable love of truth, sincerity, humility, patience, and goodness—these formed the ethical soil in which his soul was rooted. When others of a lesser mold surrendered hope and left the field—some for

Rome, as did Newman, others for agnosticism, as did Newman's brother, some for weary indifferentism—Church abated not a jot of heart or hope. Unlike Newman, he combined in a rare degree the historical and critical faculties. His essay on Dante, his volumes on Anselm and Bacon, and his work, *The Beginnings of the Middle Ages*, are ample evidences of a powerful and highly trained mind, of a style at once dignified and attractive, and of a rich moral sense and balance which are as welcome to the reader as water to a parched field. His saintliness and self-abnegation, indeed, his whole life, diffused a subtle fragrance which has gladdened many whose eye did not pierce the secluded retreat where he hid from the gaze of men. "Dean Church," said John Morley to W. T. Stead, "is the consummate flower of the Christian culture of England that is passing away. We shall never look upon his like again. He is the finest and last type of the Oxford of the past. Our universities, with their examinations and their modern spirit, bear other fruit."

Edward Bouverie Pusey was, in many respects, the opposite of Dean Church. He was a lonely man, much misunderstood, and causing much of the misunderstanding by his lack of perception and his signal failure to realize an opponent's view. He provoked what he despised, the controversial and partisan spirit, and effectually condemned the ecclesiastical theory he held by the principles he derived from it. We cannot be blind to the loftiness of his character, nor can we be blind to those greater interests beyond the claims of any individual saint, interests which he continually imperiled, the interests of unity and peace. These he sincerely avowed but practically destroyed. Pusey's rallying place is an unacceptable ground of barren differences, and it has been for others of his Church to point out the meeting point for the deeper unity of the Spirit under the headship of Christ our Lord.

Such were some of the men who led this remarkable and many-sided revival. Their chief rebukers were of their own body. Charles Kingsley assailed the morality of the Roman priesthood after Newman's secession, and the *Apology* was a wonderful answer to the sincere questionings of Kingsley's honest but prejudiced judgments. Pusey and Liddon refused

Dean Stanley's invitation to preach in the Abbey because Maurice, "that spiritual splendor," was allowed there. Liddon forgot his due reverence for episcopal authority, and spoke of Archbishop Tait, not as a clergyman at all, but only as a shrewd Scotch lawyer. Arnold and Keble were severed in their friendship, and Newman forsook all men count dear; and with fortitude we reverence, however much we deplore the causes of his misunderstanding, he lifted up his destructive hand against the house of his birth and the home in which his divine life had been first received and nourished.

What, then, are the deterrents of which mention was made earlier? They evidently served to divide the Anglican house against itself. And, first, as to excessive ritual, that was the least of them, although empirical investigation has at times asserted it to be the chief offense. To the Tractarian leaders ritual was secondary. It borrowed its importance from the teachings it was intended to set forth. Its genesis is a curious story, in which pagan rites and legendary ceremonies and stately functions of the Renaissance are interwoven with the simplicity of the Christian sacraments and the dignified order of divine worship. The more sanguine temper of the Latin races eagerly seized upon these excrescences as an outlet for devotion. The colder, more intellectual life of the Northern races, awakening to renewed activity in the loftier ideals of the Reformation, viewed them with distaste, and even hate, in the extreme Puritan party. But it should be observed that the spirit of individualism in Protestantism has wrought havoc in the direction of excessive speculation, sometimes to the elimination of the authoritative and regulative element of all Christian doctrine and observances. The late Master of Balliol, Dr. Jowett, to whom the principles of the Oxford movement were repugnant, reactionary, and paltry, ended life practically a deist and little more. His faith had been too much "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought;" and we submit that candles and incense and lustrations and habiliments—though they are in excess the beggarly elements of this world which defraud our praise and devotion of the deeper note, though they do beset and hinder the development of healthy religion—are not as grave a danger to the

faith as the denial of the godhead of our Lord. The crowd of smaller souls in Anglicanism has exaggerated the province of ritual. They have lost the sense of proportion; in them, as in their leaders, the Laudian temper—it is worthy of no better name—has run riot. And this is so true that now, but for the bond of State patronage, there would probably be a schism in the English Episcopal Church.

A greater deterrent is the attempt to identify the falsely claimed "National Church" of England with the acceptance of things impossible of belief among the majority of Englishmen. Above the Tweed an Anglican is as much a nonconformist as a Baptist, for Presbyterianism is the State-established religion of Scotland. In England itself the Anglican Church does not represent, upon the most liberal estimate, more than one half the population. The claim of the Anglicans is a legal figment unsupported by the greater number of those to whom it is applied. Their Church is national in the meaning produced by former times, when Church and State were one confluent stream and the "divine right" of kings and bishops stood and fell together. Grotesque as it may appear, the Book of Common Prayer is also an act of Parliament, and the nomination of bishops is in the gift of the crown, which really means that they are nominated by the elected representatives of the people. As we have seen, one of the chief causes of the Oxford movement was an overweening anxiety to defend the monetary and political interests involved—so involved because of the grip of the dead past upon the present government of Britain. Every measure of reform which gave a glimpse of light to millions of the worthiest sons of England was viewed by some Oxfordians with fierce resentment, and liberal measures—even those intended to answer the original aims of "pious founders"—had their chief resistance from the "shepherds" of the people. It is sufficient to add that the relations of the State and Anglicanism are a most inglorious history, against which the followers of the Oxford movement sometimes spoke with the heat of displeasure, though their testimony has not led their children to break the bondage. It is contrary to the spirit of our race that hierarchical claims should be admitted, for, apart from

their unscriptural nature, they have in the past undermined the fabric of freedom; and we know from bitter experiences that what begins in theological statement ends in a political despotism and a very practical tyranny.

Only a word is necessary upon the greatest deterrent of all, namely, the method of the soul's appropriation of the life which is in Jesus Christ our Lord. Not the sacramentarian, nor the legal, but the faith method, is yet the great distinguishing belief of Protestant churchmen; and against this bulwark the tide of extreme ritual and sacramentarianism has broken in the beginnings of its defeat. When Professor Banks, of Wesleyan College, Leeds, stated that the high-water mark had been reached, and the tide was receding, his words were denied, but they were nevertheless true.

And shall we not believe that out of this chaos and strife there will ensue a great and permanent benefit to the whole body of Christ? The Oxford movement has promoted genuine saintliness and popularized religion. It has crowded empty churches and founded innumerable aids for the betterment of life and the relief of the poor. It exists, and its work gains way, not because of its deterrents, but despite them; and it finds its strength in the life flowing out from God in Christ to all believers. A just and lawful doctrine of the Church has been established and maintained. Hymnology has been enriched; and worship no longer regards coldness, and even outward irreverence, as the measure of its acceptance with God. The negative position of the Free Churches has been obliterated, and their claims to recognition and unity are best evidenced by the gradual elimination of those purely theological barriers which defeated the highest hopes of the Reformation. After centuries of intestine warfare a catechism of these Free Churches is now issued in England, stating those fundamental truths the Evangelicals assuredly hold. And the forward movement of Methodism owes much of its aggressive and evangelizing temper to the Oxford movement.

S. Parkes Cadman.

Art. IV.—AN IDEALIST'S PRESCRIPTION FOR MODERN MATERIALISM.

After sixteen years Professor Bowne, who has earned the right to be heard on all philosophical questions, presents us with a thoroughly revised edition of his *Metaphysics*. The new book is smaller than the old. There have been some omissions and extensive additions of great value; the compression has been chiefly accomplished, however, by the transfer of psychological and epistemological matter to the author's recently published *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*. The argument is rigidly metaphysical throughout, the idealism of the treatise being sustained by criticism of the object of knowledge and our necessary thought about it, and not by psychological analysis of the process of perception. A close comparison of the revised with the old edition justifies the claim of the author that the metaphysical position is more systematically set forth, with a greater wealth of detail, and unfolded into more minute and far-reaching inferences and applications. At the same time the general doctrine remains unchanged. Greater emphasis has been laid on the idealistic element, which is much more profoundly and consistently developed. If the critics were offended at his idealism before, they have a much more pronounced case to deal with now. In his basal positions, however, Professor Bowne remains essentially an independent disciple of Hermann Lotze, whose system is perhaps best described as that of objective idealism or idealistic realism—terms which we presume Professor Bowne would not reject as adequately characterizing his own general position. He has thoroughly rethought the fundamental principles, and has extended their critical application to Herbert Spencer's philosophy and other British forms of scientific thought and speculation ignored by Lotze. Professor Bowne is the last man in the world to appeal to authority, and his thinking everywhere stands in its own right.

With the principles of this philosophy and the methods of its presentation the writer of this paper is in thorough accord; he trusts that it will not be unpardonable if he devotes more

space to particullar criticism than to general exposition. Before entering upon the consideration of Professor Bowne's subject-matter, however, we desire to offer a few remarks concerning his style. For purely philosophical purposes it is well-nigh perfect. It is sun-clear exposition; that is, sun-clear for a professional philosopher. The argumentation is continuous. There are only four or five very brief quotations in this large volume, and not a single footnote or reference. Moreover, as intimated above, it is metaphysics from start to finish, the aid of even empirical psychology being refused—as, indeed, the author's plan required. There are occasional passages concerning which formal notice is given that they are a pedagogical condescension to the unpracticed reader. But even an expert metaphysician would not dare to omit these if he desired to hold the complete argument in mind. Indeed, Professor Bowne has deceived himself at this point, for the form of his argumentation is determined by the consistency of his uniform method of defining and solving his problems rather than by any rights of comprehension supposed to belong to the average reader, who may justly lodge a complaint on this score. As continuously sustained argumentation Professor Bowne's book is very remarkable. There is not a parallel among American philosophical writers—certainly not in Professor James, hardly in Professor Ladd.

Another feature is the clean decapitation of an opponent with the keen blade of single-stroke sarcasm. It is generally both deserved and decisive; but the crushing, if not cruel, operation is repeated too frequently to be attractive to the disinterested spectator, much less to the victim and his friends. We do not offer this criticism with the hope of provoking amendment. Having been a diligent and profited reader of Professor Bowne from the date of the appearance of his first book, we know that this feature—trick, some might call it—of thought and style is part of the man, and that, with the best intentions, he could not write otherwise. But we draw attention to it, as well as to the severe and exclusive metaphysics of the argument, for a purpose which will immediately appear.

In our day there is no work more needful to be skillfully

and thoroughly done than the rescue of a large class of intelligent and educated people—physicians, scientists, and others, readers of Spencer and Huxley and Tyndall and Darwin—from a crude and crass materialism which saturates all their thought and, in some instances, degrades their lives. Nor do we know of any man better equipped for this task than Professor Bowne. But it is perfectly clear that he will win no disciples for the truth from this class of readers; first, because he does not take the smallest pains to propitiate and attract them; and, secondly, because not one in a thousand of them could understand him if he did. We do not know where a neater, more decisive refutation of the ambitious Spencerian philosophy, as it wrecks itself on the problem of error, so beautifully solved by our author, is to be found than in Professor Bowne's treatise.* We find an analysis of it, made on the margin of the old edition when we read it a second time, more than eight years ago, and it came upon us with freshness and resistless force in the new. But the "ghost of Leibnitz," which Professor Bowne discovers lurking behind the ponderous phrases of Spencerianism, would frighten the average scientific reader out of his wits, and for protection he would but cling the more closely to his beloved and intelligible Spencer. We know the partly cogent answer to all this would be that the ends sought are purely scholastic and professional. But life is too short and the world too wide for a man like Professor Bowne to afford to be scholastic and professional; besides, it is not clear that these very laudable, if narrow, ends are incompatible with the broader ones we have indicated. Most surely some one must be found to do the work of redeeming our current science from the dreary and bitter bondage of materialism; and that work must be wisely and kindly done, with tender condescension, if need be, to the materialist's standpoint and methods.

Without losing sight of this *desideratum* we turn from manner to matter. That the ground of the world-process is objective, spiritual, personal, and that apart from minds phenomena could have no existence, are elements alike of sound Lotzean and of sound Berkeleyan doctrine. Professor Bowne

* Old edition, pp. 389-399; new edition, pp. 321-330.

at times emphasizes his dissent from Bishop Berkeley—more, we think, in the old edition than the new; but to our way of thinking Berkeley and Lotze reach essentially the same objective idealism by different routes. They approach the same object and land at the same destination from opposite directions. Berkeley, by analysis of the process of perception, reveals the subjective sensation of objective origin—its manifestation permeated by law of which there is no subjective control—which by rational construction becomes knowledge; Lotze and Bowne, by solution of the problem of the causality involved in change and the universal connection of things according to law, reduce matter to phenomenal reality and find its existence in the energizing of the Infinite and its locus in human consciousness. Berkeley's doctrine is psychological: Lotze's and Bowne's metaphysical. But they are essentially complementary, not contradictory. One starts from minds and the other from things, but both alike reach the phenomenality of matter and the true ontological reality of spirit. The Lotzean doctrine naturally emphasizes the ceaseless energizing of the Infinite according to law, while the Berkeleyan doctrine just as naturally emphasizes conscious percipiency of the phenomena thus projected within the sphere of intelligence; but both alike and in perfect harmony deny the existence of phenomenal reality apart from mind. Berkeley is thus subjective and psychological, while Lotze is objective and ontological; but united they afford the broadest and deepest basis for idealistic realism. It is doubtless true that Berkeley has not put the emphasis as decidedly upon the universal and unchanging elements of experience as has Lotze; certainly he has not done it with the vigor and vividness with which Professor Bowne performs this task in his *Theory of Thought and Knowledge.* But, even if this truth is relatively obscure in Berkeley, his subjective view-point is sufficiently explanatory of it, and Lotze's objective view-point supplies most naturally the exact correction which it needs.

This is perhaps not far from Professor Bowne's conception of the relation of the two philosophers. But, as we see it, it is high time for philosophy to enter upon its constructive and universalizing stage. Instead of emphasizing insignificant

differences—especially when their source is sufficiently evident—it is the business of modern philosophy to search for essential identities, and to rejoice over them as over great spoil. We do not question the rigidly scientific accuracy of Professor Bowne's method in constantly finding the ultimate explanation of phenomena in their metaphysical causes, in passing from the inductive to the productive plane and from phenomenal reality to ontological reality as its only sufficient ground. He was writing a treatise on metaphysics. But, as our author more than once acknowledges, these purely metaphysical arguments are dreary stretches for even the well-equipped reader—hardly less fatiguing, indeed, to the conscientious student than to the able and laborious professor whose persistent pen nobly accomplished the self-imposed task of first putting these profound reasonings upon paper. But what are they for the unprofessional reader, and how can the average scientific gentleman be induced to read them? We do not hesitate to say that, taken in their metaphysical nakedness, without an empirical shred to clothe their shivering forms, they are often, to such a reader, not only unconvincing but unintelligible.

If such a book as we have described above is to be written as a breakwater against the flood of materialism that is inundating the modern scientific world, it must make the approach from the more obvious but equally true psychological side, as well as from the profounder metaphysical side; and the distinct effort must be deliberately put forth to dissipate the ordinary scientific prejudices and superstitions, and to make connections with the average scientific ways of looking at things. Now, such a historian of philosophy as Albert Weber has recognized the analysis of Berkeley as the only antidote that can be successfully opposed to materialism, and such a scientist as Huxley has conceded the impregnability of Berkeley's position. But Berkeley and Lotze in their different ways reach scarcely distinguishable conclusions, and it thus becomes pedigogically expedient—or, as we should say in theology, apologetically expedient—to unite rather than divide them; to treat Berkeley as the psychological complement of Lotze, and Lotze as the metaphysical complement of Berkeley, and thus build on the broadest and deepest foundations the wall

that shall withstand the oncoming assault of a deadly materialism, fatal alike to knowledge, to morals, and to religion. The psychological analysis of the process of perception is much more simple and more immediately convincing than the metaphysical proof of the merely phenomenal reality of things. If the materialist is to be convinced and converted we believe this is the natural avenue of approach, as it certainly is the natural, if not necessary, introduction to the metaphysical argument. But, psychology and metaphysics united, the harmonized conclusions of Berkeley and Lotze are invincible; and thus are the weapons formed to our hand for the achievement of a victory for which the whole modern world "groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now."

Professor Bowne is perfectly definite and clear on the merely phenomenal reality of things and on the ontological existence of the Infinite; we are not sure but that he leaves the human spirit at some impossible halfway place. Of the finite, two conceptions are allowed to be possible. It may be either a form of energizing on the part of the Infinite, or it may be a real creation. In the first case its existence is phenomenal; in the second, it would seem, ontological. In neither case can the finite be identified with the Infinite, and pantheism is excluded. The decision between the two views is reached on the basis of the facts of experience. If any finite being exists capable of acting from itself and for itself, it has in that fact the certain test and mark of reality as distinguished from phenomenality. This mark occurs only in human spirits or persons. If it be asked why the Infinite may not "posit" or create impersonal as well as personal agents, the answer is that identity and causality are found only in the personal, while analysis reveals that the impersonal has not even subjectivity and is simply the phenomenal process of an energy not its own. Hence, while things are but the energizing of the Infinite, persons are created, posited—not made out of some preexisting material, but caused to be. This distinction, on the general basis of Lotzean metaphysics, seems clear and satisfactory. Persons possess "ontological otherness to the Infinite." They seem to be lifted out of the order of inductive into that of productive causality, out of the category of phenomenal conditions of results into that

of real causes. So Professor Bowne's chapter on "Soul and Body" begins with the declaration that the soul abides, acts, and is acted upon, and hence possesses the essential marks of ontological reality. There are also passages in which Professor Bowne seriously objects to the view of nature as a closed system, and insists that man by his free and real agency projects results into the natural series which nature could never have reached independently. This free causality of man in nature which produces its results, not by the disruption of law and continuity, but by the knowledge of law and obedience to it, is used as a help to a proper understanding of the like free and causal relation of the Creator to the world.

But, when the problem of the interaction of soul and body is reached, the soul is forthwith reduced to the same level of phenomenality with the body itself. The causality between them is said to work both ways. Causality here evidently means, not productive, but inductive causality; a volition secures a "concomitant variation" of the body with a state of the soul, while a sensation secures a "concomitant variation" of the soul with a state of the body. Without this concomitant variation, which is all the interaction there is, there would ensue hopeless confusion of both knowledge and action, for the same stimulus might produce different sensations and the same volitions result in different actions. Thus the interaction between the "ontologically real" personal spirit and the phenomenal body is precisely like, and belongs to the same order with the interaction between two impersonal and merely phenomenal things.

We are not unaware of the nature of the necessary, and possibly satisfying, correction of all this, namely, that the soul has free causal control of its own states and thus, though the mental series runs along independently of the physical series, its parallelism is not maintained solely by concomitant variation with the bodily state, but its own independent initiative interpolates personal and volitional members in the mental series, with which the body must in turn preserve its parallelism by responding with the appropriate concomitant variation. This explanation, though it results from the general principles of Lotzeanism, is nowhere formally stated, so far as we now re-

call,* in Professor Bowne's treatise. His doctrine would have been a great deal clearer and more consistent had he been explicit on this point; but, in his positive discussion of the interaction of soul and body, where we should have expected considerable emphasis on the free causal states volitionally interpolated in the mental series, to which the body must respond in its own parallelism, we have only the repetition of the bald statement that the concomitance is the only interaction there is and that its determining ground must be sought in the plan and agency of the Infinite. The plan and agency of the Infinite as the determining ground of the concomitancy apparently exclude the plan and agency of the human spirit as a determining ground; if so, the teaching seems to us to be positively erroneous, and goes far toward the explanation of an important defect in Professor Bowne's philosophy, to which we shall at once advert.

What we are now concerned with is something of much deeper import than the interaction of soul and body, though immediately connected with that fact. It turns out that Professor Bowne's "ontological reality" of the human spirit still leaves it floundering helplessly in the same class with things. It has escaped phenomenality by the skin of its teeth, if it has escaped. Its interaction appears to be on his account wholly phenomenal, and we strongly suspect that in this region is to be founed the ground of Professor Bowne's inability or unwillingness to deal with a metaphysical problem more urgently demanding solution than any which his brilliant analysis has so successfully vanquished. We hasten to add that we are not prepared to enter into a contract to specify offhand the elements or even minutely to define the necessary limits of the solution. In his old edition Professor Bowne declared that every speculator is obliged by good taste and good faith to accept the existence of other persons like himself. But he immediately proceeds to show that there is no sound metaphysical warrant in his system for this conclusion. Since the Infinite mediates all interactions of the finite, including persons, all our states or affections are directly from the Infinite. These states of ours being given in their present variety and order,

* The volume has no index.

we construct a world of persons on the same principles we use in constructing a world of things. If the world of persons should disappear, then we should continue to have the same apparent interaction with persons, provided the Infinite had any interest in continuing to produce in us the appropriate states, and there would be no metaphysical method of detecting the deception. According to Professor Bowne, the true reason for admitting the existence of persons other than ourselves is found neither in psychology nor in metaphysics, but only in ethics. But the new edition contains no such declaration as this. So far as a careful reading has revealed, the problem is not stated and its solution appears to be wholly declined. Thinking that the discussion might have been transferred to the *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, we turned to that volume—which is also without an index—but the only allusion we could discover is the assertion that the idealism founded on analysis of the knowing process alone necessarily falls into solipsism. The implication is that the idealism founded on the metaphysics of the object of knowledge does not lapse into solipsism or solitary egoism. This implication, as well as the omission of the ethical solution propounded in the earlier edition, involves the renunciation of the old view; but if Professor Bowne has substituted a metaphysical solution of this most urgent problem in his system we have failed to note it.

In October, 1882, Professor J. P. Gordy published in the *Methodist Quarterly Review* a luminous and sympathetic exposition and review of the first edition of Bowne's *Metaphysics*, at the close of which he appended a number of criticisms which, with a single exception, seem to us to have no force or relevancy. It involves a fatal inconsistency in Professor Bowne's philosophy, if we assume the existence of other persons on ethical grounds, and not because their existence explains certain otherwise inexplicable phenomena of our consciousness. As a matter of fact Professor Bowne, in his earlier edition, squarely admits that their existence is not necessary to furnish this explanation. To hold to the existence of other persons thus involves the sacrifice of the fundamental principle of the system that the essence of being is

action, that being and action are inseparable, that to be is to act, and that the inactive is the nonexistent. That which does nothing, produces no phenomena in our consciousness, is nothing for us. The alternative is plain. Either the whole system must be given up as untrue, because it leads to the bottomless absurdity of solipsism, or the ontological reality which is granted to persons involves an essentially different interaction of persons with other persons—and hence certainly with the body, and, indeed, with the whole physical system, at least indirectly, so far as it may be necessary to the accomplishment of this end—from that interaction which suffices to bind things together in an orderly whole. For us long study of Lotze and Bowne, as well as some familiarity with the general course of philosophy, has made the first branch of the alternative impossible; there is nothing for it but to adopt the second.

If the concession of ontological reality to persons is more than verbal it must be identical in kind, though of course not in degree, with the ontological reality of the Infinite; and, apart from the orderly energizing of the Infinite according to law which constitutes the constant world of things, they—God and man—must sustain similar relations to that world of things existing in its orderliness. Man, within the limits of his dependence on the Infinite, must be truly a creative first cause whose orderly intelligence and efficient will produce otherwise nonexistent phenomena first in his own body, phenomenal like other matter though it be, next in the fixed and actual order of the external phenomenal world, and finally in the consciousness of his fellows, through the mediation of their bodies—thus, finally certifying to them his existence as a rational and causal being, that is, a person. When a rational person like Professor Bowne, for example, writes a book—a treatise on metaphysics, let us say—he conveys to a reader of that book—to the writer of this paper it may be—not only a phenomenal manifestation of the thinghood of the book in the black characters upon the paper, but a rational manifestation of his personality, because the phenomena are the bearers of a message, invisible, indeed, but with a meaning in it which evinces the very organism of reason itself. Of this mes-

sage neither the world nor the Infinite is the author, but Professor Bowne, without whose agency it could never have projected itself into our consciousness. Within that orderly and rational sphere of phenomenal manifestation which we call the universe, as summing up the many in the one, and as the ceaseless energizing of the Infinite according to law, there are smaller but definitely marked circles of phenomenal manifestation—as architecture, manufactures, spoken and written language—which harmonize, indeed, with the whole of which they form a part, but which evince also in themselves an independent organism of reason and a source of power or efficiency directed by reason ; and at the center of each of these minor circles there is a person, a human spirit. "No man hath seen God at any time," nor hath any man looked upon his fellow. But the evidence for the existence of man, as we must put it in this connection, is of the same kind and, as far as we can see, of the same cogency of the evidence for the existence of God. As against the atheist and materialist we must add that the argument for the existence of God is of the same kind and the same cogency as the argument for the existence of man.

It is hardly possible to specify further within the space at our disposal the elements of the solution of the problem of finite personality, or even to unfold all its difficulties, some of which might give us serious trouble. Nor have we meant to feign an insight we do not possess. All we have undertaken is to indicate the broad outlines, both of the problem and of its solution. We cannot close this paper, however, without expressing our lasting obligations to Professor Bowne for his light and leading these many years ; and this imperfect paper may end with the modest concluding sentence of his latest book, " So it seems to me ; and I have set it down in the hope that so it may seem to others also."

Jno. J Tigert.

Art. V.—LAO-TSZE AND HIS SYSTEM—A STUDY IN CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

Nothing can be much more contemptible than the childish faith in charms, elixirs, exorcisms, magic arts, dreams of alchemy, and other superstitious follies held by the Chinese Tâoists. Yet they pretend to trace their origin to one of the deepest and most spiritual thinkers of the human race. This man, Lâo-tsze, is an extremely noteworthy and significant phenomenon. Neither comparative philosophy nor comparative theology can pass him by. It is not too much to say, with Strauss and Torney, that, outside the great stream of revealed truth which took its rise with Abraham, no ancient system surpasses his in sublimity and depth of the knowledge of God, or in inwardness and ethical earnestness.

As to his life little is known. In this he is widely contrasted with Confucius. Of all that befell this revered sage of China we have minute accounts. We are taken into his study, his dining room, even into his bedchamber. His appearance is as familiar to us as that of Socrates or Shakespeare. We know how he dressed, how he acted at funerals, how he behaved to his superiors and inferiors, how he gave and received presents, how he conducted himself in thunderstorms, and what he ate with his rice. But no such intimacy is allowed us with Lâo-tsze. Legend has, of course, been busy with his memory. As if anxious not to be outdone by the Buddhists in their exaltation of Sakya-muni, Tâoist writers declare Lâo-tsze to have been a great spiritual being, the embodiment of Tâo, dwelling in an abode of matchless purity; without beginning and without cause; the ancestor of the original breath; without light, form, sound, voice; the basis of the fruitful earth and of the shining heaven, having neither ancestors nor descendants; so ruling heaven and earth as to bring about in stupendous cycles the production and decay of all created forms. Before his coming into this soiled and wretched world as Lâo-tsze he had been incarnate no less than eleven times. Other legend peddlers state that his mother at the sight of a falling star conceived him without a father; that he was not born, however, until

eighty-one years later; that at birth he looked like an old man with gray hair, and was hence called "old boy;" that with his first breath he had power of speech and was very wise; that, after pointing to the plum tree under which he was born, he said, "'Le' [plum] shall be my surname;" that then he rose into the air and, pointing with his right hand to earth and with his left to heaven, exclaimed, "In heaven above and on earth beneath Tâo alone is worthy of honor."

But, clearing away this tangled thicket of fable, all agree that he was an older contemporary of Confucius. The date of his birth is 604 B. C., not long before Sakya-muni first saw the light in Kapilavastu, while Josiah was king over Israel, while Solon flourished in Greece, and a hundred years before the authentic history of Rome begins. It was a dismal epoch in China. Imperial power had declined. The dynasty of Chou was tottering to its fall. The great feudal princes had swallowed up the less. Husbandry was neglected, the peace of households destroyed; disorder, lust, pillage, violence, were rampant. The father of Lâo-tsze was a peasant, who at seventy had married a woman little more than half his age. His native village bore a name which signified "oppressed benevolence," in the parish of "Cruelty," in the district of "Bitterness," in the State of "Suffering." His name, meaning "ear," and his posthumous title, "flat-eared," together with the tradition that his ears were of extraordinary size and each pierced by three passages, would indicate some peculiarity in that organ. Of his boyhood and early manhood we know nothing. We find him in later life holding the office of keeper of archives at the imperial court. It is probable that during this period, "like another Aristotle, Confucius visited this Chinese Socrates." Lâo-tsze was then eighty-eight and Confucius thirty-five. It is said that the younger sage poured his pitiful tale of woe into the ears of the old philosopher. But Lâo-tsze rebuked the reforming zeal of his visitor with the words, "If it be known that he who talks errs by excess in arguing, and that he who hears is confused by too much talk, the way can never be forgotten." When Confucius warmly expressed his admiration for the ancients Lâo-tsze, apparently in a mocking mood, replied like a cynical recluse:

The men of whom you speak, sir, have with their bones already moldered into dust, and only their words remain. Moreover, if the superior man gets his opportunity he mounts his car and takes office; and, if he does not get his opportunity, he goes through life like a wisp of straw rolling over sand. I have heard that a good merchant who has his treasure house well stored appears devoid of resources, and that the superior man of perfect excellence has an outward semblance of stupidity. Put away, sir, your haughty airs and many desires, your flashy manner and extravagant will; these are all unprofitable unto you. This is all I have to say to you.

In spite of this cynical mood and these mocking reproaches of the venerable sage Confucius appears to have been profoundly impressed, and said to his disciples:

I know how birds can fly, how fishes can swim, and how beasts can run. The runner, however, may be snared, the swimmer may be hooked, and the flyer may be shot with the arrow. But there is the dragon. I cannot tell you how he mounts on the wing through the clouds and rises to heaven. To-day I have seen Lâo-tsze, and can only compare him to the dragon.

After this, foreseeing the inevitable downfall of the imperial house—a fact to which Confucius was apparently blind—Lâo-tsze resigned his office, left the court, and went into retirement to muse in solitude upon immaterial things. As he was passing out the keeper of the gate said to him, "If the master will go away, will he not for my sake write a book?" To gratify him Lâo-tsze composed a work in two parts, setting forth his views of Tâo and virtue. Then he went away. Where he lived after this; what he did; how, of what disease, when and where he died, no one knows.

The work said to have been composed at the request of the guardian of the pass and put into his hand by Lâo-tsze, when the sage was about to enter upon his mysterious journey, contains the results of Lâo-tsze's long years of meditation. It is called the *Tâo-teh-King*. The best scholars defend its genuineness. Though Tâoist writers ascribe to him nine hundred and thirty of the current works on the superstitious follies of modern Tâoism, the *Tâo-teh-King* is the only book really from his hand. It is a short work of only five thousand characters, about twice as long as the Sermon on the Mount. Owing to its condensed style, however, in a good English translation it

would be much longer. It is a monument of the extraordinary mental power and penetration of its author, and shows him to be infinitely higher than the mass of his contemporaries and vastly superior to the greatest of his disciples. Though the book is so brief it is very difficult to analyze and interpret. Lâo-tsze himself felt that his words were not comprehended. He said, "Those who understand me are few." This is true to-day. The subjects treated are hard to elucidate, and the style is heavy, compressed, paradoxical, rich in imagery. As Waters remarks, "Lâo-tsze, like all other philosophers who live and write in the infancy of a literary language, had only a very imperfect medium through which to communicate his doctrines." Douglas thinks that these short sentences were but the texts of the sermons which were preached by the old philosopher to his disciples. Then we know so little of the circumstances to which he alludes, and are so far in all respects from the spirit of the age in which he wrote, that the sense often eludes us. Even the Chinese commentators are hardly able to descend into his depths or to follow him in his lofty flight; and even our best translations do not escape the danger of putting into the mouth of the venerable sage all kinds of speculations found in modern theosophy, with which no doubt he was in sympathy. Some earlier scholars have seen in the words of the "old philosopher" only the atrabilious utterances of a misanthrope who advocated ascetic seclusion from the cares and turmoils of the world and even from its sights and sounds. Others declare that he did not himself know what he was saying, while the Roman Catholic missionaries of the last century read in his words anticipations of some of the great truths of the Gospel. Montucci, for example, writing in 1808, declared that many things about the triune God are so clearly expressed in it that no one who has read this book can doubt that the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity was revealed to the Chinese five centuries before the coming of Christ. Father Amiot, going still further, declared that he had found a passage which distinctly enunciates the three persons of the Trinity. He rendered it, "He who is as it were visible and cannot be seen is called 'Khî' or 'I;' he whom we cannot hear and who does not

speak to the ears is called 'Ibî;' he who is as it were tangible, but whom we cannot touch, is called 'Weî.'" Remusat, perhaps the best Chinese scholar of his day, startled all Europe when he elaborately tried to prove that these three characters "I," "Ibî," and "Weî" were really the Hebrew word "Jehovah" that must have found its way from Syria to China. But these fanciful speculations have fallen to the ground. The passage upon which such startling conclusions were built simply reads: "We look at and do not see it, its name the colorless; we listen for it and do not hear it, its name the soundless; we try to grasp it and do not get hold of it, its name the incorporeal. With these qualities it cannot be investigated and defined, and hence we blend them together and form a unity." The writer was simply speaking of his Tâo, which we will soon consider.

The *Tâo-teh-King*, which has been translated by Julien, Chalmers, Victor von Strauss, and R. von Plänckner, and upon which Legge has also labored, consists of eighty-one chapters. Most of these are brief. Three of them serve as a sort of introduction. Then follow thirty-four in which theology and metaphysics are blended; fifteen predominantly ethical; twenty-eight chiefly political; and a closing chapter which forms a kind of appendix. But these divisions are not rigidly carried through. The clear eye of the philosopher saw the inner connection of these three provinces of truth. Since he does not communicate to us the course taken by his thought, but only its results condensed, expressed in striking, even in paradoxical form, it has been sometimes thought that he simply puts side by side the *disjecta membra* of truth. "Undoubtedly, at first glance, his chapters, and even parts of the same chapter, often appear as disconnected Alpine peaks, jutting up by the side of one another and glowing with the same light streaming from above; but he who descends to their deep foundations will find there a connection, and will perceive the mighty range which binds them into a unity." Thus, though the book as such is not rigidly systematic, the author had in his mind a system deeply thought out, well rounded, and thoroughly organized in all its parts.

The keyword of the system is "Tâo." It was not a term

invented by Lâo-tsze. It is found in the ancient classical books. We find expressions in the *Shû King* in which the highest being is called "Tâo." One of these passages says that Tâo is not reluctant to receive the praises of men. Another remarks that "the heart of man is unreliable, but the heart of Tâo is deep, clear, one." This antithesis between the heart of man and the heart of Tâo seems to indicate that here Tâo designates a living, personal being, while both passages show that to it was assigned a high position. In the writings of Confucius Tâo is also mentioned. For example, in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, it is said, "The ignorant man who proceeds independently, the commonplace man who yet is fond of assuming directing power for himself, the man of to-day who yet goes back to the Tâo of antiquity—upon those who thus act calamities will be sure to come." Even if Tâo was an old idea, it must not be wondered at that it is not found more frequently in the classical books, for we have these, it must be remembered, only in the recension of Confucius, whose whole mode of thought was unfavorable to the Tâo doctrine. Lâo-tsze did not claim to be the discoverer of his philosophical principle or to be the first to give it the name of "Tâo." On the contrary, he refers to the Tâo of antiquity, and quotes expressions from the ancients and passages from the hymns which relate to it. The probabilities are that he was less a founder than a reformer. "When the religious experience of the time enters with its full force into a profound, powerful, philosophical spirit, and when, as an investigator, he penetrates into the same, it will depend upon his personal endowments whether, logically developing it, he will make it the basis of a rational system of thought, or, viewing it with the eye of intuition, he will convert it into a theosophy." Lâo-tsze did the latter. In either case he would feel himself impelled critically to test the religious tradition by the known fundamental principle, and so to become a reformer of the tradition itself and of every province of life determined by it. What, then, is the meaning of "Tâo?" It is one of those ambiguous expressions which it is difficult to render in a translation by a single word. Some have rendered it by "way," "path," "road." This is without doubt the original meaning. But it is too materialistic. It

seems to imply also a maker of the "way." Some translate it by "reason," others by "*logos*." Douglas says that if we were compelled to adopt a single word to express its meaning he would choose the Greek μέθοδος. Legge says that the Latin *ratio* comes very near to it, and if the word "rationalism" had not taken a particular theological significance its adoption for the system of Lâo-tsze would not be amiss; or if "Methodism" and "Methodist" had not assumed so specific a meaning they would not badly apply to the Tâoism of Lâo-tsze. Some sinologues have employed the word "nature" as the best synonym of "Tâo." But this is not wide enough. It is evident that Lâo-tsze uses it in a transcendental sense which can be learned only by a study of his whole philosophy. It denotes the primal ground of all that exists. He says, "There is a being incomprehensible, perfect, having arisen before heaven and earth, so quiet, so supersensible it alone abides and changes not, it pervades all being without being endangered. It may be regarded as the material of the world. I know not its name; if I designate it I call it 'Tâo.'" Thus, "Tâo is before all being; nothing precedes it; by it all things exist, and nothing excludes it." "It is unconditioned, having its law in itself." Does not this remind us of Pope's soul of the world which "lives through all life, extends through all extent, spreads undivided, operates unspent?" As the ultimate cause of the universe, and as the rule for all creatures, it might be called the "primal being." Douglas defines it as "(1) The absolute totality of beings and things; (2) the phenomenal world and its order; (3) the ethical nature of the good man and the principle of his action." But, plainly, these suppose some underlying unity. This unity is Tâo.

To know Tâo is for man the most important thing. The first condition of such knowledge is that he should recognize his own ignorance. As to the objective possibility of the knowledge of Tâo we find a brief but significant hint. He asks, "How do I know that Tâo is the creator of the world?" With profound insight he answers, "Through it." Knowledge of Tâo is possible only by revelation from Tâo itself. The subjective possibility of knowledge rests upon the condition that the person, free from passion, turn himself from the

sensible and direct his gaze inward. He will then get a vision of the spiritual nature of Tâo, for he whose action is in accord with Tâo becomes one with it, participates in its nature. Thus, Lâo-tsze makes the highest knowledge depend upon an ethical act. What a noble theory of knowledge! Man knows only as he knows in God. True knowledge is simply a reproduction in ourselves of things as God sees them. Then mark the ethical condition. By a moral act to clear the mind of its idols and surrender ourselves, without prejudice or selfish passion, to the rational principles within us—this is the path to the temple of truth. Contrast this with the notion of some wise moderns, who argue as though knowledge is simply a matter of the intellect, in no way dependent upon the moral character. In this sage of antiquity do we not get a hint of the great Christian truth that in the conscious, personal fellowship of God all the conditions, objective and subjective, of true knowledge are most effectually actualized? "The Lord is my light." "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." "He that doeth truth cometh to the light."

As the philosopher comes to study deeply Tâo as the primal being he sees in it, first, the pure potency of being, as the "void abyss," as mere possibility in which the existent is as yet held back and is there nonexistent. In this form Tâo is not yet Tâo. It is incomprehensible and unknowable. Nothing can be said of it. One gazes upon it and sees nothing, listens and hears nothing, grasps after it but seizes nothing. But out of this mere potency proceeds the existent. Consequently it is a duality, an upper side, as it were—unknowable, inscrutable, imperceptible—and a lower side which is not obscure and is namable as it begins to create. These two are one. Both are creative. The two fundamental powers, heaven and earth, as still unformed substances indeed, are brought forth by the upper, inscrutable, but all things of form by the lower, the namable. Thus it is said, "The nameless is the primal ground of heaven and earth; the one having a name is the mother of all things." Tâo thus seems to be at bottom unconditioned being, which as an abstraction is too subtle for words, but which is in some way the primal ground of all things. Such language reminds us of the Neoplatonists, of Jacob Boehme,

and smacks of Hegel two thousand years and more before Hegel's days. What is it but an attempt to say that the "unconditioned" is higher than any predicates we can apply, manifesting itself in the universe which it brings forth out of its own being? Whether as potential or actual existence, it is still Tâo, for existence and nonexistence, though phenomenally two, are really one.

But Lâo-tsze does not content himself with these general phrases as to the relation of Tâo to the universe. He asks more deeply after the "how." In Tâo he sees spirit, spirit as the "highest purity." To this he assigns a share in the creation. To it he ascribes predicates which mark it out as a mediating third between the duality. He calls it the "abysmal mother." The procedure of the duality from the primal being is represented as a result of the inner, living movement of Tâo. Potential being, without giving up itself, constantly returns into actual being and back again. The spirit as the mediating third thus has a share both in being and not-being. Thus, from unity we have a duality, brought into a unity again by a triplicity. Tâo is expressly described as the primal nature before the triple unfolding. It is known as primordial and before the world. All this is the meaning of the expression, "Tâo produced one, the first great cause; one produced two, the male and female principles of nature; two produced three; three produced all things beginning with heaven and earth; and these three together are Tâo, that is, Tâo is behind all, through all, and the cause of all." Now, all this sounds abstract and subtle, but it is no more so than many utterances of profound minds like Porphyry and Erigena, Boehme and Baader, Schelling and Hegel. Lâo-tsze and these are kindred spirits. Do their words not show that to the deepest minds no abstract metaphysical unity is satisfying; that there is not only unity but fullness in the nature of God? Is not the Christian doctrine of the Trinity an answer to such dim hints? Does not even the Gospel teach creation by the Father through the *Logos?*

Is the doctrine of Lâo-tsze pantheistic? This seems to be affirmed in the expression that the being of Tâo in the world is "like brooks and rivulets which become rivers and seas."

But the context shows that this refers to investigations into the nature of Tâo. Man should not remain content with the perceptible manifestation of Tâo's work in the world. As rivulets gradually become rivers and seas, so he who strives to know Tâo will see things flow together always into greater and greater wholes. But Lâo-tsze's whole treatment implies that the primal Tâo is distinct from his creation, not only immanent, but transcendent. He never says, or even hints, that Tâo has formed things out of its own substance. At bottom, as pure potentiality, it is above the understanding of man, yet it contains not only the archetypes of creation but also its as yet uncreated substance. But Tâo does more than create. It produces, nourishes, changes, enlarges, feeds, ripens, cherishes, and governs all things. But, though all-pervading, it works unseen. Though ever inactive, it leaves nothing undone. It is everything and nothing. It is the smallest possible quantity and yet the whole. But it creates, preserves, and blesses created things, not for its own sake, but for theirs. They need it; it does not need them. It loves them, yet not because of longing or passion, but out of pure goodness. Therefore in them is the innate tendency to honor it, to strive after it. Yet this is not imposed as a command upon them. Tâo leaves them to full freedom, as though they were not his, and he not their, master. If we ask, "How can this freedom and independence of created things coexist with their absolute dependence upon the constant operation and power of the highest cause of the world?" Lâo-tsze replies, "Tâo is eternally without action and yet eternally without inaction; but yet there is nothing which it does not do." That is, though all that happens is dependent on its operation, its action as such never appears. Exactly in the wonderful stability, majesty, and beauty of the natural as of the ethical law will be discerned by the open eye the ever-operative will. Its activity consists in this, that its will comes into action through the causes and events of the world. Thus it acts, and is yet without activity. The goal of the whole creative process is the return of all things to Tâo, their origin and root. "To be returned to the origin means to be at rest; to be at rest means to have fulfilled the mission; to have fulfilled the mission means to be eternal."

Does this signify that all things, man included, are to be swallowed up by some abysmal soul of the world? No. In proportion as man here has become one with Tâo and has entered into sonship with it he loses nothing in death. He who knows how to understand life goes straight on without fleeing before the rhinoceros and the tiger, goes into battle without arraying himself in coat of mail and offensive weapons. The rhinoceros has nothing in such a man into which he can thrust his horn; the tiger has no place in such a man into which he can strike his claws. Weapons can find no place in him into which they can enter. Why? Because he has no mortal spot, and cannot be really slain. He who knows the eternal is of Tâo; therefore he may suffer bodily injury without real harm. He who lives for the outward, places all his interests in the external world, and pursues such phantoms will save nothing when life is ended. Yet even the bad are not abandoned by Tâo; it will be found of them when they seek it.

Now, the query naturally arises, "What is the relation of this Tâo to God?" Did Lâo-tsze recognize any such being? Douglas asserts, with some confidence, that "of a personal God Lâo-tsze knew nothing, as far as we can judge from the *Tâo-teh-King*, and, indeed, such a belief would be in opposition to the whole tenor of his philosophy." In support of this position he quotes the expression, "Tâo is empty, in operation exhaustless. . . . I do not know whose son it is. It might appear to have been before God." But Legge says that the point is by no means to him so clear. The ancient Chinese, calling the visible sky by the name of "t'ien," used the same term to express their concept of a supreme power. Lâo-tsze does this in precisely the same way as Confucius. "The way of heaven" occurs five or six times exactly as in the old classics. We read in the *Tâo-teh-King*, also, such expressions as "heaven saves," "governing man and serving heaven." But, in saying that Tâo, conceived as the nameless, is the beginning of heaven and earth and, conceived as having a name, is the mother of all things, does not Lâo-tsze make Tâo prior to heaven? Yes, prior to heaven and earth as they denote the sum total of material existence, but not prior to heaven in the higher sense. But does he not say also, "It might appear to

have been before God?" But surely this does not say that he did not believe in God. Exactly the reverse. The utmost that can be argued from this statement is that Lâo-tsze makes God posterior, and thus inferior, to Tâo. Many of his positions are unthinkable unless there is behind the Tâo the unexpressed recognition of a personal ruler and creator. Strauss and Torney may be going too far when they say that, "after carefully weighing the expressions as to the Tâo, one will not hesitate to grant that our language has no better word for it than 'God.' And what a vital idea of God, in contrast not only with the abstract deism of the traditional Chinese faith, but even of many moderns." But, whether this is too strongly stated or not, certainly a comparison and synthesis of what Lâo-tsze himself says of Tâo will show that he thought of it as possessed of judgment, reason, intelligence. As a fact, consciousness and reason are the necessary presuppositions to almost all that Lâo-tsze declares of Tâo in relation to the universe. When he further speaks of the "spirit" of Tâo, and calls it the "most reliable spirit," does he think of this "spirit" as without consciousness or reason? When he says that it is through Tâo that he knows that all things are brought forth by it, was not this knowledge understood to be first of all in Tâo itself? We believe that all Lâo-tsze's various statements about Tâo can be reconciled, if we understand by it the rational and moral principles in the nature of deity which are the source of the order and reason in the universe and in the nature of man. Lâo-tsze did recognize the existence of deity, but he was more deeply concerned with the origin of the reason and order which he felt to be at the root of things. The meaning of "Tâo" as "method," "way," "ratio," perfectly accords with this view. Trying to penetrate to the bottom of things, he grasps, though perhaps not firmly, the great thought which the best philosophy of our time is beginning to see, that the reason and order of the universe—the rational and moral principles in the soul of man—are first of all deeply hidden in the divine nature itself, and, awed before this fact, says of Tâo, "It might almost appear to have been before God."

Lâo-tsze's ethics are noteworthy. He has been accused of

the most extreme quietism. How justly, a study of his doctrine will show. His ethics root in his metaphysics. His moral ideal, that the "holy man" is so only as he participates in Tâo, is united to it, holds it fast, walks in it. Such men are rare. But the "holy sage" is concerned chiefly with his inner nature, and not about things visible to the mortal eye. Thus he attains the summit of renunciation where he finds in Tâo his mother, and recognizing his sonship returns to her bosom, is at rest, has fulfilled his mission, is eternal. To know the eternal is to be enlightened; not to know it demoralizes and makes wretched. When a man, without designedly making his own person his aim, is so determined by the vital principle, Tâo, that in pure unselfishness his actions spontaneously proceed from within, so that he imitates Tâo without specially willing it, then and only then has he unity and simplicity of soul. As now Tâo, without effort or toil, produces, cares for, nourishes, fashions, completes, protects, and blesses all creation, so must the holy man in love approach all, help all, do good to all, and abandon no man, nay, not even any creature whatever. This is so expressly stated that the idea of quietism cannot for a moment be charged against him. He does say, however, that "the way of the holy man is to act, but not to strive." Since he praises this activity, while at the same time he lauds the inaction of the holy sage, he must necessarily distinguish between doing and doing. One is an activity which ought to be; for the other there is no place. As action and inaction are bound together in Tâo, so is it in the world of moral freedom. He who truly knows God, sees him in the spirit, will be so overcome by the greatness of his glory and the condescension of his love that he will divest himself of all self-will, give himself wholly to God, and cheerfully let himself be determined by him. Thus the activity of the holy man is pure, unselfish, a product of the inner goodness poured into his heart by Tâo; the activity which should not be is external, that which wills itself. We see by this exposition that the action which Lâotsze rejects is legality, instead of that which springs spontaneously from inner goodness as the river from the bubbling fount. "Not upon external action, but upon being, rests the

ethical worth of man. Being makes the action good, not the action the being." What thought could be nobler? The distinction between the free virtue of the man who has so surrendered himself to the love and life of God that he gladly, naturally obeys, saying in his heart, "I delight to do thy will, O, my God," and the legality of the man who never gets out of the pitiful circle of self, and whose virtue is mere will work and moral drudgery. The great truth which Lâo-tsze was groping after was, "Whom the Son makes free is free indeed," a truth beautifully illustrated in the exquisite *Story of Gottlieb*,* who—after severe mental struggles to decide which were best, to seek one's own perfection, to live for others, to live for others so far as this ministry can help make one great and perfect, or to grow, seek all possible perfection, in order that in the end one may the better serve his needy fellows—comes at last to see the more excellent way, and seeks first, not the path, but the pathmaker, God. Having found him, Gottlieb could say:

> The solution of all details of duty and of aspiration is as simple as, in nature, the law of gravitation. I gravitate forever toward my God. Better than that, I am already in my God, and he in me. We possess a mutual life, a life in which all petty self-directions and self-seeking cease. By his own Spirit I am guided ever more fully, ever more blessedly into all truth.

In a systematic elaboration of particular duties Lâo-tsze had no interest. For rules and regulations he had little use. Indeed, he explains the construction of such systems as symptoms of backsliding from Tâo. He says:

> When the great Tâo is abandoned men speak of humanity and righteousness; when there is difficulty between relatives men talk about filial piety; when the State is tottering men chatter about loyalty. The pigeon is not white on account of much bathing, nor does the crow paint itself black. If the pigeon began to bathe itself and the crow to paint itself, would it not be a sign that they had lost their original colors? So will men. If all men were humane, filial, and loyal no one would profess these virtues, and they would therefore never be named. . . . When Tâo is lost, then comes virtue; when virtue is lost, then comes benevolence; when benevolence is lost, then comes justice; and when justice is lost, then comes propriety, for propriety is the mere skeleton of fidelity and faith, and the precursor of confusion.

* By W. F. Warren, LL.D.

By this saying he seems to mean that the lower virtues are included in the higher, and all of them in Tâo; so that if one has Tâo he has all, and if once Tâo is abandoned man is on a slippery incline sliding lower and lower to mere etiquette, the mere ghost of virtue. In such utterances how Lâo-tsze towers above Confucius! This latter teacher, so revered in China, would cleanse the outside of the cup and platter. He would have every rite and ceremony at court, in official life, in the family circle, scrupulously observed, down to the number of meals to be eaten and the posture to be assumed in bed. But Lâo-tsze would purify the heart, out of which are the issues of life. The holy sage is humble, free from inordinate desire, modest, circumspect, prudent, discreet, self-possessed, complacent, frugal that he may be benevolent, merciful without ostentation. He treats the good graciously, because the good deserves it; the bad he also treats kindly, for virtue is essentially gracious. While living in the world the holy man does not allow it to pollute his heart. Lâo-tsze said of himself, "As for me, I have three precious things which I hold fast and prize, namely, compassion, economy, and humility." He sets up also a demand which we are accustomed to regard as one of the highest Christian precepts. Though Confucius could not rise to so great a height, Lâo-tsze says, "We should recompense evil with good." Did he regard human nature as naturally good? So it is sometimes said. It is true he did not expressly recognize the universal corruption of the moral nature of man. Yet, since he taught that man can become what he should be only by knowledge of Tâo and union with it, would it not seem to follow that previously the man was something other than he ought to be? Confusion arises from the ambiguity in the word "nature." The nature of man may be understood as that which he is in the creative thought of God—that to which his Maker destined him, represented to Plato by the idea of humanity, to us by Jesus Christ; or it may mean man as we find him actually in this wicked world. In the former case it could be said, "Man is by nature good;" in the latter, that he is bad. Lâo-tsze does not express himself clearly on the subject.

As Lâo-tsze's ethics spring out of his metaphysics, so do

his politics out of his ethics. From of old China had recognized the State as the ethical form of man's social life. Lâo-tsze knew no other form of the State than the patriarchal or monarchical. Yet he demands that the subjects feel themselves free and independent. The only guarantee for this civil freedom he finds in the voluntary limitation of power of which the holy man alone is capable. His political principles are brought to a focus in his portrayal of the maxims and methods of government which characterize the holy man. He shows a profound knowledge of the nature of the State when he says that it is a "growth," and not a "manufacture," a vessel of the spirit, a mediator of the development of the total united life of a multiplicity of men. Hence, the best statesman or ruler can do nothing greater than to recognize the type historically begotten or striven after by the collective life of the nation, and as far as possible to help this to a corresponding manifestation. The whole course of history proves the truth and depth of these words. Statesmen should take to heart the national spirit and the national mission. The ruler, Lâo-tsze insists, should especially be free from lust of power. "The heart of the people is his heart." The running stream is the favorite metaphor he employs to express his ideal course of conduct for the ruler. It fertilizes, cleanses, refreshes, but is modest enough to seek the lower levels. So the sage sovereign is helpful but humble. Loving the people, he will care for their life, their physical support, their whole well-being. He will try to reform them, not by imposing rules, forms, ceremonies, but by leading them to the knowledge of Tâo, and so back to that state of innocence, that golden age of virtue before man was burdened with forms and proprieties. In one sense he would adopt the maxim, "The less government the better;" that is, he would lead the people to self-government through surrender of themselves to Tâo. The government that meddles with every detail of the people's life falls into decay by producing the very evils it was intended to avert, as food is spoiled by too much cooking. "Everything for the people and everything by the people" is the motto of his liberal politics. If the ruler does but love kindness, avoids lawmaking, is free from

lust, depends more upon mildness and complacency than upon harshness and obstinacy; if he makes the people's good his great care, then everything will cheerfully submit to him, heaven and earth will combine to send down upon him refreshing dews, and the people will of themselves live in sweet concord. Lâo-tsze hates the clamorous politicians who at every street corner harangue about their own wisdom and the wickedness of their political foes. Such glib-tongued meddlers proclaim only their own folly and entangle the State in the meshes of misfortune. The shame of such factious politics can be removed and the blinding glare tempered only by modesty and self-emptiness.

Of war Lâo-tsze is a strenuous opponent. He is a sage of peace. No wonder he abhorred the clash of arms. War, rapine, plunder, bloodshed were rife in his day. Princes, with no regard for their subjects, enforced levies, seized supplies, marched armies through the standing crops. Only a remnant of the people, beggared by exactions and made desperate by want, were left behind. Briers and thorns grew where legions had been quartered, while gaunt famine and poisonous pestilence followed in their wake. Amid such violence and desolation Lâo-tsze lifted up his voice for peace. The superior man, he says, will make this his highest aim. Weapons he takes up only as a last resort. He fights bravely, but only when he must fight in a good cause. If forced into war he mourns with bitter tears over the destruction of property and life, and as soon as the stern necessity has passed away he gladly lays down his arms. When the campaign is over he takes his place upon the right, as though he were at a funeral, mourning over the lives he has been compelled to destroy. When he has conquered an honorable peace he does not needlessly irritate the vanquished by triumphing over his fall, does not exact oppressive or shameful terms of peace, but does what he can to mollify the wounded spirit. Would that in these days of international troubles, when giddy heads and thoughtless tongues prate much of war, the world would heed these words of wisdom dropped from the lips of a heathen sage! May they find shining illustration in the nations which profess to be under the sway of the "Prince of

Peace," so that soon shall "forgotten be the bugle blast, and battle music of the drum," that the cradle song of Christ may not have been sung in vain for this generation.

Lâo-tsze objects also to capital punishment. He held that in a well-governed State the necessity for it would never arise. But when men are carried headlong by passion no penalty will hinder their rushing into crime. He says:

> When the people do not fear death, to what purpose is death still used to overcome them? But if there be a man worthy of death there is always the "great Executioner" in whose hands are the issues of life and death. . . . Now, for any man to act the Executioner's part is to hew out the great Architect's work for him. He who undertakes to do this rarely fails to cut his fingers.

Such are the leading thoughts of this profound sage of ancient China. Well might it have been for it had it learned deeply of him, instead of from Confucius. But Confucius's spirit was the spirit of his nation. Lâo-tsze was too far in advance to be even understood, much less followed. He was a solitary genius, a great peak lifting its glittering head miles above the little foothills about. Some have styled his ideas Brahmanical, and seek in the Hindu philosophy, especially of the Vedanta school, materials for the interpretation of the *Tâo-teh-King*. Our exposition shows that there is no such harmony. Brahmanism is essentially pantheistic. There is nothing to show that the ideas of Lâo-tsze were so. His system was far more intensely ethical and personal. How little real affinity between his lofty thoughts and the superstitious follies of modern Tâoism! What a lesson here to those who argue for the continuous advance of human thought! How far has China in twenty-five hundred years advanced beyond Lâo-tsze?

Geo. H. Trever

Art. VI.—THE CUP OF SORROW.

No more strangely enigmatical words ever fell from the Saviour's lips than the oft-repeated prayer in the garden, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me." They reveal a mysterious experience whose soul wistfulness and heart-hunger overwhelm us. A brief glance at the circumstances which surrounded our Lord, that fateful night when his quivering lips uttered this cry, will greatly aid our study of this experience. With his disciples he has forsaken the retreat where they had celebrated the "last supper." Silent and sad they pass down the steep side of the Kedron, and are soon on the road which leads to Bethany. But on this occasion he will not go to Bethany, for in the distance loom the outlines of the garden which shall witness his coming grief. To the careless onlooker nature seems strangely out of sympathy with the impending tragedy. "The young leaves have already burst their buds, and are covering twig and branch with their network of green." The light of the "Passover moon" shimmers through the foliage, falling on a form bent in the awfulness of a great agony. Yet when one remembers the current of events so rapidly hurrying toward the Arimathean's garden it will be seen that nature's mood well befitted the scene. Of the "garden" itself Dr. Olin writes: "The theater of this sublime transaction impresses itself upon the imagination in characters not to be effaced. It was near one of the most thronged and busy portions of Jerusalem, and yet lay so low in the valley of Jehoshaphat that not a sound from the restless hum of the city's strife could penetrate its profound depths. Its seclusion from the world was complete."

It was amid the solitude and gloom of this sanctuary that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was to undergo an intensity of suffering to which the purely human soul must ever be a stranger. It was not strange then that he longed to be alone. "Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder," are his words of loving counsel to his companions. They must not behold his anguish, the sight of which would have produced greater stu-

pefaction than the astonishment caused by his transfiguration. Soon they are lost in sleep, but upon the Master the fury of the storm descends. For four thousand years it had been gathering, and now leaps forth with a fury that is almost irresistible. And he is alone in an awful and absolute solitude. Human sympathy could not aid him even by its dumb presence. Heaven seemed far away. The stars had gone out. He was walking near the valley of the shadow of death, and beneath the shadows of the "olive garden" were fulfilled the prophetic words, "I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me." The sacred writers have almost exhausted language in their effort to convey to our mind some impression of our Saviour's anguish. They tell us that he "kneeled down," and "fell on his face;" that his soul was "exceeding sorrowful unto death;" that he "was sore amazed," and "very heavy."

The fact of our Lord's agony is thus self-evident. What was its cause? Fortunately the answer to this question is not a difficult one. There were two factors operative in producing his sufferings: First, he was subject, in a large sense, to the laws of human experience. There was in him a human consciousness. He was undoubtedly affected by its exercise. He is now misunderstood by friend and foe alike. The very men to whom his great heart had been freely opened lie asleep, as much apart from him as if they did not exist. Not only so, but, "before the next dawn shudders in the east, and steals over the terraced hills of Judea," they will all forsake him and flee. Nor is this the worst. His own familiar friend in whom he trusted "will degrade the holiest symbol of human affection into a sign of betrayal. And the man who with persistent vehemence had vowed eternal constancy will soon deny his Lord with oaths and curses." The contemplation of these facts must have contributed to the soul agony of this royal sufferer. Second, he was the God-man. He was the "lamb slain from the foundation of the world." He is already bearing the burden of the world's sins. Heavier and heavier does that indescribable burden grow. As he nears the end its weight well-nigh crushes him. There is no escape. He knows it. He does not seek it. He will gladly

climb Golgotha's rugged side and finish with joy "the work the Father had given him to do."

What, then, is the meaning of those strange enigmatical words, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me?" What did our Lord mean by "this cup?" The question has given rise to much discussion. Commentators have given to it unusual attention. We cannot do better at this point than cite the opinions of some of our leading exegetes:

"This cup" of suffering; that is, those bitter sufferings which were before him, particularly the burden of his Father's wrath.—*Burkitt.*

The cup. The present agony. If man's salvation can be obtained in any way consistent with the claims of divine justice, "let this cup pass from me."—*Binney* and *Steele.*

The cup. The conflict and agony of dying, showing that he was brought to the point of shrinking when he called in help.—*Jacobus.*

The cup. The suffering and dying now before him. There was a momentary longing for deliverance, which afterward yielded to unconditional submission.—*Myer.*

These opinions are fairly representative and may be accepted as typical, and hence further citation would be a useless repetition. Now, it will be seen from these opinions that the phrase "this cup" includes the whole period of our Lord's passion, placing special emphasis upon his ignominious death on the cross. This conclusion is sustained with almost perfect unanimity by the various exegetes quoted. Do they express the true meaning of that prayer? The writer unhesitatingly answers in the negative. Their interpretations involve inconsistencies and absurdities which forbid their acceptance. Let us glance at some of those difficulties:

(1) Our Lord's sufferings and death were an integral part of inspired prophecy. So much a part of it, indeed, that to eliminate that factor would justify the charges made by the most ribald infidelity against those Old Testament predictions. His sufferings, death, and its manner, were foretold with the circumstantiality of an eyewitness. Can we think of any agony so intense as to cause the Saviour to lose sight of his relation to the prophetic messages of Israel's seers? None knew so well as he that in him all types, symbols, and predictions were to find completest culmination. Could he forget this? Was there ever a moment up to this crucial hour when

he seemed to lose sight of the goal? No. Had he not reminded his disciples again and again, saying, "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be slain?" Why should he waver now?

(2) But these views put Christ in an attitude of shrinking weakness that make him compare unfavorably with his own disciples, who in latter years gladly hurried to seize the crown of martyrdom, almost unmindful of the exquisite torture they must endure. And, even worse than that, such a view makes our Lord's weakness greater than the weakness of many of the heroes of pagan antiquity, who for love of country endured tortures indescribable, without shrinking for a moment, or seeking escape, though escape were possible. The writer will examine but one illustration, which he borrows from another. During the first Punic war Marcus Regulus, a noble Roman, was captured by the Carthaginians and held as a prisoner for five years, at the end of which time he was sent to Rome, in company with peace envoys, to induce the Senate to consent to terms of peace which should include an exchange of prisoners. Before leaving Carthage, Regulus had given his word of honor as a Roman that, should the Senate reject the peace proposal, he would return to Carthage a prisoner. His presence in the Senate chamber moved the legislators to tears. They were ready for his sake to accept their enemies' terms and conclude a peace. But Regulus implored the Senate to reject the proposals. His importunity prevailed, and, true to his word of honor, he returned to Carthage a prisoner. He could have broken faith with the Carthaginians and remained in Rome, but honor and patriotism outweighed all else. Well he knew that he need expect no mercy from his enemies. On the return of the party the rage of the disappointed Carthaginians knew no bounds. Regulus was subjected to the most inhuman tortures. Yet not one word of regret escaped his lips. Rome first, self afterward, was the principle that sustained him. When we remember his long imprisonment, his physical weakness, his opportunity to escape, we cannot doubt the greatness of his sacrifice nor the nobility of soul that inspired him. Was the Son of man less noble than the pagan Roman?

Was he less self-sacrificing? Yes, if so be that he sought to escape, even for a moment, either the sufferings of the garden or the cross, which he so well knew led straight to human redemption. The supposition is revolting, and hence we reject the theory that makes such a conclusion possible.

(3) But, more serious still, this view puts Christ in an attitude of strangest inconsistency. He knew that apart from his death there could be no remission of sins. Hear him exclaim: "Now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour." "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." "No man taketh it [my life] from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." And he knew that the sufferings through which he must pass were a means to the end, for to the impetuous Peter he said, "The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" How thoroughly inconsistent are all these utterances with the theory that he desired, even momentarily, to escape from his sufferings! On the contrary he longed with all desire to reach Calvary and finish his work. For, he says, as he converses with his disciples, "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished." His great soul was almost impatient at the delay. The word used in the New Testament Greek for "straitened" is *συνέχομαι*, that is "pressed," "hampered," "crowded." It is as though he had said, "I must suffer many things, even death on the cross, but I am eager for it. I am pressed in spirit until it come to pass." Looking back over the period of our Lord's passion and death the most philosophic of all the apostles says, "Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame." Surely it does not appear that there was the slightest desire on the Saviour's part to shun any of the sufferings which awaited him. He rather waited with intense longing for the hour to come when from Golgotha's grim crest would ring out the words, "It is finished." It was for this he had entered the world, and toward this consummation his whole career unswervingly converged.

But there is another theory which has been elaborated with considerable skill, and which we give in the author's own words:

There was another agent crowding himself upon the garden scene of sorrow and surprise. Another hand was preparing a cup which was not in the redemption plan. The aspiring intruder with lies and deception had polluted the first garden and deceived and ruined the first Adam; he now intrudes himself, with all his malicious arts and agencies, into another conflict, desiring to contest the suffering Saviour's right to universal dominion, which dominion Satan claimed as his own. When Satan left Jesus in the wilderness, after the forty days, terrible in the threefold temptation, it is recorded with deep significance, "He departed from him for a season." Jesus, having completely vanquished the enemy, Satan left the field until a future time. He left the field only to renew the assault with greater skill and force at the most favorable opportunity. The onslaught was renewed in that dark and terrible hour in the garden. Jesus recognized the presence of the devil at that moment when he was "sore amazed," surprised, astonished, as if the presence of something unexpected. "Stunned" is the radical idea of the word. Dr. Whedon says: "'Sore amazed,' an expression, as it were, of horror at some strange revelation of depths of evil unexpected and hitherto unconceived to his soul." The presence of Satan surprised and astonished him; and he, turning to the disciples, lovingly exhorted them to prayer and watchfulness, saying, "Lest ye enter into temptation," saying also to the intruders, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness"—"the hour when ye Jews and the prince of darkness will both combine and make common cause against me." There was a possibility that the humiliating experience or cup our Lord endured in the wilderness temptation might be repeated with sevenfold force and skill. It was possible that the spotless and immaculate soul of the Saviour might be called to an additional experience of anguish and humiliation, which, coming unexpectedly and entirely unauthorized, and from a source and prompted by motives the most malicious, may properly be designated "the cup of devils." The visit of Satan to the garden just at that central point in the world's history, and at the crisis in the work of redemption, might well have filled the Saviour's mind with amazement and prompted him to cry out in anguish of soul, "O my Father, if it be possible, remove this cup from me."

What peculiar form the temptation of the devil had assumed, or was about to assume, we may not know; but we do know that there is nothing so repulsive, nothing half so forbidding and hateful to a holy soul, except sin, as to be under the dire necessity of a hand-to-hand conflict with an impure and malignant spirit. The more holy a man is the more per-

fectly does he see the true nature of sin. How fearful, then, must it have been to the infinitely holy and spotless Jesus, to have to endure any personal approach of the devil or his angels in this, his last solemn agony before his final sufferings upon the cross! The near approach at any time of one so full of evil must have been a terrible humiliation, but more so on this solemn, sacrificial occasion. The thing prayed for was the deliverance from the cup which Satan was preparing for him, the removal of which was certainly contemplated by our Lord as the possible will of his Father, which will be accepted as supreme. After painstaking, unbiased study, we feel compelled to discard this second theory for the following reasons:

(1) There seems to be no sufficient reason why Satan's presence in the garden should have occasioned any surprise, much less why it should have caused the Master to be "sore amazed." The drama in which he was chief actor could not close until every scene was fully consummated. We have no right to assume that at any point from inception to consummation the presence of Satan might not be looked for. Consider for a moment the interests at stake. Christ's advent and its successful issue meant Satan's downfall and dethronement. The increase of one kingdom meant the inevitable decrease of the other. With this knowledge would Satan lose any opportunity to thwart or defeat the establishment of the Redeemer's reign? Is it conceivable that, during the closing scenes of that tragedy, Satan would be either idle or absent? And who knew more fully than the Master the character of his foe or the nature of the interest it involved? He needed none to tell him that his enemy never knew defeat. Foiled in one direction he eagerly seeks a new vantage ground. Tireless, vigilant, alert, persistent, undaunted, he would never yield until the object of his attack was forever beyond his reach. It was the expected that happened when the suffering Son of God was assailed in the garden. It seems unreasonable to urge, then, that the assault should have occasioned any surprise.

(2) But, had our Lord expected exemption from Satan's presence in that decisive hour such a desire would have implied an incomplete scheme of redemption. The writer of Hebrews says that Christ was "in all points tempted like as

we are." Had Jesus shrunk from that contest, or had he been relieved of the hateful presence, it would, in either instance, have been a confession of weakness so grave as to leave a weak spot in the Christian's defenses. But Christ was more than conqueror; he "led captivity captive." Why, then, should he seek exemption from Satan's presence? We prefer to think that the Son of God met and outwitted the soul's most malignant enemy at every conceivable point. Our divine exemplar craved no quarter, shrank from no onslaught, but gladly for our sakes met, resisted, and vanquished the hosts of darkness. Anything less than this would seriously weaken the provisions made for the defense and sustenance of "the flock of God." From such a possibility the mind revolts.

(3) Not only so, but surprise at the Satanic presence in the garden implies ignorance of the ordinary experience of God's servants in all ages. For where in the word of God, or where in the multiplied experiences of his children, are we warranted in believing that even in our best hours the enemy of all good will be absent? When the sons of God appear Satan appears also with them. Knowing this, and understanding the character of his foe so well, our Lord could not have felt surprise at his presence in the garden.

(4) But the advocates of this view admit that "this cup" was no part of the "redemption plan." Such an admission absolutely vitiates the theory for which they contend. Would the Father have permitted his Son to endure such depths of anguish had it borne no relation to the redemptive scheme? We think not. Let it be understood we do not assert or imply that the Satanic presence in the garden was in any sense a part of the "redemption plan." We simply call attention to the fact that, if that presence was the bitterest drop in our Lord's cup of agony, if it was from that he craved deliverance, and if it was no part of the scheme of redemption, then our Lord's keenest anguish was the result of Satanic wantonness and was purely gratuitous. Such a conclusion is so monstrous that it voids the theory that gave it being. And this theory is inconsistent with the subsequent acts in the divine drama. It will be remembered that as our Redeemer hung on the cross his enemies scoffed, saying, "If thou be the

Son of God, come down from the cross. . . . He saved others; himself he cannot save." Was such conduct the product of human ingenuity? It would seem not. Had the Saviour been guilty of all they charged him with such treatment was essentially devilish. There is a certain sacredness in the closing hours of even the vilest. They are permitted to die in peace. But, if the worst they said of Christ were true, he was but a harmless enthusiast who had withal done much good. The spirit that profaned his closing hours was Satanic to the utmost extent. The chief agent in the wilderness temptation was again near, and this alone will account for the horrid profanation. If present at the crucifixion why should his presence in the garden have occasioned surprise? It could not have been this from which deliverance was craved. A much better explanation of the Satanic presence in Gethsemane is that it was an incident growing out of our Lord's experiences, and ought not to be magnified into undue significance. It was incidental, just as our temptations are incidental. We do not hold that any temptations are ordained of God. They arise out of personal weakness and our relations to a sinful world. Their presence at any time need not surprise us, nor need we find it necessary to implore the Father to remove them. We do need strength to resist, and that is freely promised us. But our Lord prayed for the removal of "this cup," and that fact discounts the theory that such cup was in any sense a temptation. The thing from which he craved deliverance must have been something besides the presence of Satan in the garden.

What then was "this cup" to which Christ alludes? Of two facts we are certain:

(1) It was a present, rather than a future, experience.* This appears from a careful examination of the original, *εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι, παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.* It will be observed that in addition to the article *τὸ* the demonstrative pronoun *τοῦτο* is also used. We find on examination that all three of the evangelists follow the same usage. We also dis-

* When the writer was a student in Drew Seminary Dr. James Strong mentioned this fact, and advised investigation. The results of that investigation are here given.

cover that the preposition παρά—which means "by," "near," "along side of," and when used with the accusative means "near," "by the side of"—is used in combination with the verb in the corresponding passages of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, which refer to our Lord's pleas for deliverance. Such a fact clearly shows that the phrase "this cup" must have been something present in the garden from which Christ sought deliverance.

(2) But, once more, we know that he did not drink the cup. His cry was heard, and he was delivered from the dreaded experience. This appears from Heb. v, 7, "Who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared." The ambiguity of this passage disappears when we turn to the translation given by Moses Stuart in his commentary on Hebrews. He renders καὶ εἰσο κουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβέιας thus, "And was heard in respect to that which he feared, or, was delivered from that which he feared." Now, this passage can refer to but one person, the Lord Jesus Christ. And the experience it portrays must have been his agony in the garden. There is no other experience that corresponds with the intensity of emotion which this passage breathes. And the truth it contains completely voids the commonly accepted theory that the thing our Lord prayed to be delivered from was death on the cross.

But another answer may be given to the question considered. We must bear in mind that during the three years of our Saviour's ministry he had been subject to a constantly increasing nervous tension. As he neared the end mind and heart and body were under a remorseless dominion. The intense weight that rested upon him naturally produced extraordinary physical depression. In this condition he entered the garden. The moment he knelt he felt that his physical powers were yielding. The body had borne all it could bear. It was then that a great fear seized him. If no relief came could he endure the strain. Might not he sink under the load that crushed him to the earth? When this possibility flashed before him his whole nature revolted. "No, no," his soul cried, "not this; do not ask me to drink

this cup." He had "trodden the winepress alone," and not a murmur had escaped his lips. But death in the garden, with longed-for Calvary in the near future, would indeed be a bitter cup. It was this he feared, and it was from this he so earnestly sought deliverance. Can this view be demonstrated? The answer will be found in an examination of the grounds that in the writer's estimation sustain this theory.

As we have already seen, the Saviour's physical nature was exhausted. So intense were his emotions that the blood was forced through the pores of his skin. It is not reasonable to suppose that his already overburdened heart could have endured the strain much longer. Had no relief come he must have died of heart rupture—the actual cause of his death a few hours later. But help did come. In Luke xxii, 43, we read, "And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him." Luke here puts the celestial visitant's aid between the second and the third prayer, when our Lord's agony was greatest and his weakness most felt. This is of the utmost importance as showing that the strength imparted to the suffering Saviour was physical strength. And this is further shown by the original, for the verb ἐνισχύω means "to impart vigor," "to make strong." The conclusion is abundantly confirmed by Heb. v, 7, already quoted. It will be seen at a glance that these two passages, Luke xxii, 43, and Heb. v, 7, sustain the contention this article raises. Jesus did not fear either suffering or death. He did not shrink from the cup which his Father had given him; but he did crave deliverance from "this cup," and from it he was delivered. The view magnifies, rather than diminishes, his submission to the Father's will. Death in the garden would have robbed him of the one cherished boon of his earthly life. The only prize he had coveted is about to be snatched from his grasp. Yet, if this be his Father's will, the quivering heart sobs, "Amen!" Was ever submission like this? Our mind fails in its attempt to fathom so stupendous an experience.

The writer knows of no interpretation so free from difficulty, from the view-point of the Arminian theology. The Calvinist will smile at it as puerile. He finds no difficulty in this experience of our Lord. In the Calvinistic view the Son shrank,

not from suffering or death, but from the prospect of absolute abandonment. But the only thing that can separate from God is sin. Christ was not a sinner; hence he could not fear separation from the Father. In rejecting the Calvinist interpretation we have found ourselves driven to seek some extrication from the difficulties that surround us. If the Son of God did not shrink from the prospect of absolute separation from the Father, what was it from which his soul desired escape? The writer has sought the best light possible, and offers the view last named as the solution of a most delicate and difficult question. It is not claimed that this solution is absolutely free from objection, but we do insist that it is the most reasonable solution yet offered. It forever does away with the necessity of thinking that Jesus, the Son of God, the Saviour of men, pleaded in awful earnestness of soul to be delivered from the very thing for which he entered the world. It clears the mental atmosphere, and is an aid to our faith to feel that Jesus never held back from any anguish, however exquisite it might be, but that he unswervingly went forward to the end. And it does not seem extravagant to assert that the view here urged is consistent and scriptural, and therefore commends itself as worthy of acceptance.

Robt. Watt.

Art. VII.—WHO WERE THE HITTITES (HETHITES)?

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that no nation of antiquity has, in the last few years, received more attention than the Hittites. And it may also be said that in regard to none has the generally accepted tradition been more completely revolutionized. Though the words "Hittite" and "Hittites" occur more than fifty times in the Old Testament, a writer says of it, in the time of Abraham, "The tribe was evidently as yet but small, not important enough to be noticed beside 'the Canaanite and the Perizzite.'"* Many biblical passages indicate plainly, however, that they were neither few in number nor politically unimportant, at this time or shortly afterward The fact that Abraham bought a tomb from the sons of Heth for "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," shows plainly enough the occupation in which they were engaged. Another writer thinks there is no doubt the latter were natives of Cyprus, or at least that this was the chief seat of their power. † It seems to incline to the opinion that they were Greeks, while the former name may designate a different people, and that the names occurring in the Bible may have arisen from confusing two peoples that were in fact distinct. There is no doubt that the powerful nation of the Cheta of the Egyptian monuments and the Chatti of the cuneiform inscriptions dwelt north of Palestine. It is evident from the cautious tone of Professor Kautzsch, the author of the article just cited, that he did not feel justified, by his study of the evidence, in holding any positive views on the subject. Yet the origin and ethnic relations of the Pelasgi have exercised scholars for at least half a century.

Hitzig regarded them as the ancestors of the modern Albanians. This view is supported with much warmth by Von Hahn. The most recent attempt to strengthen this hypothesis is made by Benloew in his *La Grèce avant les Grecs.* It may be said, however, that it does not seem to be consid-

*See article under this caption in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. iv, p. 279.

† See the articles "Hethiter" and "Chittim" in Riehm's *Handwoerterbuch des biblischen Alterthums.*

ered tenable by any competent authority. Not a few scholars have maintained that the Pelasgi were Semites. Among these are Kortuem, and particularly Kiepert. Crusius contends that they were either Semites or strongly impregnated by a Semitic civilization that points to Lydia. Pauli, on the other hand, seeks to prove that the Pelasgians were a pre-Semitic and pre-Aryan people. Considering the problem from the Greek standpoint, we find the fullest discussion of this mysterious people in the second edition of Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte.* After a full citation of ancient authorities the author expresses the opinion that the name "Pelasgi" spread from Thessaly all over Greece. He concludes from statements in Homer that the Pelasgi were pre-Achæan and pre-Hellenic inhabitants of this country. But we nowhere find in his history a definite statement regarding their original home.

Notwithstanding the conservatism of Busolt and others who have very recently written upon the history of the Greeks, it is daily becoming more manifest that their early civilization is almost purely an "eastern question." The primitive history of the world is no longer divided into "sacred" and "profane," even by the most orthodox theologians. It has become a well-established fact that man in his social state, from its earliest beginnings in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but chiefly in the latter region, passed through a series of slowly changing phases to which many influences contributed. Traces of the Greeks are found farther and farther back in the proto-historic period of the human race. It has become plainly evident that they, too, passed through the usual rude stages, but, unlike the other peoples that swarmed about the eastern shores of the "sea that moans with memories," they were continually profiting by contact and intercourse with their neighbors of alien race. The influence exerted upon them by the Phœnicians has long been recognized, and that of other non-Aryans more than surmised. It is probable that the rapid progress of archæological discovery will soon make it possible to mark out pretty clearly what elements in the social and religious institutions of the Greeks were original with themselves and what appropriated from the older ethnic units of Asia.

Altogether the most ambitious attempt that has yet been

made to solve the much-debated question of the origin of the Pelasgi is by De Cara in a volume of 750 pages. * It is devoted to a study of Siria, Asia Minore, and Ponto Eussino, and seeks to fortify the position indicated in its title. Ancient Greek authors are practically unanimous in the belief that all the islands of the Ægean, together with Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, as well as the Greek continent and a large portion of Italy, were first inhabited by Pelasgi. If, then, it can be shown that the Pelasgi were the Hittites or Hethites, the Khittim of the Bible, the Kheta or Khiti of the Egyptians, the Khatti of the Assyrians, and if the argument from tradition accords with that of the monuments which still bear the epithet "Pelasgic" and with the religious symbolism peculiar to the Pelasgi in all the countries occupied by them, nothing more can be desired to establish the priority in time of the migration of the Hethites to that of the sons of Javan. Strabo says the Syrians seem to have once occupied all the country from Babylon, by way of the Gulf of Issos, to the Euxine Sea. Owing to their wide dispersion the ancients frequently confounded the Syrians with the Assyrians, who were, however, as is well known, an entirely different people. The shorter name is nothing more than an unconscious abridgment of the longer one. In illustration of Greek names that have a Hethite basis we have room for only a few etymologies. "Kadmos" is "Khethmos" or "Kheth(i)mos." What Kadmos stands for in Greek legend need not detain us here. He was the reputed son of Agenor, king of Phœnicia. But Syria embraces Phœnicia, for as Pliny says, "*Qui subtilius dividunt circumfundi Syria Phœnicen volunt et esse oram maratimam Syriæ.*" Kadmos was then a Hethite. The same root also occurs in "Kythera," the name of a city and an island, where we have "Kyth" with the suffix "r," the compound meaning "city of the Hethites." By the usual extension of meaning a name at first purely local was afterward applied to the entire island. The same suffix appears in Hethite composites as "ar," "er," "ir," "or," "ur," and "al," "el," "il," "ol," "ul." It also appears in other forms and disguises. The name χεθιμὰ or χεθὶμ was

* *Gli Hethei-Pelasgi. Ricerche di Storia e di Archæologia Orientale, Greca ed Italica del P. Cesare De Cara della Compagnia di Gesù.* Roma, 1894. The argument contained in this article is derived largely from this volume.

applied to the whole island of Cyprus in the most ancient times. This name was subsequently transformed into "Kition" and "Citium." Now χεθὶμ is the Egyptian and Assyrian "Hamathâ," "Hemtu," or "Hemut." According to the testimony of Pliny, the whole island was at one time called "Amathusia." At a later period the name "Amathus" was restricted to the single city now called "Limisso." Both the appellation of the island and of the city are variants of Hamath, the parent city on the Orontes. The first syllable in "Pelasgi" is a Hamitic root signifying *migrare, advenire;* as a substantive its meaning is *peregrinator, advena.* If to the prefix we add the ethnic or local expletive "Ati" or "Asi" we get the meaning *advena ex Asia*, or *Asiaticus.* An earlier name of Asia was "Khatia," whence we get an explanation of the termination ασγοι or ασγι. This is ασικοι, ασικι, then by syncope ασκοι and ασκι. Now this Asiki is a compound signifying "people of Khatia or Asia." The country of the Hethites was known as "mat Khati." The phonetic change is compared to that occurring in Athana, Asana—φατι, φασι.

If we wish to know how the Greeks came to adopt a name given to themselves by these foreigners met with in so many places on Grecian territory we apparently have it in the answer to the question as to who they were and whence they came. To both the reply would be, "We are Pelasgi, that is, immigrants from Asia." By this method it is not difficult to find an explanation of such local names as "Attika," "Ithaka," and many more. In the first syllable we have again the word "Heth," to which is added a suffix of locality, "ka." The names "Atys," "Kotys," and "Asia" are identical, as De Cara says, and thus he assists us in studying the origin of the Pelasgi in all its bearings.

Comparatively few persons can contribute anything of value to the solution of this long-debated question. It is, however, fairly certain that the Hittites were a race of conquerors who subjugated the countries they overran for the purpose of laying them under tribute, and not with a view to colonization and permanent occupancy. The chief seats of their power were Carchemish on the Euphrates, Hamath, Aleppo, and Kadesh. They were at the height of their power in the four-

teenth and thirteenth centuries before Christ, but traces of their presence are found at least a century earlier and four centuries later. Their migrations can be followed as far as Lake Van, but they probably started farther east. Their own sculptures, with which those of the Egyptians in the main agree, represent them as short in stature and thick of limb. They had retreating foreheads, high cheek bones, large nostrils, and a prominent upper lip. Their skins were yellow; their hair and eyes were black. Their hair was arranged in the form of a queue, and on their feet they wore a sort of shoe with up-turned toes. This is taken as an indication that they came from a cold country, as such foot-gear is well adapted for walking on snow. "The type," says Sir Charles Wilson, "while not a beautiful one, is still found in some parts of Kappadokia, especially among the people living in the extraordinary subterranean towns which I discovered beneath the great plain west of Nigdeh." While these people were unquestionably an exotic among the Semites of northern Asia, they intermarried more or less with them—a relationship into which they could easily enter as long as they were the ruling race.

A study of the whole question in the light of accessible evidence makes it well-nigh certain that the Hittites were Turanians, and that their early conquests in western Asia belong to a list of raids made southward, eastward, and westward from their original seats in Turkestan. The Hyksos may have been of this race. Professor Hommel is confident that the Sumero-Akkadians, the mysterious people whose civilization underlies that of the later Mesopotamians, spoke a language that has many points of resemblance to the modern Turkish. It seems incredible that tribes that had not advanced beyond the half-nomadic and half-agricultural stage of social progress should be capable of overthrowing great empires and establishing on their ruins a government possessing some of the elements of permanence. But the careers of Attila, Tamerlane, Jenghis Khan, and the Turks are sufficient evidence of what they were capable of doing under competent leadership.

Chas. W. Super.

Art. VIII.—THE MENTAL CONDITION OF THE CHINAMAN AS VIEWED FROM WITHIN.

The writer had a singular experience recently which he has no doubt will strike others as peculiar, even as it did him. He had been engaged for some time in conversation with a Chinese friend, Mr. Wu Ming-shih. The talk had been about the comparative mental condition of the educated Chinaman and the educated foreigner, and we were surprised at the intelligence our friend manifested and the clear distinctions he was able to make. Often he was mistaken in his judgments, and consequently arrived at incorrect conclusions; but his mind, unlike the minds of many Chinese, was open to conviction that there is something worth knowing outside of China and Chinese methods, and his eye would light up with intelligence whenever he got a new idea, no matter what pet theories of his own it might overthrow.

After he left we sat at our desk in a deep study, with forehead on our hands and elbows resting on the desk. In a short time our attention was attracted by the faintest little sound in front, and raising our eyes we saw, sitting on the ink bottle, one of the most peculiar little fellows it has ever been our lot to behold. It was a man in form and figure, face and limb. Between it and a brownie there was no comparison; and a Lilliputian beside it would be a giant, though it was by no means a dwarf. It was the exact counterpart in appearance, even to the complexion and expression, of the young man who had just left the study. Nevertheless, it was scarcely half an inch in length, or would surely not exceed an inch. As is natural under such circumstances, we stared at it for a moment in blank curiosity and surprise. The little creature noticed this surprise, for the faintest shadow of what might be designated an atomic smile began to bloom upon his features, and in a moment he broke into a tiny laugh much like what would be given forth by a necktie phonograph, if such a thing were possible. As is natural, when the pressure of surprise was taken off our organs of speech, as if to make up for lost time, they blurted forth, all in a single breath, the

questions, "Who are you? What are you? Where did you come from? What are you here for?" "Slowly," said he, speaking in the Chinese language, "One question at a time; they will not only last longer, but will be more easily answered." This was said in a voice that was in perfect keeping with his general make-up, and not until it was repeated in his loudest tones was it perceptible to a dull human ear. It made us feel less doubtful of the theory that spiders, bees, and ants may have a method of oral communication which is imperceptible to any organs except those fashioned on the same diminutive pattern as the organs which utter the sound.

"My name," said he, in his loudest and most distinct tones, "is 'Ai Ti-ah,' though I am often called 'T'ung Jen-'rh'—the 'pupil of the eye.' I am what my name implies, an idea. The young man who has just left the room caught a glimpse of me looking out of your eye, as you yourself would look out of a window; and I am here to answer some of the questions which you and that young man were discussing a few moments ago. The brain, as you know, is my home. I live there. You have seen ant hills not larger than a human brain, in which dwell millions of these little creatures, as you call them. They have their cities, their storehouses, their machinery, and their highways. But no ant hill that you have ever seen will in any way compare in the density of its population with an ordinary human brain; and with a well-developed brain nothing that you have ever seen could be used as a comparison. As one of the tendencies of a great city is to draw men and women from every neighborhood with which it is in touch, to increase its population, so we throng the ten thousand nerves which lead, like so many roads, from every square inch of territory on the surface of the body. The nerves are the roads we travel, and the clusters of nerve cells of which the brain is composed are the headquarters to which we all come and from which we are all sent out.

"You, of course," he went on, "are not so familiar with your own brain as I am. You often wonder how the knotty problems of thought are solved. Well, now, I can tell you. It is done by the clusters of brain cells which you call nerve

ganglia. These ganglia hold the same relation to thought which your hand holds to a knot in a string. With one hand, although you have on it five fingers, you cannot easily untie a knot in a string, and so you use both hands to do it. So these clusters of nerve cells are all united, and work together in unraveling the knotty problems of life. Whenever a sensation strikes the nerves—whether it be color, odor, sound, flavor, or solid—it is carried to these nerve clusters and they go to work on it. If it is something with which they are familiar they solve it in an instant and pass it on. For instance, suppose a dog should bite your hand. Your sensory nerve carries the matter to these brain clusters; they solve the matter, decide what to do, send one of us to pull the muscular ropes of your leg, and, in common parlance, you kick the dog. With such common affairs the brain cells have no trouble; but when matters with which they are not familiar come they have to work on them just as you work over the unraveling of a knotted string, the putting together of a puzzle, or the solving of a riddle—or, as a child puts together a block picture or builds a block house, they first find the parts that match. Such is the case in mathematical problems and all problems of reasoning. Part after part is tried, to see whether it fits, and this with you is called comparison, reasoning, and association; but with us it is merely a process of getting together the proper brain cells or combinations.

"Some brains are like some countries, certain parts of which are thickly populated and certain parts are as barren as deserts; or they are like some bodies, certain parts of which are well developed, while other parts are wholly undeveloped. You sometimes say of such heads that they have 'rooms to let unfurnished,' and the expression is more appropriate than is often supposed. I have been in a cluster—and I shudder to think of it—where I have been so crowded that I had neither breathing space nor elbow room, while just the next cluster was wholly untenanted, or so sparsely filled that I would have given half I was worth to have been there. And then, again, I have been in places where I would have given the other half I was worth to have some one to communicate with, where I was as lonesome as Robinson Crusoe;

and when, at last, I was sent out I was so poor and emaciated and poorly clad that I had a difficult task to find a place in respectable quarters."

"I am not sure that I understand just what you mean," we interposed.

"O, yes, you do," he answered. "You have heard people express good thoughts in such poor language that no one cared to entertain them. Now, language is our clothing, and what you call magnetism is our life; and, so, when we are sent out unmagnetized and half clad, no matter how beautiful we may be, we are often woefully neglected. 'Fine feathers make fine birds' with us, just as with you. We depend one half on clothing, and the other half on magnetism. Any of us are worth having, if only we are properly clothed, magnetized, and in proper company."

"I think I get your meaning," we said, "but I was just about to inquire whether all ideas are as small as you."

"By no means," he hastened to reply, "though I am a fair size at present. Some are larger, some smaller. Then we vary at different times, according to the quarters we occupy. For instance, what we call a foreign idea shrivels up greatly when it gets into the head of a Chinaman, simply from lack of appreciation and attention, and an opportunity to develop and propagate itself. It is a stranger, and receives only a cold shoulder from all other ideas with which it comes in contact, for it seldom comes in contact with any but enemies, and only gets out by being drawn out. Have you ever tried to introduce foreign inventions into China?" he asked, suddenly. "If you haven't, just try it. Give your carpenter a foreign saw, and see what he does with it." Now, as it happens, we had given our carpenter a good foreign saw, and he hung it up to rust. We gave him a saw-set, which would set the teeth of a saw regularly, and he laid it away, and continued to set his saws with a nick in a file. And so we answered, "Yes, the carpenters do not take to our foreign saws well; probably because they cannot use them so well." "It is the same with all kinds of foreign inventions," he retorted. "Axes, hatchets, chisels, hammers, lathes, plows, cars, ships, guns, and everything that takes thought and reason to make, or that takes

thought and reason to understand and manipulate, shares the same fate as a saw. No matter how noble or useful the thought may have originally been, it shrivels up to almost nothing in the Chinese mind."

"You spoke a moment ago about propagating yourself; what did you mean by it?"

"Just what I said," he answered. "I have never yet been in a brain in which I did not leave a family. But you know this as well as I do. It has long been a proverb with you that 'you never know a thing yourself until you have taught it to some one else.' If we have any attention whatever we begin to propagate as soon as we enter the brain, and nothing that you know of increases with anything like the ratio with which we increase in a fertile brain, if we have half a chance. Then there are times when we wither away to a shadow in a brain into which we happen to have been forced and where we have to remain until some one rescues us. In such a brain we only leave a sort of a shadow of ourselves, which will probably never appear on this side the grave. Tell a Westerner something new, or show him some new invention that makes labor more easy or more effective, and at once he copies and improves it. No product of thought is too difficult for him to understand, too intricate for him to work out, or too complicated for him to use. As soon as an idea enters his head he furnishes it with good quarters, gives it all his attention, and it is almost no time till he has more ideas on that one subject than the man from whom he got it. What about the Chinaman? He looks at it with open-mouthed wonder or self-satisfied indifference, but he is without either the ability or desire to appreciate, improve, understand, or use it. Nor is this confined to foreign inventions. His 'harps and lutes' are little if any better than those invented by Fu-hsi; his wagons little better than those of Huang-ti; his compass no better than that of Chou Kung; his money no better than that of two thousand years ago; his medical science little in advance of Hua T'o; and his official gazette is printed from blocks no better, if as good, as they were a thousand years ago. Indeed, in all experimental and practical science, where anything like attention, reason, imagination, or invention is required, he is

little if any in advance of the men of the age which gave him what he possesses. Yes, we propagate ourselves, but we cannot propagate in a Chinese mind, for his mind is like his field, worth but little unless fertilized, and the Chinese pay little attention to mental fertilizing."

"You were talking a few moments ago about habit, and you simply regarded it as the 'ordinary course of conduct of a person.' Now, as you see conduct, which is about your best method of judging, that seems to be a fairly good definition; but it does not explain what habit is. Habit," he repeated—and he heaved the tiniest little sigh—"habit is the bane of our existence. Your highest idea of rapidity is a flash of lightning, but that is nothing to the rapidity with which we travel through people's fingers and brains in some classical music. Habit—habit is a path through the brain, a well-worn path, a path that is so well worn through those nerve clusters that we never have to stop for direction or turn the switch from a sensory to a motor nerve. Why, if it makes your head swim to watch the fingers of a pianist when he is keyed up to his highest pitch in his fastest music, what would it do if you had to go from the music to his eye, from his eye through his brain, down into his spinal cord, and out to the tip of his finger with every separate key he strikes, without making the mistake of getting into the wrong finger? That is what we call rapid transit, and it can only be done where there is a path worn through the brain. Now you can easily see that a brain which is crossed and recrossed by habit paths is not a good place for generating ideas—no better than a field crossed and recrossed by donkey paths is for growing wheat. The paths must be dug up and the donkeys kept out if one expects a crop of grain from such a field; and it is just so with habit. Your old proverb says, 'Man is a bundle of habits;' but I say, Alas for such a man!"

"You do not mean to say," we objected, "that all which we study so thoroughly as to make it a part of our mental store by this fact of its familiarity becomes useless because it is habitual?"

"By no means," he hastened to answer. "Usable knowledge is usable knowledge; habit is habit. Matters must be familiar be-

fore they are usable; but it is when they become so familiar that they pass through the mind without so much as your consciousness—without either making or leaving an impression—that they become habit. For instance, I suppose you do not know which sleeve of your coat or which shoe you put on first in the morning when dressing, and yet if you will take the trouble to notice I have no doubt you will find that you invariably do it exactly the same." [Since attention was thus called to the matter we have noticed that we always begin with the right foot and the right hand, but have found that some of our friends as invariably begin with the left.] "I have known persons who, having gone to a dinner party not fully dressed and being directed upstairs to finish their toilet, from the very habit of retiring so often at about that hour of the evening and under such circumstances, have undressed and gone to bed. We simply pass through that kind of a brain without opportunity for either propagation or communication. We have the same old companions year after year, and there is neither place nor desire for new ones. I do not need to tell you that the Chinese have such a habit-encumbered mind; they call it *kuei chü.* The man who is set apart for a scholar has certain definite laws and rules, and he is a scholar only as he surpasses in these. The *San Tzu Ch'ing, Chien Tzu Wen,* and *Po Chia Hsing* are the first to wear their paths through his mind. They are followed by the Four Books and Five Classics, while at the same time he writes the standard poetry and classical essays, and habituates himself to the standard historical anecdotes and philosophical sayings in such a way that all he has to do is to begin to speak, and it goes itself without further attention. If he happens to be a farmer, a mechanic, an artist, or a manufacturer he is modeled on the same plan. His brain is so incommoded by habit-paths as to wholly incapacitate him for anything like invention or originality, and he goes on plowing with the same kind of a plow as that used by Shun, writing with the same kind of a brush as that used by Meng T'ien, on the same kind of paper as that manufactured by T'sai Lun, and with ink similar to that used by the inventor of that useful but inconvenient article."

"What do you mean by saying that the Chinese are in-

capacitated for anything like invention or originality?" we asked of our little friend; for we became more interested as he began to apply the theories he had been explaining.

"I mean exactly what I say. The nature of their education is calculated to do nothing more than pour into them. They simply fill the mental storehouse with material, a large part of which is useless rubbish. Those nerve clusters which have to do with memory are necessarily developed to such a degree, by the committing of the various primers and classics, that before it is possible to complete these they have gotten beyond the age for beginning on reason and imagination, even if they had any studies prepared to begin with, which they have not. And so, while the memory clusters are densely populated, the reason clusters are wholly untenanted. Now, as everyone loves to do what he can do best, by the very *vis inertia* they continue to store away the accumulated ignorance and blunders of the past, without any efforts at production; and every generation becomes less and less capable of distinguishing what was the original fact and what the accumulated rubbish of that which they have been learning. You know it to be a fact that large people have large children; that muscular people tend to have muscular children; that fleshy people have fleshy children; and that people with large eyes, large noses, round faces, or curly hair tend to have children with like characteristics. This is especially true in the realm of the nerves and the brain. Children not only inherit the constitution and disposition of their parents, but from the moment they open their eyes and ears they begin to imbibe their parents' thoughts and become more fixed in their parents' tendencies. You know also the evil result of the constant intermarriage of intimate relations. The mixture of blood is a *conditio sine qua non* of perfect mental and physical development, and it is as much more so in the realm of thought as the mental is more important than the physical. This is well illustrated in the instance of the Anglo-Saxon race. This, however, the Chinese have determinedly refused to do, contenting themselves with standing at the head of a few little half-civilized nations, rather than take a position of equality among the nations of the world. China has refused, in her conceit, to accept any-

thing from those above her, until the little, old ideas now communicated from father to son have run out, like certain vegetable tubers, for want of a change of soil.

"How do I come to learn about brain heredity? From the simple fact that I have been so often communicated from father to son. I see the brain as you see the face. Just as you see the form and features of father and mother repeated in the child, so I see the brain of father and mother reproduced in the son, and as is the brain so, to a large extent, is the mind. This family likeness by no means ends in face, form, and expression. It may not only be followed through centuries of family traits, but in the same way it enters into national life and character. This is not new to you. You have observed it throughout all history. It was very marked in the conservative Jew, less marked in the less conservative Greek, and still less in the much-traveled Roman. It is almost destroyed in Western countries at present, because of the constant interchange of thought, commodity, and intercourse. But it is very marked in China. Since each country is simply a family on a large scale, if she shuts herself out from other families, refuses to marry into them and exchange thought and commodity with them, she develops generation after generation of family traits which not only interfere with her symmetrical growth, but become shackles upon her hands and feet. This is the condition of China and of the Chinese brain and mind to-day. The Chinaman's nose is almost as characteristic as his queue, and his brain is certainly as marked as either. He has an atmosphere about him which will require a large amount of intercourse and education to neutralize. Nevertheless, just as a reputation that is won by many acts may be lost by one, so family traits which have required generations to develop under proper conditions may be obliterated in a single generation, as has been the case in Japan.

"You were wondering a moment ago whether much could be done to change the mind and character of persons who are full-grown. You know the difficulty of straightening the bones of persons who have attained to manhood. Such persons may develop bone and muscle, and add to both their beauty and efficiency, but as a tree grows it remains. What a

man is when he attains his growth, except under extraordinary circumstances, he remains all his life. What is put into the first of life is put into the whole of life, and, other things being equal, men get the trend of their mental life by the time they have finished their physical growth. The world has known some very startling exceptions to this rule, but a careful examination will show that they are exceptions, and not the rule. You know the difficulty," he said, looking at us with a minute twinkle in his tiny black eye, as if he was about to offer an unanswerable argument, "you know the difficulty of trying to make preachers of the Gospel out of men who have grown to manhood with no education except that of the Chinese classics, no matter how good that education may be. Indeed, the better it is, the more difficulty you find in making them into preachers of the Gospel. Even a change of heart, though this is the greatest change that can come to a man, will scarcely counterbalance the tendencies of youth and education in the atmosphere with which he is surrounded. This change must come in youth; he must be educated in a different direction; the atmosphere about him must be changed by the introduction of the products of the reason and imagination of other lands; ideas of a kind to which he has never been accustomed must strike nerves which have lain dormant in him and his ancestors for generations, and excite to action and stimulate to growth nerve clusters which have thus far never been an integral part of his constitution, before he can be made to feel that the world without is greater than the world within, and that his ignorance is greater than his knowledge.

"The condition of his affections is little, if any, different from that of his intellect. I was impressed very much with this, not long since. I was sent to the brain of a Chinaman a few days ago, and while there I met a little idea that was different from most Chinese ideas and somewhat similar to the representatives of conjugal affection I have constantly met in the brains of foreigners. I thought I recognized him as one of the affections, but was not certain; and so I asked him who he was. And I give you his own words, which I assure you were uttered with a doleful sigh: 'I belong to the family of Affections, and to that branch called Conjugal Affection. In

other branches of our family, that is, Filial Affection and Parental Affection, I have known some very robust representatives; but we of the conjugal branch are all as undersized and undeveloped as you see I am. Indeed, though I am not a hundredth part as large as you are, I am still one of the largest and best developed I have ever known in our branch of the family. You see I am both deformed and dwarfed. This was caused by the unfortunate method of conjugal selection when I was born; and, since then, I have always been more than half starved for the benefit of others. Those who might develop us to a fair size are so hampered by custom that they dare not allow us to exercise except indoors.'"

The little fellow ended up with a sigh, as if deploring the lot of the little companion whose unfortunate condition he had been relating, and then continued: "The religious nature of the Chinaman is quite as unevenly developed as his intellectual and affectional. We have just seen how his brain is injured by habit-paths; how his memory is developed at the expense of his reason; and his filial, at the expense of his conjugal, affection. In the same way his moral nature is developed at the expense of his religious nature. He is a moral monstrosity, so far as theory goes. From Lao Tzu he learned that man should 'love his enemies;' from Confucius, that man 'should not do to others what he would not have them do to him;' by Mo Tzu he was taught the lesson of 'universal love;' and he learned to repeat them all. There have been those from the beginning, no doubt, who have tried not to do to others what they would not have others do to them; and, because of the moral character thus attained, they have merited and received the praise of succeeding generations. But how far short they have fallen of those who, in addition to their moral maxims, have had the help of revelation, will be readily seen by even a superficial view of the teachings of their best men. Confucius denied that you should love your enemies. 'Love your friends,' said he, 'and treat your enemies justly.' He praised the liar who came in late from the battlefield, because his lies savored of humility, thereby putting humility above truth; and what he taught he practiced, for he was not loath to deceive those

who came to call on him whom he did not wish to see. He was imitated in this by Mencius, when the disciples of Mo Tzu came to call on him; for Mo Tzu's 'universal love,' said Mencius, would bring men into 'the state of a beast.' From the time of these sages until the present in the matter of veracity the Chinaman has lost all shame. He loves morality and moral maxims, but he lacks that subtle power which only God's Spirit can give, and is thus incapable of putting his moral maxims to a practical use. Of God he knows nothing. His religious nature—that part of his nature which should lead him to reach out after God and heaven and immortality—is almost, if not wholly, undeveloped. 'Living, he lives; dead, he is dead,' is a proverb that is in the mouth of men and women alike; and while in theory he refuses to adopt the sentiments of the ancient Epicurean philosopher, Yang Chu, yet he indicates by his life and talk that he believes what that philosopher taught, that 'a man may live as a Yao or a Shun, or as a Chieh or a Chou, but when he dies he is nothing but rotten bones in either case. In fact, there is no difference between the bones of a dead saint or a dead rascal. Wherefore, in life let us attend to the things of life; why should we trouble our heads about what is to take place after death?' That is as far as he has gone in his philosophy of a future life. 'Alive he is alive, dead he is dead.'"

Just here the little creature took on that frightened look which is often seen on a squirrel when he sees a man approaching with a gun, jumped down from the ink bottle, and scrambled up over the writer's shoulder and into his ear as quick as a flash of lightning. And, as we turned our head to see who shook us, our wife, with a candle in her hand, said in a playful tone, "Don't you know it is twelve o'clock, and you have been sleeping at your desk? I can see my image in your eye." But we did not tell her what we now record, that the little fellow who had just run into our ear had perhaps climbed up to look out of the window.

Isaac T. Headland.

Art. IX.—THE TRUE METHOD OF MISSIONARY PROGRESS.

It will be found, in comparing the great existing religions, that each of them has some marked point of divergence which when closely interrogated is seen to be an abnormally developed phase of some of the universal bases of religious thinking or fragments of primal revelation, as the case may be, upon which all religions are built. Each faith has brought a fragment into dominating boldness, and builds itself around this as a central proposition. Admitted by all, but slurred over by the others, this fragment becomes for the particular faith its great central truth, often overaccented, and even by its disproportion so destroying symmetry as to seemingly work harm rather than good. The reason for the religion's being and sway, however, is the fragment of truth at its core, and here is the key to its power over the hearts of men.

When any such system comes in contact with Christianity the first disposition is to insolently reject any affiliation with Christianity, because of the obtrusion upon the vision of the alien faith of the points wherein there is disagreement. Christianity is a doughty adversary, and in the conflict of ideas that ensues it is not long before the central feature of the non-Christian faith with its disproportion and abnormal accent is seen to be a kindred truth to some essential teaching of Christianity. The effect is to produce at once a mutual feeling of kinship, and, rightly used, it is a bridge over which the adherents of the alien faith easily pass as individuals to Christianity. Still more important, however, it is the point of contact through which Christianity most profoundly affects, and ultimately promises to control, the alien faith. It is the place in the wild olive where the graft takes place which will change the nature of the tree and the fruit it is to bear.

For illustration—which in some cases approaches demonstration—of how Christianity, when thus it understands and is understood by any alien faith, begins to fraternize in the line where kinship of truth appears, and through this contact of fraternity profoundly modifies and promises wholly to recon-

struct the other faiths, vitalizing what is best in them and putting them to extruding the weak and the base in them, let us briefly examine some of the great non-Christian faiths of the world. If, in the case of many of them, it should be found that they have scarcely, if at all, felt the impact of Christianity, it must be remembered that political Christianity has not been exactly fashioned after the pattern of the Sermon on the Mount. That the alien religionists of Europe and Asia have had but small opportunity to learn the real teaching and spirit of Jesus, and have not therefore been best situated to illustrate the molding power of Christian truth, will be admitted. Indeed, the wonder will deepen in the observant mind that under such unfavorable conditions such vast results have already been achieved.

There are eight great religions—Christianity and seven others which have some degree of kinship with her. For we perhaps all recognize that what in any measure tends to create in men an other-worldliness and keeps alive a spirit of religious dependence and a sense, however vague, of something without us that is greater than we, cannot be begotten wholly of evil, however much it may be deformed by evil. Religion, any religion, is primarily of God and is in the main helpful. There are seven chief non-Christian religions, each of them in a sense begotten of some truth, though deformed by error—three Aryan faiths, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism; two Mongolian, Taoism and Confucianism; and two Semitic, Judaism and Mohammedanism. Of these the writer selects Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, for with these Christian missions are in the main concerned. Where we examine these systems closely and sympathetically we find that each of them is built around one foundation truth, which it holds in common with Christianity, though it has so accented and abnormally developed some particular phase of this truth as to obscure it and, what is more, to cause it to work moral harm. Friendly acquaintance with Christianity, wherever there have been opportunity and time for it, begins at this spot to develop a point of contact. Underneath all verbal oppositions, national and race rivalries, the alien faith and Christianity draw together.

Through the point of contact the vitalizing force of Christianity passes into the alien faith. However long it may be before this neighborly contact begins, once it is had the most astonishing changes are immediately set in motion. These changes, however, call for close observation because they are disguised by the fact that the old vocabulary of the non-Christian faith does not alter. Long after the ideas themselves have changed the old vocabulary will be retained, partly because the changes come almost unconsciously and partly because national and race prejudices prevent frank acknowledgment. But the old terms have new contents, and, what is more, the people who use them will sometimes be found to earnestly agree—and perhaps without conscious dishonesty—that the terms always held these new contents. It matters not; the facts bear out the assertion that through some one point of contact the whole religious thinking of alien faiths is being steadily brought more and more to Christian standards and ideals. Nor are the people of these faiths on the one hand, and the active missionaries of Christianity on the other, the best judges of what is transpiring. Their very nearness to the contest in which they are engaged forbids that theirs should be the clearest vision.

But let the facts be examined sympathetically. Take Confucianism. The heart of its teachings is, perhaps, the value of external morality for purposes of stable and good government. What Confucius impressed upon China was the ethics of government. To secure these ethics for stable government he sought to found them on a deep veneration of the past and to multiply ceremony so to invest government, both in the family and State, with the dignity and awe that elaborate ceremonials, gravely discharged, create. Confucius was not a mere formalist. His thought at bottom is the value of religion as a basis for government, the value of patent morality as the reality of religion, the value of ceremonies in adding dignity and impressiveness and in hedging about all outward conduct. And the proof of the vitality of his teaching he demonstrated as a chief magistrate, for in the town he governed property became absolutely safe and public virtue was conspicuous. Nor does the solidarity and vitality of the Chi-

nese empire fail yet to proclaim the value of the essential truths around which the sage builded. When neighborliness shall have given them opportunity to get closer together Confucianism will find that Christianity agrees with her in teaching the value of religion as a basis for good government; for, though this idea may have been overlooked by Christianity, there is no thoughtful Christian of our day but sees the teaching is there and that the time has fully come for reasserting this truth. The recent annals of our great cities may not be those to which we would invite the gaze of China, but they only the more deeply stir us to remember that Luther's work was an "epic and a tragedy"—an epic in the liberation of the individual, a tragedy in the sacrifice of the community good to a hyper-development of individualism. This, however, is not the teaching of Christianity. "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." To do her best work in China, Christianity must recover the teachings of her Founder in Christendom, must see and emphasize his whole truth—the truth of the kingdom as well as the truth of the individual. What Confucianism will then learn, nay, what she is already learning, is the value of the individual below, whose voluntary self-surrender makes the stability of the community and the infinite value of the God above—whose will the individual first yields to, in self-surrender, that he may there get the motive and strength for the voluntary yielding of himself when the community good calls for it. And all this, in some small measure, is what is happening to-day in China.

We turn to an Asiatic faith which is assuredly widely divergent from Confucianism—Hinduism. What is the central thought of Hinduism? Is it not the immanence of the gods—whether the worshiper shall philosophically hold these many to be but varying forms of the One, or, as is more usual in fact, the many appear as each one ruling in his own department of life? India is oppressed and overladen with gods. Every high hill and every green tree, the rivers, streams, the fields and jungles, the dawn of morning, the dusk of evening, the very circumambient air are all peopled with gods, and all

life grows to be one long burdensome ritual whereby reverence is paid to the gods, their anger deprecated, their favor won. Where in Christianity is the allied truth with which we would expect to attract the Hindu and form the point of contact? Will it not be in the immanence of God, in the communion of the Holy Spirit, in whom we "live, and move, and have our being?" May there not be wisdom in the advice of our advanced Hindu friends who say to us, "Make your religion more spiritual and less rigidly dogmatic. Present to us the Gospel of John, rather than the Epistle to the Romans;" and, if we have not put this feature of Christianity in the foreground, has not Hinduism found the presence of a mystical spirit in Christ, and have there not been a fraternizing of the faiths and a very marked effect upon the alien faith from this intercourse? In estimating the outcomes we must be careful to make allowance for strong national prejudice. India begins to feel acutely the fact of her subject condition. There is a growing spirit of nationalism. This leads, and rightly, to the putting of large values on all things "Indian." The more difficult it is to maintain the realities of these values in other domains the more ardent the attempts to assert them in the realms of philosophy and religion. And yet, even in these realms, while stoutly denying in word how largely in fact Hinduism has been affected by contact with Christianity, let the various reforming cults of Hinduism bear witness. What, for instance, is the meaning of the Brahmo-Somaj? Is it not an attempt of the Hindu mind to retain the vocabulary and outer forms, in part, of Indian religious worship and yet import the spiritual teachings of Jesus? Whence comes the sloughing of idolatry, the struggle to escape the bonds of caste, the disesteem of mere ritual, the high values put upon prayer as communing with the divine? Are not all these the tribute of the Hindu mind to the presence of Christian thought, which has reached it through the bond of sympathy which each has discovered in the other, even though the ardent disputants of both may not have clearly recognized this bond? But, if it be said that the Brahmo-Somaj is a small and powerless cult which has practically died in its birth, it may be replied that its concessions to Christianity were not large

enough, and that its efforts to grant similar concessions to other faiths all around made it too variegated a system to be understood by the common people or to exert much influence where understood. Besides, let it be remembered that there is a vast variety of reforming schools in Hinduism, that in a single phrase there is a widespread attempt to present to all inquirers from without a "resuscitated Vedism." The Vedic literature of earliest Hinduism is being carefully scanned, and all that is best is eagerly produced, while the effort to put new ethical and spiritual meanings into the old poetry is clearly to be seen. Hinduism feels itself put upon the defensive, grows apologetic, and there is even some attempt to ascribe morals to the gods. In a word, through her thirst for companionship with the divine, Hinduism has grown toward Christianity, and in the contact is beginning to grow conscious of sin and to long for holiness; for Christianity is holding before her the vision of Isaiah, "I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory." It is this growing vision of a personal, holy God that is causing India with troubled heart and disquieted spirit to listen eagerly as the Christian preacher in her midst cries, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world!"

Buddhism, again, has been described as a Protestant Hinduism. Its central problem is that of evil. Inherent evil spreads a pall of darkness over all life. Its chief doctrine is the impossibility of escaping the moral responsibility of previous being (karma) without the destruction of selfhood. Perplexed and baffled by the dark problem of sin Buddha sought relief in soul suicide. Does not Christianity also address itself to the dark problem of sin? In the two systems "sin" may mean different things, but in both it is a dark, brooding evil, and has as a consequence torment and disaster; and just here they stand together. And from their community of belief and feeling here Christianity has already begun to strangely

affect Buddhism, for intelligent Buddhism is beginning to read into "karma" the fact of personality and to find more definitely in "Amitabha Buddha," the "immeasurable light," the counterpart of Jehovah. To-day in Japan—the only country where any considerable Buddhism is in neighborly contact with Christianity—the system is particularly active, again finds use for pulpits from which to preach Buddhist sermons, and creates Buddhist Young Men's Associations, Buddhist Sunday schools, and a literature which dismisses the original follies and the accretions of Buddhism, while it sets forth what is holiest and best in the faith. Shall this be put down to the mere exigencies of necessary defense, and not, in part at least, be attributed to a new life being infused by Christianity into the old faith, extruding the weak and foolish and reinvigorating the worthy and the true in it?

The least hopeful of the religions, because the least disposed to be neighborly, is Mohammedanism. "The Moslem," says Mohammed, "is the true worshiper of God. When men dispute with you, say 'I am a Moslem.'" To hear attentively the other side is not a Moslem virtue, and yet, more than any of the alien faiths, Mohammedanism holds community with Christianity. Born of Judaism and tinged with Christianity, this Arab daughter holds the unity of God and the central doctrines of prayer, providence, resurrection, and retribution. Repelled, however, by the gross idolatry of the Eastern Church, which alone he knew, Mohammed conceived of God more austerely than the Jew. "Allah-il-Allah," he cried, "Akbar Allahu," "God is God, great is God, the sovereign, majestic, mighty ruler." Of all the ninety-nine names by which the devout Moslem addresses God, while he counts his beads, no one of them is "Father." What result, if any, has accrued from contact with Christianity? In Europe practically none, and this for two reasons: first, the Christianity in and around the Ottoman empire is itself so vitiated and corrupt as to prejudice rather than win; and, second, the Moslem in Europe is an armed invader who needs to keep his sword at hand, if he is to stay at all. His unquiet Christian subjects, his hungry-eyed neighbors have not exactly assaulted him with arguments theological. There has been a lack of

neighborly contact. The only way the Turk feels Christendom is as a goad at the end of a longer or shorter stick. But in British India, where a vast section of Mohammedanism is in more or less peaceful subjection to a Christian power, there has been afforded for the first time an opportunity for friendly contact with a pure type of Christianity, as represented by the teachings of the Protestant missionaries. Even here the circumstances have not been the most favorable. The Mohammedan has not yet forgotten that he is a dispossessed ruler and that the white Christian is not only a "Kaffir," an infidel, but also a victorious rival. Even under such unfavorable conditions Christianity has begun to affect Mohammedanism favorably. Under the leadership of the late Syed Mohammed there is a growing reform in Indian Mohammedanism. The seat of this reform is in a college at Aligarh, in Northwest India. The literature of the movement is as yet scant; but it has already secured a following, and seems to dismiss polygamy and many of the objectionable features of the Koran. It also repudiates the legendary miracles attributed to Mohammed, while it receives him as a prophet, nor does it meanwhile stint admiration for Jesus Christ. Unorthodox, solemnly repudiated by the more bigoted Mohammedans, this sect increases in influence and may yet profoundly affect Mohammedanism. True to its theory this reform repudiates any connection with Christianity, and its advocates call themselves "Naturees," professing to be guided in their reform largely by the light of natural religion. The fact is, however, that with a growing horizon the fierce edge of Mohammedanism is softened among the "Naturees" by the unconsciously appropriated spirit and teaching of Jesus.

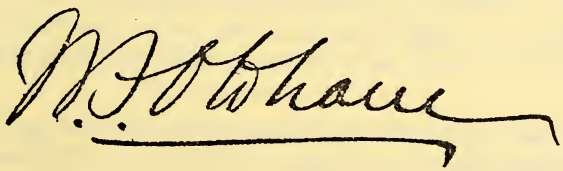
If, on close examination, this briefly outlined theory prove to have any degree of truth, it will lead us to conclusions which should hold in them largest inspiration, both for deepening of life in the home Church and for our missionary encouragement in foreign lands. (1) Contact with other religions will force us out of any partial experiences and statements of Christianity born of our own race or national subjectivity. In seeking for community of truth and bonds of sympathy the other religions force upon our attention the

need for a rounded system of faith. We shall learn that our religion holds wider universality of truth than we ourselves have apprehended. A world-wide missionary Christianity will therefore be a whole Christianity, and in teaching we shall ourselves be instructed.

(2) We shall more hopefully forecast the outcomes of Christian missionary effort. The battle is joined. The task before us is stupendous; the difficulties are very great. The results have not been altogether encouraging. Nor need we wonder at this. Theological argument, to which we have been largely confined, is, as we know, of little avail. When the theological argument is between peoples who differ in early training, in the cast of their thought, and in their point of view the value is exceedingly small. But there is, and there must in the end be, this final method whereby victory shall be gained. When two religions, each containing some common truth—the one professing to have all truth, the other granted to have some measure of truth—when two such religions come together and live together in peace, whether one shall make much inroad upon the other by calm temperate argument or not, the very presence of the one will and must leaven the other. Side by side, unconsciously, the nobler spirits of the one will be attracted to the purer, nobler, and more spiritual forms of truth held by the other. We believe profoundly that there is in the heart of man, when unstirred by prejudice and not blinded by passion, a longing for the best God has for him. Remove from men as far as possible all provocations of religious strife and all race and national contradictions. Let him who holds the larger truth deal lovingly and forbearingly with his brother man. He can afford to wait; let him not then seek to force his weaker brother to travel more rapidly than his weakness will allow. Then, while he in spirit, in temper, in conduct illustrates the larger truth he holds, the Holy Spirit will create in his weaker brother a longing for the knowledge and the strength he sees in his more enlightened neighbor, and thus almost unobserved works the most valuable missionary propagandism. Let the matter not be misunderstood. While the largest hope for the spread of Christianity is in its indirect, rather than in its direct, prop-

agandism she must ceaselessly endeavor to create in all the lands of the world indigenous native churches; for it will be through the native churches, taken from among the peoples of the various lands, that Christianity will most readily find the point of contact, the bond of sympathy, and will best illustrate the superiority of Christ's personality and teaching. While at the beginning the reproach of foreignism may be brought against the missionary camp, after a native Church has been formed and begins in its own movement to add to or subtract from the missionary's statement of Christianity there will be evolved in each land a native Christian Church which, in sympathy with its surroundings and in touch with those mysterious but very real inward tendencies that differentiate each race from the other, will produce a type of Christianity which will best commend the Gospel to the nation at large; there will be seen a world-wide Christianity with unity in essentials and widest variations in all else.

And, (3) there should be hung up over the portals of every missionary society, "Wanted, men and women of largest caliber and warm hearts, with passionate love for Jesus Christ, and with great hospitality of mind and heart for the opinions and beliefs of those whose training differ by a world's diameter—men and women who can be trusted to have an insistent fidelity in essentials, emphasizing conduct, breathing the spirit of largest love, and at leisure from themselves in all nonessentials." With such men and women leading the infant churches in all the lands of the earth Christianity could not but make large and direct gains, and still more largely influence the nations of the world, indirectly, by leavening their religious thought. In a measure all three of these propositions are already working facts, and the future is rosy with hope. All the thinking and living of this world is being swept up into the teaching and life of Jesus.



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Professor John Tyndall, in his essay on "The Scientific Use of the Imagination," expressed his admiration for the courage of the clergy because they show a manful willingness to engage in open contest with fair weapons over the conclusions and theories of science. Speaking as a scientist he says:

> The clergy of England have nerve enough to listen to the strongest views which anyone amongst us would care to utter; and they invite, if they do not challenge, men of the most decided opinions to state and stand by those opinions in open court. No theory upsets them. Let the most destructive hypothesis be stated only in the language current among gentlemen, and they look it in the face. They forego alike the thunders of heaven and the terrors of the other place, smiting the theory, if they do not like it, simply with honest secular strength. In fact, the greatest cowards of the present day are not to be found among the clergy, but within the pale of science itself.

Whatever theories men may formulate of the nature, mode, and extent of inspiration, the fact will remain manifest, and we may say self-demonstrated, that the Bible is a divinely and supernaturally inspired book. It is simply impossible that its authority should ever be set aside, because its contents are of such quality as to force upon men the conviction of its divineness. The sinful and disobedient feel the sword of its truth, piercing even to the dividing of the joints and the marrow; and the upright and pure feel that it satisfies the highest ideals conceivable by the best man at his best. This heart-searching quality, this ethical pungency, and this unequaled spiritual loftiness prove it divine. An authority not to be contemned or resisted resides in this manifest divineness of the Holy Scriptures. The Reformers held that impregnable position, and in agreement with this the Westminster divines wisely defined inspiration as that quality of Holy Scripture which proves it to be the word of God.

The following words from so eminent and competent a scholar as Sir Monier-Williams are timely, weighty, and authoritative:

Only one name is given among men whereby we may be saved. No other name, no other Saviour, more suited to India, to Persia, to China, to Arabia, is ever mentioned—is ever hinted at. "What," says the enthusiastic student of the science of religion, "do you seriously mean to sweep away as so much worthless waste paper all these thirty stately volumes of sacred books of the East just published by the University of Oxford?" No, not at all; nothing of the kind. On the contrary, we welcome these books. We ask every missionary to study their contents and thankfully lay hold of whatsoever things are true and of good report in them. But we warn him that there can be no greater mistake than to force these non-Christian Bibles into conformity with some scientific theory of development and then point to the Christian's Holy Bible as the crowning product of religious evolution. So far from this, these non-Christian Bibles are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of true light and end in utter darkness. Pile them, if you will, on the left side of your study table, but place your own Holy Bible on the right side—all by itself, all alone, and with a wide gap between.

LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY.

FEW things are more misleading and injurious than misnomers, which are a source of endless mental confusion and moral depravation. Liberal Christianity is such a misnomer—frequently a mere alias to conceal the identity of infidelity and rationalism. Much so-called Free Thinking reminds Tennyson's readers of his expressive line:

> Freedom free to slay itself, and dying while they shout her name.

The liberality of liberal Christianity consists chiefly in giving clean away for nothing much, and sometimes all, that is really Christian. The teaching of its various apostles varies in form, but is uniform in its direction and drift as well as in its essentially skeptical quality. The Bible is denied to be exceptionally inspired. The miraculous is ruled out as forbidden on grounds metaphysical, scientific, and, some say, even on moral grounds, being therefore, for manifold reasons, too absurd to be entertained for one moment by enlightened minds. Judgment is pronounced *a priori* against the possibility of supernatural revelation or a superhuman Christ; and it is declared, in defiance or disregard of all evidence, that no amount of proof can make such things credible. Undesired evidence is shut out with much the same spirit as controlled the juror who in the middle of a case asked the court to excuse him from further listening, inasmuch as he had already made up his mind and wished to protect it from being influenced by subsequent testimony. No evidence of divine communications, interventions, or mani-

festations is regarded as having any weight. No explanation of the existence of anything is found except by going back along the order of nature, as through a closed and buried conduit, to one inconceivably remote hypothetical fountain-head. Nothing has come from the hand of Deity, unless, perchance, the primal germ or germs hid in the original fire-mist from which the universe is imagined to have developed. Since that beginning all on earth is unbroken and unaided natural evolution; and if in heaven or elsewhere there be any God he is retired, reticent, unknown, and unknowable. Monad, mollusk, mammal, man, by purely natural derivation, is reported to be the history of ascending vital order. Adam is declared to be an impossibility. The Bible account of the fall of man is absolutely false; it cannot be even allegorically true, for man's lowest condition was his primitive state. Original righteousness was rudimentary and infinitesimal. The human race began as beastly savages, scarcely distinguishable from brutes. Revelation is impossible. No message comes from above. The voice of the Lord was never heard among the trees of any garden. No law was given to Moses on the quaking mount. No prophet was ever commissioned to announce, "Thus saith the Lord." Heaven never "peeps through the curtain of the dark" to say anything articulate or audible, either to warn the sinner or to encourage the saint. No divine Son of God has come to earth to take upon himself our nature. Bethlehem shepherds never saw and heard a company of angels overhead. John baptizing at the fords of the Jordan saw no dove descend upon a holy head. No voice from the unseen was heard on any mount of transfiguration, nor did Moses and Elias show themselves. No angel ever sat in an abandoned tomb and said, "He is not here, he is risen." All that man knows is what he has discovered solely by his own efforts. All that he has become is by a merely natural unfolding of innate, inherited potentialities. Positive authentic knowledge of God is nowhere to be found. The original germ which possibly came from his hand knew him not, for it did not know how to know anything; and since then he has not been seen or heard of, so that the atheist knows as much about him as anybody does. The theories favored, or at least tolerated, by many "liberal Christian" teachers incline more and more to treat all supernatural history as legendary. And if at present they stop somewhere

short of such sweeping, blunt, and brutal denials of the supernatural as we have above put into words, nevertheless the drift is unmistakably toward comprehensive and remorseless negation. Doctrines not essentially unlike those which we have quoted plow their way like glaciers into the Happy Valley of our Christian faith, chilling and clay-coloring the streams which make it glad, freezing and crushing all life and beauty which they touch, and threatening not to leave one bluebell, spear of wheat, or blade of grass, but to render that sweet, peaceful, and fruitful vale forever uninhabitable for the human soul.

The most deadly assaults upon evangelical Christianity are those made with studious deliberation, scientific coolness, and the calm dignity of learned self-assurance. It is not the noisy, crackling tail-end of the infidel *crotalus*, shaking its rattles, stirring the gravel, raising the dust, and attracting casual public attention, that does the damage; rather it is the quiet scholarly end, where the brain is and the fangs are, secreting venom and injecting a fatal poison into the human circulation; not the glib-tongued vociferation of a blatant blasphemer, filling his pockets by making gaping groundlings laugh with his coarse and lying caricature of Christian doctrine, but grave, dignified, and erudite rationalists with their subtle and mischievous theories and naturalistic interpretations undermining the foundations of our religion.

One of the weapons of the rationalism with which liberal Christianity consorts is a destructive biblical criticism. So far as rationalizing critics are intelligent and use the resources and methods of scholarship, they can be suitably and adequately dealt with and defeated only by superior or at least equal information and acumen. The battle must, in the nature of the case, be fought in the direction and on the ground whence the assault is made. This can be done only by faithful and trusty as well as thoroughly trained and practiced Christian scholars, studying the Bible along precisely the same lines as the hostile critics pursue, asking the same questions, weighing the same materials, traversing the same fields, but repelling the assault by disproving the conclusions reached and affirmed by such critics, and showing that the materials used to discredit the Bible do rather confirm and strengthen it. The situation does not preclude but imperatively enjoins upon Christian scholars the most exhaustive study of all questions under discussion touching

place of origin, date of composition, authorship, and character of the books of the Bible, their divine and human elements, their inspiration and authority, considering in reference to each book its particular purpose and method, the ideas and circumstances of the period of its origin, its unity or compositeness, and all similar inquiries which can possibly contribute to a full and correct knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. An enormous responsibility rests upon evangelical biblical critics. The searching study of the Bible by the friendly and the hostile, ever keener and more nearly exhaustive, engaging the intelligence of the world more and more, will go in all centuries to come as for centuries past. On the part of Christian scholars it needs to be conducted with caution as well as with thoroughness; with extreme care to be led into no error which may be as a little rift within the lute that by and by will make the music of the Gospel mute, to make no mistake which shall fracture, rupture, or fray out the supernaturalness of Christianity. The critics who handle the Bible should remember that they are handling the hope of the world, the very life of the human race. The janitor of a New York hospital submitted to an operation for the removal of a splintered and diseased rib; the surgeon's knife slipped a little, enough to puncture certain tissues, with the result that in a few minutes the patient on the operating table was dead. It is delicate and dangerous business where a single slip may prove fatal. Biblical criticism is that sort of business. The shape of the emergency created by destructive biblical criticism is such as to make evangelical Christendom prize its loyal, devout, and capable scholars, allowing them freedom to use, unhindered by dictation from the unscholarly and in such manner as they may judge to be most telling and strategic, the materials, knowledge, and skill now possessed by scholarship abreast of the times and familiar with the changing movements of learned thought.

An ever-present peril lies in the possibility of prematurely accepting proffered theories, reported revolutionizing discoveries, or rash and excessive inferences. Lord Salisbury, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Prime Minister of England, and President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, warned that association that the greatest danger which besets scientific research at the present day is "the acceptance of mere conjecture in the name and place of knowledge." The peril in

the region of theological and biblical investigation could hardly be more precisely described than in those identical words. Not infrequently undemonstrated hypotheses are urged for acceptance, and an effort is made to persuade the Church that in deference to the latest opinions of progressive scholars and in vindication of its own intelligence it must at once proceed to modify its interpretations and reconstruct its system of doctrine so as to adjust harmoniously with recent theories and opinions. Naturally the cautious Church, foster-mother of learning in all ages, anxious and bound to be always the pillar and ground of the truth, having in trust the oracles of God, and holding in its hands as its own peculiar property the fruits of long centuries of ardent, assiduous, and prayerful Bible study, is slow to tear down and rebuild its theological house at the bidding of innovational conclusions. Not until an opinion is supported by a strong consensus of the loyal scholarship of Christendom, so as to be generally and steadily accepted, need the Church think of changing its formulæ and standards of belief.

THE HARLEQUIN BIBLE.

Motley was the dress of the professional jester. It has recently been put on the Holy Scriptures, in a way which would be droll were the subject less serious, by costumers whose passion for colors seems as aboriginal and fantastic as the garb of the buffoon in early Italian comedy. The reception which the Polychrome Bible has met must be disappointing if not mortifying to the enterprising and ardent devotees who have produced it at great cost of labor and money. Even in quarters where it expected to be hailed with enthusiasm its welcome has lacked heartiness, and approbation has been meted out sparingly.

One editorial utterance, quoted by Professor Bowne in *The Christian Revelation*, p. 67, is a sample:

> The examples of polychrome work exhibited thus far do not inspire high hopes. To see on one page of the book we have been accustomed to call the Bible print in five, eight, ten, and sometimes fourteen different colors is bewildering. To turn page after page and behold these iridescent and curiously intermingled shades of the rainbow, is to have an overpowering sense of the inextricable confusion of the text as deciphered by the critics. If we may judge the effect on the minds of nonprofessional Bible readers by its effect on our own we are warranted in saying that the polychrome edition will not increase either the better knowledge of the book or reverence for it among the people.

Even the most lax of religious journals making any claim to orthodoxy, a paper which belongs to the left wing of the so-called New Theology and goes with the forefront of advanced criticism, says :

> The Polychrome Bible tells the student what scholars have discovered, or think they have, concerning the original sources of the Bible, and concerning the nature of its composition and the material of which it is composed; but it also tells him what they have guessed; and he is left to judge as to what is certainly known, what is reasonably concluded, and what is only shrewdly guessed.

When the readers of the Polychrome Bible have superadded their guessing to the guesses of the makers of it the result will be patchwork resembling a crazy quilt. When literary critics take a short verse of the Old Testament, divide it into three or four parts, and assign them to as many different sources, then would-be learning takes on a likeness to the fortune teller's pretense of knowledge, and criticism can scarcely be distinguished from charlatanism. The voluble knowingness of the cocksure dogmatic guesser invites the remark that he would better not know so much than to know so many things that nobody knows and that are quite likely not so. The works of advanced biblical critics call for some such comment as was made on a small book entitled *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt:* "Professor Flinders Petrie has contrived to pack into this little volume an extraordinary amount of interesting, suggestive, and debatable matter. . . . There are few archæologists so fertile in ingenious hypotheses, so tantalizing in the brevity of their proofs."

Andrew Lang, LL.D., fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and sometime Gifford Lecturer in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, is a scientist of repute in anthropology and cognate branches, a scholar of wide study and critical ability, a littérateur of versatility and genius, author of some twenty volumes, a thinker of trained faculty, ample culture, varied experience, and judicial temper. The impression made on such a man by any offering of scholarship or product of literary criticism cannot be regarded as of no significance ; his deliberate and distinct condemnation cannot be tossed aside as ignorant and incompetent. His judgment, as printed in *Longmans' Magazine*, is not unworthy of reproduction here:

> We are to have a new Bible, the "Polychrome Bible." "If the people are to get the most possible from the Bible they must have it in modern idiomatic Eng-

lish." I hope they will like it in modern English, say newspaper English. The type will be in lots of colors. "In answer to the cry of the people for more light upon the literary history of the Bible the distinctive polychrome feature was devised. . . . The people have a right to know the results of these studies" (Biblical Studies, Advertisement). Certainly the people have a right to know, but the people can only know in one way, and that is by reading a great many books of a tedious character, full of arguments which, for the most part, the people, not being oriental scholars or logically minded, cannot possibly estimate at their true value. There is no more a people's path than there is a royal road to learning. The translators are men of learning, I gladly admit, and the Joseph's coat of many colors and bright up-to-date English may attract the people. The people may buy a Polychrome Bible in twenty parts, at from five to ten shillings a part—and I hope the spelling is not to be American. But if the people, or anyone, thinks that the riddle of biblical criticism is mastered, I congratulate them or him on inexperience of misfortune. It hath been my lot lately to read a good deal of biblical criticism, made in Germany. The method is simple and Teutonic. You have a theory, you accept the evidence of the sacred writers as far as it suits your theory, and when it does not suit you say that the inconvenient passage is an "interpolation." It *must* be, for if not, what becomes of your theory? So you print the inconvenient passage in green, I suppose, or what not, and then the people know all about it. Anyone who wishes to see examples may find them in Professor Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 146–148, 205. I know this game well. The Germans have played it with Homer till it would be difficult to find a passage in the "Iliad" which has not been denounced as an "interpolation," because it does not fit somebody's theory. This may be "criticism," but it is not business—no, not if it is printed in all the colors of the rainbow. If the people really "want to know," if "the cry of the people is for more light," let the people begin by reading Professor Robertson's book, where they will find common sense, regard for evidence and for logic, and a disconcerting sense of humor. Then they can go on to Stade, and I hope they will find him as comic a logician as I do.

A reader who is not an oriental scholar (as I am none) has no *locus standi* as a critic of biblical critics where questions of language arise. But when the Teutonic judges of the Old Testament wander into anthropology, as they often do, then one knows where to have them. The people of course do not know where to have them, and are likely to swallow their statements about "animism" and "fetichism," and so on. For instance, they dispute as to Jehovah's name being

Indo-Germanic,
{ Assyrian,
{ Babylonian,
Egyptian,
Kenite,
Canaanite.

Is it "the Indo-Germanic root, *div*;"
or Armenian, *Astrat*;
or Babylonian, *Ja-h*;
or Egyptian { *Joh* (Moon God!)
or
Nuk pu nuk (translated);

or, is the name of Hebrew origin? "The people have a right to know." But nobody knows.

This pastime has long been played with names like Athene or Artemis. "The people have a right to know the results of these studies." There are no results. Nobody is one whit the wiser. Of course I do not mean that there should be no biblical criticism. But if the people think it safe to swallow the variegated theories made in Germany, France, England, or America, the people are wrong, and one can only say *populus vult decipi*. What can we make of criticism when one leader (Stade) says that Israel was never in Egypt, and another leader (Wellhausen) says that Israel *was* in Egypt? It is as if Principal Rhys vowed that the English came from Caithness, or never came at all, while Mr. Freeman maintains that the English came from the Continent. The Egyptian bondage was the corner stone of Hebrew history. One famous critic takes it away, and another leaves it standing, and the people may toss up for it. These are the "results" for which the people are supposed to be yelling. I have actually observed a critic maintaining that the ideas of the decalogue must be much later than Moses. They are the ideas of the untutored Australian black fellow, who is certainly not a marvel of *modernité*.

This is not written in the interests of orthodoxy, but in the interests of ordinary common sense. It is just as provoking to see Homer or Herodotus pulled about by German "ingenuity" as to see the Bible treated in the same way. But the people are not "a-hollering and a-bellering" for a Polychrome Iliad. They let the criticism of Homer go by; they do not care for Homer. For the Bible they do care, and one can only repeat, "Do not swallow theories because they are German." Polychrome print is no argument.

I take from Professor Robertson an example of the critical method. Amos the prophet lived, I presume, in the eighth century before our era. He, according to criticism, was one of the earliest *writers* in Israel. Not to dwell on the problem of the date of the introduction of writing, Amos says *something* (chap. v, 25). What he means "the people have a right to know," but, as far as the translation goes, it is impossible to tell what he means. In fact, nobody can make any sense of the passage. However, some critics suppose it to imply that the Israelites, during the forty years in the wilderness, were convinced idolaters. This they accept as an historical statement of fact. But by their own theory the affair of forty years in the wilderness, if ever there was such an affair at all, which they doubt, occurred some five years before Amos, his time, and there was no writing wherein to record the circumstances. Yet, as the idea that the Israelites were steady idolaters in these remote ages is pleasant to the critics, they decide, first, that *this* is what Amos means, and, next, that on this point Amos is a competent authority. This is as if I were to say that the Venerable Bede was a good authority for some event that occurred, or did not occur, in Kintyre about 300 A. D. "It is somewhat peculiar," says Professor Robertson, "to find writers who tell us that there was no forty years' wandering in the desert at all, accepting the testimony of Amos in regard to the religious practices of a time which he so precisely defines"—that is, the said apocryphal forty years. The joke is that critics differ even as to whether Amos is talking in the past or future tense. The poor prophet is also supposed to be speaking both unhistorically and also as a good historical authority at one and the same time. We would all like to understand the Old Testament better than we

do, but we shall not understand it at all if we go blindly after criticism of this highly consistent and logical description. However, the Polychrome editors may do better. What makes an Englishman ill is the obviously American advertisement about the cry of the people and the people's right to know what nobody knows. This kind of thing is not knowledge, but opinion, and very polychrome opinion it is. No color box would contain pigments enough to print the contending opinions of critics withal, if one offered a polychrome manual of criticism.

In the Rainbow Bible, as some call it, criticism offers in completest possible form its alleged results, according to latest returns from accessible counties of the critical mind up to the hour when the book went to press; but, whatever is uncertain, it is certain that these results will be modified by still later returns. Indeed, before this rainbow was finished at its latter end, the colors, not being fast colors, had run together at its beginning. By the time the last chapter was printed, the most progressive of the critics who made it would declare the book out of date in parts. In a procedure which, spite of pretensions to be scientific, is so largely speculative as overzealous innovational biblical criticism is, the conclusions are impermanent and unstable. As opinion upon each detail is likely to be affected by the accidental prepossessions, proclivities, supposed interests, or personal idiosyncrasies of the individual critic, so also is opinion liable to change even between sundown and daylight, without any alteration in known facts, simply by the peristaltic working of the critic's own mind, forcing its contents forward. The revolution of the earth gives the kaleidoscopic Polychrome a fresh turn daily, the mosaiced fragments tumble apart and fall into new arrangement. The intellectual world has more confidence in the Bible than in the iconoclasts who attempt to destroy its integrity and discredit its authority. The catalytic critics who are bent on dissolving its vital unity by means of conjecture into piecemeal original elements are guilty of a dissolute performance. Mr. Lang has written, as he says, not in the interests of orthodoxy, but in the interests of practical common sense which listens attentively, ponders cautiously, judges fairly, and then utters its verdict frankly. This virile good sense has been heard to remark reflectively that, when a professedly and properly serious business has made itself ridiculous by absurd excesses and lost its reputation for sobriety and sanity, it has committed hari-kari on the doorstep of its enemies, where its increasingly objectionable remains lie entirely at their disposal.

THE ARENA.

THE ADJUSTMENT OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS TO SCIENTIFIC HYPOTHESES.

THERE are certain theological writers to-day who seem to think that the exponents of Christian faith should hasten to adjust their lines of defense to the latest hypotheses of science and criticism, assuming that these hypotheses have come to stay, and that they are incontrovertible. This new system of apologetics is largely a surrender to distrust of the old defenses of Christianity and a retreat to grounds not nearly so defensible as those of the fathers. In this case apologetics have indeed become apologies, using the term in the common signification.

At what demand is this retreat made? At the demand of indisputable facts that find no other explanation! No one except a materialist of the stamp of a Karl Vogt or Ernst Haeckel would dare assume such a position. We speak the truth when we say it is at the demand of hypotheses that had their birth in a purpose to get rid of the supernatural in the entire universe. The idea of the Creator has been repugnant to a certain class of thinkers, and hence they have sought to push him as far back as possible from any interposition in the ordering of the *cosmos*. And thus was born evolution of the genetic development type, the transmutation hypothesis, which has for its support the "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest" hypotheses of Darwin. In other words, hypotheses are built upon hypotheses; and this we are told is the latest and grandest generalization of science, and the theologian with his immanent God must change his lines of defense and beat a retreat.

An otherwise excellent article in the January *Review* on "Recent Phases of Thought in Apologetics" is written from this standpoint of surrender. We are given to understand that evolution is "now accepted by scientific men with substantial unanimity," and that it "requires a modification in the form of the argument from design." We question it. When the term "evolution" is carefully defined it will be found that many scientific men do not accept the genetic development hypothesis of Darwin, with its subsidiary hypotheses of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." Either nature shows design or it does not. That it does is clearly manifest in the perusal of Darwin's works, to say nothing of other writers who have accepted his views. Throughout their writings one will find the words "contrivance," "purpose," "adaptation," "end" in the teleological sense. So design forces itself on the very language of the men who seek to get rid of it. Take the eye, for example. We are told that "a pigment fleck covering the termination of a nerve" might have begun the evolution of an eye. Who cannot see that, however it may have begun, design is not eliminated from the

perfect eye? A contrivance so perfect, so carefully adjusted to the use of the body, to light and its laws, shows design far more perfectly than any mechanism of human contrivance. Relations, adaptation of means to ends, adjustments, selection of materials that must have been intellective show design, or else the word has no meaning. But a moment's glance at this hypothesis of a pigment cell on the end of a nerve. Is there one fact out of which such an hypothesis can be made, to say nothing of the innumerable steps between this hypothetical cell and a perfect eye? Has anyone ever watched a pigment cell at the end of a nerve on the journey to an eye? And is it for suppositions like this that we are asked to change our defense of Christianity? No accumulative amount of this kind of supposition can make a very convincing argument.

But, further along in this article we are told that the hypothesis of genetic development is built upon a series of proofs, no one of which is conclusive as an argument, but all of which taken together establish the hypothesis and make it "the great intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century." What are these cumulative proofs? Homology of structure, rudimentary organs, successive developments in embryo from a simple and lower type of structure to the more complex, the geological record showing an increasing complexity in the order in which life appeared upon this earth, the similarity of successive faunas and floras in the same region, and the fact that "the boundary lines of all groups recognized in zoological and botanical classification grow more indefinite with increasing knowledge." The writer is right in saying that no one of these furnishes a sufficient reason for the hypothesis. There is no one of them but admits of a rational explanation outside of the hypothesis. There is no one of them that makes a peremptory demand for such an hypothesis. The geological record is against it. If the hypothesis were true the transitional types would, beyond all computation, outnumber the fixed types. What are the facts? Clearly defined specific boundary lines in every geological eon, as we find them to-day. Some of us remember how Professor Huxley handled the little Eohippus to develop the modern horse, and we conclude that had there been a few more constructively transitional types they would have reached equal renown with Eohippus. No, we decline to admit that the Darwinian form of evolution is to-day of such scientific authority that we will recede from our teleological defense of theism.

Des Moines, Ia. T. McK. Stuart.

"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST."

The article in the *Review* for July, 1898, bearing above title, has many excellences, as is always the case with what its author writes. But this utterance is not like most of those which fall from his pen or lips; it lacks definiteness or completeness of statement, so that one is frequently under the necessity of raising the question, "What does the author mean?"

1. In his eulogy of evolution it would have been a gratification had he informed us whether, in his opinion, evolution is in itself an ascertained fact, or a series of settled axioms based on indisputable facts, or merely "an hypothesis not true in itself . . . for working purposes, one from which we can reach the firm ground of knowledge." Or is it something other than either of these which justifies such extravagant praise and such complete abandonment of all preconceived theories?

2. Are we compelled either, on the one hand, to "fight the men who are exploring for facts" along this line, or, on the other, to accept without challenge all which by them in their enthusiasm is declared proved? Is it to be attributed to "stupidity and stubbornness" if one waits till sufficient proof has been set forth to demonstrate the truth of new philosophies? Does the exercise of the charity for which the article pleads necessitate the abandonment of all past faiths?

3. Does this age really demand a new God, since we are informed that "the God of Moses is not our God?" Is it necessary to the adequate explanation of the slaughter of Midian, according to the recent and approved methods of Bible interpretation, that we should discredit the statement of Num. xxv, 17, "Vex the Midianites, and smite them," by saying, "Our God would not have allowed Moses, as the God of Moses did —so he thought—to slaughter to extinction the Midianites?" Are there literary or other reasons for accepting the history of the avenging of Israel's beguilement and rejecting its divine authorization, when the same narrative asserts, "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Vex the Midianites, and smite them: For they vex you with their wiles, wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor," and when elsewhere the Lord says to Moses, "Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites: afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people?" Is the God of modern times incapable of punishing a nation? Is divine vengeance never just? Do men never become so vile that to extirpate them is the kindest for them and the likeliest to secure the benefit of the survivors? How did Sodom and Gomorrah perish? Were Nadab and Abihu buried with national honors? Did Korah and his company die in battle? How much of biblical history is to be relegated to the domain of myth?

4. Are we at this date compelled to explain all "progress by means of resident forces in nature" because of the "ever-widening gulf between naturalism and supernaturalism?" Is supernaturalism to be abandoned because "the supernaturalism of religion is becoming more and more obnoxious to the naturalism of science?" Because "supernaturalism is separable from religion" does it follow that the supernatural should be altogether eliminated from our creed? Is Sinai a myth? Did Moses originate the Ten Commandments? Was either the Red Sea or the Jordan divided? Did anything out of the sphere of the natural occur in Egypt to secure the emancipation of Israel from the yoke of the Egyptians? Or, what mean the words of Christ: "For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe

not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" Was the Master mistaken when he affirmed, "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness," or was manna a natural product of the desert? Surely no less is implied in the words of our author, "What we have called the supernatural is nothing more than the creation of ignorance and superstition;" or in these, "There is no manifestation of the supernatural which does not find its expression in and through the natural."

Again, Dr. Chaffee writes: "New facts, always disquieting to the unlearned, but the delight of scholars and investigators, came pouring in upon us from a study of all the natural sciences, whose teaching is that the world is ruled, not by caprice, but by law; not through miracles, but through the agency of natural forces." This statement seems to be sufficiently definite to preclude mistake as to its meaning. A little before the place of this quotation charity seemed to require that the author should be interpreted as meaning that "law" should be so defined as to include that which is supernatural, that God had made it a law of his universe that he should be expected to arrest the operation of natural laws when the defense or enlightenment or welfare of his creatures so required; but in this quotation the antithesis of "natural forces" with "caprice" and "miracles" appears to amount to an absolute and unequivocal denial of miracles under any definition. Does the author mean that when "the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God" this testimony to our inner self is by a "natural force" like gravitation? Are regeneration, sanctification, glorification successive steps in a process in which we may see the operation of law—"the same law throughout infinite space, a natural law which is measurable and can be formulated . . . a substitute for the anthropomorphic arm, the arm of the Almighty which upholds all?" Is this measurable law the author's substitute for that arm?

Or, was Christ's birth from a virgin a result of the operation of a "natural force?" Did he cleanse the lepers, cure the blind, raise the dead, and comfort the heart of the disciples by revealing the nature of the "place" which he should "go to prepare" for them by the processes of "law?" And, being at last "dead and buried," was it "natural law" which raised him from the dead to eternal triumph and a seat at the right hand of the Father? Or, if these things cannot be referred to the operation of "natural law," are they also to be relegated to the domain of exploded myths, because, forsooth, science has neither microscope, nor solvent, nor scalpel with which to analyze these mysteries?

If this scientific process is the only way to escape "the scorn of intelligence while we indulge in the feat of verifying all the myths and miracles of the Jewish Church and people," we might choose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of" science "for a season." For the "scorn of intelligence" and the "reproach of Christ" are "greater riches than the treasures" of such science as robs us of the supernatural, of a personal God who is unfettered by the

laws of his own origination, and of a plan of salvation which makes light not merely of earthly potentates seeking the destruction of the Lord's anointed, but also of stars and systems and sciences which impede their normal development. Of all such scientific processes it is written by the psalmist, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision."

Owatonna, Minn. H. G. Bilbie.

DEPRAVITY.

Two articles appeared in different issues of the "Arena" for 1898 which, if not misunderstood, seem to the writer to be unscriptural, unmethodistic, illogical, and dangerous. The first declares that, "as to man's total depravity, it is nonexistent, save in the imagination of the most cast-iron Calvinist. It is impossible among finite creatures, and is nowhere taught in the Scriptures." If not total, then it must have been somewhat, or partial. If partial, then some degree, some trace, some germ of moral goodness or righteousness must have remained in man's moral constitution. If so, that moiety would be rewardable and possible of growth, and to that extent would supersede the necessity of an atonement. Such an increase in moral excellence might progress to perfection of character under favorable and possible conditions, and thus make the tragic scene on Calvary a cruel, needless spectacular mockery. Is not the following, rather, the true view? The depravity resulting from man's fall was entire, "total," it was as completely so as that of angels that fell, leaving no trace of moral excellence remaining; but simultaneous with the fall the benefits of the atonement through "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" provisionally and prospectively took effect, thus extending the probation of the first pair, so that whatever of good may be discoverable in man is wholly due to the measure of "the free gift" that has come "upon all men unto [in order to] justification of life." Thus is salvation all of grace.

The second article teaches that "all depravity arises out of actual transgressions. Each one's personal sin is what brings it [depravity] to him, not that of an ancestor, near or remote." To this I reply that Adam and Eve became depraved by willfully and knowingly yielding to temptation. Infants, before they are capable of temptation and intelligent action, manifest unmistakable evidence of depravity in selfishness, anger, resentment, and other ways. And in some form or manner this manifestation is universal. Whence comes it? "The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." Nevertheless, everyone, from his birth to the end of his probation, is every moment under the remediable provisions of the atonement of Christ, and all who die before they become accountable are saved in virtue of the same.

Jacksonville, Ill. W. F. Short.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REPLENISH THE SOURCES.

THERE is constant waste everywhere. The physical system tends to decay, and must have proper nourishment in order to perform its functions. A physician giving advice for the preservation of health insists on the taking of sufficient food, and that of the best character, as absolutely essential. Attention to the quality and amount of sustenance is the modern method for the retention and recovery of bodily vigor. This observation applies equally to the person who is constantly performing mental or spiritual labor. There is a tendency to exhaust resources which we have without replenishing the sources.

This is evidently the case with the Gospel minister. He is persistently drawing upon the reservoir of mental and spiritual strength which has been accumulated in his previous studies and experiences. His years of training in academy, college, and theological seminary have not only disciplined his faculties, but have given him experiences and supplies of information which are of great value in meeting the responsibilities of his early ministry. He brings to his duties not only physical, but mental freshness, which causes him to be heard with pleasure, so that often he is preferred to those of greater maturity of thought and wisdom. He is drawing on his accumulated materials, and is in danger of thinking that the well of his knowledge and experience is fathomless, and of ceasing to replenish the sources which are, unconsciously to himself, diminishing. It is against this unconscious loss that the young preacher needs to be warned. Just as the man with impaired physical strength goes forward, boasting that he was never so well or so vigorous in his life, while his failing power is well known to others, so the minister goes forward, often completely unaware that his resources are giving out, although the fact is quite apparent to those who receive his ministrations.

There is a remedy within the reach of everyone if not deferred until the case has become chronic, and that is to replenish the sources. He should secure abundant supplies and continue to do so until the time comes in the order of nature when it is at once a duty and privilege to rest. He should replenish the sources of spiritual supply. We have recently called attention to the Holy Scriptures as the fountain of spiritual truth, but we are now considering the inner life, the secret place of the soul, where God dwells by his Spirit as the Comforter and the Sanctifier. There is danger that the professional performance of spiritual functions may lead one to forget his own need of spiritual counsel and of fresh spiritual experiences. There must be new experiences of divine things, new repentance for transgressions, new baptisms of power, if one would

keep from decay in spiritual life. . These results may be secured by mingling in the society of the more saintly members of the congregation, especially those who have a deep consciousness of God in the soul. They are often unschooled in worldly lore, but they are profoundly read in the things of the Spirit; they have not tasted to any great extent of the springs of human wisdom, but they have drunk deeply from the river that flows "hard by the throne of God." Many preachers have found their visits to the afflicted to be seasons of great spiritual refreshing, and they have received from their pastoral visits more than they have imparted. It is not, however, to urge the method of replenishing the supplies of spiritual grace that this is written. With this the minister of the Gospel is acquainted, both theoretically and experimentally. But our purpose is to impress upon the young minister the great necessity of keeping the spiritual life ever fresh and vigorous by a constant replenishing from the great fountain which is constantly open and from which all may freely draw at their pleasure.

This will not, however, be sufficient. The minister must also replenish his intellectual sources. If one will study himself with care he will often discover that his thoughts revolve in a circle and that his realm of thinking is in reality very small. He has by habit placed himself within certain limitations beyond which, after a while, it becomes difficult to pass. In fact, he becomes pleased with the boundaries of his intellectual movements, and neither sees nor cares to see the great world of truth pertaining to his own chosen profession which lies within easy reach. The minister is, indeed, a man of one book, but how manifold are the realms of thought and action which that book unfolds and with which it is associated in the thought of men! The Christian literature which is related to the life and work of the ministry is marvelous, both as to its quantity and quality. He should give his attention to the choice works which have been placed within his reach. Some are old and some are new. The great mass of literature neither his time nor his necessities will allow him to study, but the choice thoughts of the choice thinkers must not be passed by. The *Review* and other periodicals contain notices of the new books which are most worthy of study and reading, and from those the minister may readily select those most suitable to his own modes of thinking and his conscious mental needs. We are not at this time emphasizing what the minister shall read, but are saying that he should read the choice productions which are calculated to give fullness and freshness to his intellectual life. "Reading makes a full man." Let the minister keep the fountain full, replenish the sources, and then, as often as he comes to draw water from the wells of salvation, he will find abundant resources, both spiritual and intellectual, and there will be no mental or spiritual decadence in his pulpit or pastoral ministrations.

If he would keep the sources replenished it must be done steadily, not spasmodically. To preserve our bodies in physical vigor it is in-

sisted upon that we take our food regularly. Irregular eating, even of proper food, cannot build up the human body to its best conditions for work. No more can the intellectual and spiritual life be kept vigorous by irregularity in the times of reading and study. Growth, to be genuine, must be by normal, not by abnormal, processes. It is true one may by setting aside a part of a year for study lay up a supply that may be useful afterward, but the surest way is by the constant employment of spare moments or the regular use of regular times for special subjects. This, however, is apart from the present purpose, which is to impress upon younger ministers the importance of constantly replenishing the sources of spiritual and mental power.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PULPIT.

THE modern newspaper prides itself on its timeliness. It represents not only the spirit of the age or the period, but even the spirit of the precise time in which it is issued. One needs only to examine any first-class newspaper, to gather what men are thinking about. At present and for months past the chief subject of interest has been the recent war and the probable results. The pervading spirit of the time is that of militarism and governmental responsibilities.

So, too, there is a religious spirit, which is expressed largely by the utterances of the pulpit. In this respect a marked change has come over the spirit of preaching, especially in our large cities. There was a time when the form of preaching was mostly textual and exegetical, and the current topics were the fundamentals of Christian doctrine, such as repentance and faith, regeneration, adoption and sanctification, and the duties of life as founded upon texts of Holy Scripture. While these topics are not omitted it is clear that they do not constitute the current form of presenting truth in the centers of influence, where tides of opinion meet and whence they diverge.

The spirit of the pulpit is shown, in part at least, by the announcements of the topics for any given Sabbath. The writer has before him a great metropolitan newspaper containing a list of the subjects on which many of the pastors proposed to preach on a recent Sabbath. It shows that out of about eighty announcements of religious services fifty-five did not contain the topics of discourses. A number indicated the nature of the exercises, such as "Sunday School and Bible Classes," the "Service of Song," "Classes in the Present-day Problems," the "Bible Class," and "Studies in the Life of Moses," assigning the hour for each. These, with the preaching services, constituted a full day. Some of the notices did not give the preacher's subject, but announced the special music that would be rendered at the service. If we turn to the topics announced they are of great variety. There were some which might be designated as evangelical, that is, as touching the vital truths of spiritual life, such as "Jesus Christ, Son of God, and Son of man,"

"His Gracious Words," "John with Jesus hastening to Calvary," "Faith and Courage," and "Christ Seeking Entrance into the Individual Life." Others were of the religious-ethical type and calculated in their evangelical teaching to develop Christian character, as: "The Character of Samuel," "An Earnest Life," "Moralizing and Christianizing Men," and "A Review of Methods." Some of the topics were of vital Christian truth, leaving something uncertain, however, as to the precise form of the message to be expected, as "Open Windows," "Peace on Earth," "The Faith of Rhoda," "The Story of a Sin," "Climbing Mount Gerazim," "The God that Answers by Fire," "Christ's Captivity of the World's Thought," "Sold Out at a Sacrifice," "An Old Man's Song in the Temple," "Signs of the Times," and "The Gospel for New York City." Then there were topics of an ethical or scientific character, which might serve as the basis of a lecture or a sermon, as: "The Protestant Hero of Canada," "The Responsibility of the Individual," "The Educational Development of our Native Americans in our Southern Mountains," "What the Bible Says about Laughter," "The Fire and the Calf," "Scenes of the Long Ago," "The Huguenot Churches of France," and "What do the Stars Teach?"

In the list to which reference is made there were a number of services by societies or individuals, not under the organization of the Churches, whose topics are worthy of study, as: "The Seventh Chapter of Revelation," "Spirit," "Water of Life," "Keely, the Fakir," "Outline Statement—Scientific Religion," and "Conditions of the Happiness of Homes." Such is a general summary of the announcements of topics in a newspaper for one Sabbath, as they appeared under the general head of "Religious Notices."

It has already been stated that more than half the announcements of religious services did not state the topics of the preachers. This seems to be a large number relatively, and may indicate a tendency to omit the public announcement of pulpit topics. The subjects advertised seem, as a whole, both healthful in tone and also instructive. A good while ago the writer had occasion to call attention in the "Itinerants' Club" to the trivial character of many of the subjects of sermons announced in the pulpit notices, and it appears that the present list is a decided improvement on the one he then reviewed. If a criticism were suggested it would be that the number in the first class is not large enough. It is to be presumed, however, that the majority of those who did not announce their subjects intended to preach on texts which do not yield readily to topical treatment. No exception can be taken to purely ethical subjects, unless they are divorced from the ethics of Christianity, which we fear is the case in a few instances. Altogether, a careful study of the list of topics will show a profound interest in the great problems of life and destiny. And we may not despair of the Church or the nation so long as the teachings of the pulpit are in harmony with those of the great Teacher.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE HEBREW ECCLESIASTICUS.

THERE is no portion of the Old Testament Apocrypha that, for various reasons, has presented more difficulties or has been more productive of discussion than the book called, from its name in the Vulgate, "Ecclesiasticus." The title of this apocryphon in the Septuagint, through which it has come to us, is "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach." The origin of the book is far from clear. Nothing except the name is positively known of the author. But that the book was originally written in Hebrew seems to be founded on a reliable tradition, accepted by the best Jewish and Christian authorities. Several rabbis in various ages quote from Sira (now written Sirach); but though they write in the Aramæan, that is, rabbinical Hebrew, the citations are invariably in pure classical Hebrew—a clear proof of the language of the original. Jerome also distinctly states that he himself had seen the Hebrew original of this book.

The short prologue to Ecclesiasticus, like that of Job, is in prose, though the book itself is cast in a poetical mold. It is written in Greek, and is evidently from the pen of the translator of Ecclesiasticus. The following words from this Greek introduction are self-explanatory: "Ye are intreated to read with favor and attention, and to pardon us if in any parts of what we have labored to interpret [that is, translated] we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue." This citation shows plainly that the translator had some misapprehension regarding the merits of his efforts, and hence this semiapologetic tone. That Ecclesiasticus in its Greek dress is a poor piece of work is universally admitted. This being true of the Greek, how much more so must it be of the later versions based upon so imperfect a translation! The violent transpositions, the many disconnected passages, the omission of one or more parallels, the many clumsy circumlocutions and evident interpolations all betray poor work. It was no easier two thousand years ago than now for a novice to make a translation having the combined merits of elegance and accuracy. To render the idiomatic expressions of one language into those of another was never easy, especially when these phrases are popular proverbs and such short, idiomatic expressions as abound in the writings of Jesus ben Sirach. The translator of Ecclesiasticus may have been proficient in Greek or Hebrew, but certainly not in both. This accounts for the many deficiencies in his version. It has been common for less conscientious translators in all ages to omit what defied translation, and to mistranslate or paraphrase what was imperfectly understood by them.

In view of these facts the discovery of a single leaf of Sirach's work in the original Hebrew was hailed with delight by biblical students everywhere. This stray leaf was brought from Egypt to England by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, and along with a large number of other ancient documents was submitted to Dr. Schechter, the eminent reader in Talmudic at the University of Cambridge, who identified it as a part of Sira's apocryphon, namely, cap. 39, 15; 40, 7. The discovery and identification of this single leaf led to the identifitcaion of some other similar leaves at the Bodleian library. At any rate the discovery at Oxford was made public just about the same time as that at Cambridge. The Bodlcian manuscript is without doubt a part of the same book to which the leaf brought from Egypt belonged. They connect directly. Only one verse is missing. The Oxford leaves contain cap. 40, 9; 49, 11. Thus we have now about one fifth of the entire book. As there are yet a very large number of manuscripts and papyri to be examined, may we not hope that the remaining leaves may yet be found ?

In order that the reader may form some idea of the inaccuracies of the Greek version, let us now place the tradition of cap. 40, 8–11, in parallel columns with the original Hebrew:

Revised English Version from the Greek.	*The original Hebrew by Dr. Schechter.*
8. *It is thus* with all flesh, from man to beast, and upon sinners sevenfold more.	8. ....
9. Death, and bloodshed, and strife, and sword, calamities, famine, tribulation, and the scourge:	9. [Pestile]nce and bloodshed, fever and drought, devastation and destruction, evil and death.
10. All these things were created for the wicked, and because of them came the flood.	10. Against the wicked evil is created, and because of him ruin departeth [not?]
11. All things that are from the earth turn to the earth again: and *all things that are* of the waters return into the sea.	11. All things that are from the earth return to the earth: and that which is from the height returneth to the height.

The exact time when Sirach wrote his book is not known; even the one reference for fixing the date is confusing. Sirach's grandson, who translated the book into Greek, informs us that he went into Egypt during the reign of Euergetes. There were two kings of that name, Euergetes I, who reigned from 246–222 B. C., and Euergetes II, called also Ptolemy VII who reigned from 145–116 B. C. Unfortunately, we have no means of deciding which of these two ruled over Egypt at the time in question. Thus it is impossible to determine with absolute precision the date of either the original work or the Greek translation. But whether Sirach wrote in the fourth or third century B. C., the discovery is an important one. For, as Dr. Schechter well says, "Apart from their

semisacred character the Sirach discourses restore to us the only genuine documents of the Grecian-Greek period (from about 450 until about 160 B. C.), the most obscure in the whole of Jewish history."

The discovery of the fragment shows also that classic Hebrew was written long after the captivity. It is, moreover, a source of great encouragement to the archæologist who is patiently toiling among the buried treasures of the ancient world; for who can doubt that more than one Hebrew Genizah has yet surprises in store for the biblical student who patiently prosecutes his investigations?

RESEARCH IN PALESTINE.

PALESTINE very naturally continues to attract the eyes and hearts of biblical scholars the world over. The study of antiquities in this ancient land is at present receiving unusual attention. The various religious orders in Jerusalem are waking up as from a long lethargy, intent on becoming better acquainted with the archæology of the Holy City and the land made sacred by the saints of old. Among these the Dominican Brothers, especially the French, deserve special mention. They show great zeal in identifying ancient sacred places in and around the city. Then there is "Der Deutsche Verein zur Erforschung Palæstina's." This society is under the control of a large number of eminent German scholars, among them Professors Kautzsch, Socin, Bickell, Buhl, Kiepert, and many others in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. There are also several distinguished Germans in Palestine who belong to the society and take active part in its work, such as Dr. Conrad Schick, of Jerusalem, and Dr. Schumacher, of Haifa. Of late years this society has been paying especial attention to the country "beyond Jordan." It has already made important discoveries in the Hauran and southern Bashan. The maps and charts prepared under its direction are very accurate. Dr. Schick is an enthusiastic archæologist, and watches every excavation of whatever nature in and around Jerusalem. Prince Rupprecht, of Bavaria, during his recent trans-Jordanic travels was greatly impressed with many extensive ruins, and more especially with those of Jerash, which he very fitly denominated as "a second Pompeii." He will undoubtedly see to it that a scientific and thorough exploration will be made by some competent persons among these ruins. The still more recent visit of Emperor William, who is naturally of a religious turn of mind, and who is on excellent terms with the authorities at Constantinople, will aid materially in stirring German scholars to a more thorough work in Palestine.

One of the chief agencies, however, in this field is the Palestine Exploration Fund, having its headquarters at London. This society has been more or less actively at work for more than a generation. It has enlisted the sympathy of many distinguished men of letters and influence in all English-speaking countries. One of its principal workers is

Dr. Bliss, who, though born in Syria, is yet in push and sympathy an American and an alumnus of Amherst College. His work in Palestine may be compared to that of Professor Flinders Petrie in Egypt. His efforts during the past few years have been rewarded with considerable success. The results of his excavations at Lachish were all that could be expected. Not so, however, the three years' work at Jerusalem. This is not difficult to explain. It is no easy matter to carry on excavations in or near a city so densely populated as Jerusalem. The Mohammedans always regard work of this kind, if conducted by Christians, with more or less suspicion. Very few ignorant peasants care to see their gardens dug up, or even a miserable old stable torn down, in the interests of archæology. Dr. Bliss's work at Jerusalem, however, was not entirely without profit, as may be seen from his recently published volume, entitled *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–1897*. Two entire chapters are devoted to the discussion of the objects found. One is entitled "Minor Discoveries," and another, "Various Discoveries on the Western Hill." Perhaps the most interesting chapter of the book is that which contains a very full sketch of the walls of the Holy City, battered down and rebuilt, as they have been, no less than a score of times. Dr. Bliss thinks that his three years' work has brought some facts to light that will facilitate the study of Jerusalem in the following periods of history: the Jebusite, the Solomonic, the late Jewish kingdom, the Herodian, and the Latin.

But, judging from the actual number of the articles found during the recent excavations, the results are indeed meager when compared with the achievements at Nippur, Nineveh, or some of the Egyptian sites. Nevertheless, these tireless workers are not discouraged; for, no sooner had the time granted by the Ottoman government for excavating expired than another appeal was made to the sultan for a new firman, so that operations might be commenced in other localities. After the usual delays in obtaining such permits the Palestine Exploration Fund is once more at work, this time in ancient Philistia. Dr. Bliss is full of hope, as may be seen from the following words written by him in the last "Quarterly Statement." We quote at some length, so as to give our readers the exact location of the new field of operations: "Now a word in regard to what we may hope for in the next two years. Our work at Tell el Hesy showed that Palestine is a very important center, and that a site where the ruins are of mud brick is exceedingly important, because mud brick is a wonderful conservator of antiquities. We have applied for an area including ten square kilometres, in which area may be found four important sites, Tell es Sâfi, Tell ej Judeideh, Zakariya, and Khurbet Ddikerin. All of these sites, with the possible exception of the last, show signs of being Israelitish, or certainly pre-Roman. Tell es Safi was the Blanche Garde of the Crusaders, and therefore we may have to work our way through modern remains before we come to the more ancient site."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

WORLD'S MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

THE weekly religious press will sufficiently advertise the fact that there is to be held in New York City, the last eleven days of April, next year, a General Missionary Conference similar to that held in London in 1888. It is not to give a notification of the Conference that this paragraph is written, but that all emphasis possible in these pages shall be laid upon the great dignity and importance of the proposed convention. The plans for the Conference have been maturing for three years. A committee appointed at the Annual Conference in 1896 has been in communication with the different Protestant missionary societies of the world, and has met with most gratifying responses from all of those bodies. There seems to be a very general appreciation of the plan for rounding out the century with a survey of the work which has been accomplished in the past and with a discussion of the outlook for future success.

Some conception of the Conference may be obtained from the fact that while in 1888, at the Conference in London, there were 1,759 delegates in attendance, it is hoped to double that number next year. There are about two hundred societies whose work is to be represented, and it is hoped to have missionaries present from every part of the world. The plan of the Conference is to have a few general sessions and a number of sectional meetings where specific topics can be discussed. Papers will be presented by experts on the different topics, and these will be followed by short addresses. It is also planned to secure the attendance of the delegates in different cities of the country; and it is hoped that miniature conferences may thus be held, and that the presence in those centers of so large a body of men who are directly interested in missionary work and closely connected with it may arouse a still greater interest in the great cause.

The gravity of the occasion must be realized. A great movement of the century is to be passed in review. The Churches have contributed millions of money for the spread of the Christian religion among non-Christian peoples, and the operations have covered wide-extended and remote districts. There is no region so difficult of access, whether in mountain fastness or tropical morass, that the evangelist has not planted his foot there. There is no tribe, however debased and brutal, however bruised with the slave yoke or broken in spirit by other forms of cruelty, but some one has made effort to reach it. Does it all pay? The wealth, intellect, and culture expended by noble men and women must all be accounted for. If there is to be girding for the future there is need of intelligent concert. And doubtless all this will be realized, for this Conference is not confined to any one Church or country, every foreign missionary

society of Christendom, as well as all societies in the United States, having been invited to send delegates.

The prospective topics are analytical and broad. We may name only the chief, but these will suffice to indicate the scope of the proposed discussions. They include the essential elements of foreign missions; the present duty of Protestant Christendom to foreign missions; the results of one hundred years of mission work; missionary agencies; the Bible and Christian literature in mission fields; the relations of foreign missions to home churches; missionary methods; the division of the foreign field; missionary comity; the relations of foreign missions to politics and diplomacy and the peace of the world; woman's work for women; literrary work; the special providential demands of foreign missionary enterprise; the relation of students and other young people to foreign missions; the relation of missions to particular evils; the relation of Christian missions to other religions; the support of missions by home churches; the possible power of the pastor in awakening and sustaining the missionary spirit; the present crisis in missions; and the outlook for the coming century.

THE VITALITY OF ISLAM.

We have more than once taken occasion to point out the decline in the territorial extent of the political power of Mohammedanism, but that by no means signifies the decline of its vigor. Besides, it has recently been fortified politically at several points. The visit of the Emperor of Germany to Jerusalem, as the guest of the Sultan of Turkey, has had the effect among Moslems to add greatly to the prestige of the Sublime Porte, if it has not also assured Ahmed II of the support of Germany in an emergency. This, as diplomacy goes, is a warrantable assumption. In the Egyptian section of Islam the triumph of the British in the Upper Soudan leaves Mohammedanism more firmly established than it has been for a long time. The overthrow of the Mahdi as an erratic and fanatical revolutionist might seem to be a check to Islam, but in truth it reestablishes the regular organization of Moslem society, with a guarantee of stability that nothing else could do. Everybody knows the triumph which has been won by Islam, also, in the failure of the European powers to call the sultan to book in the matter of the Armenian massacres.

Besides all this there has been of late a rapid extension of Mohammedan propagandism in Central Africa, the Western Soudan, Northwest and Southeast India, China, and all the Malaysian Islands, especially Java and Borneo. Dr. Hartmann, a member of the famous Oriental Seminary faculty in Berlin and a recognized authority on Eastern affairs, says: "The Mahdistic influence has affected a vast number of peoples throughout Northern Africa; and the European protagonists of Mohammedanism, the empire of the Turks, have inaugurated movements on

a grand scale to spread the teachings and tenets of their religion. The sultan himself is under the absolute control of fanatical dervishes, and is filled with the ambition of establishing Moslem ideas everywhere. Immense sums go every year for missionary purposes to the Cape, to China, to Liverpool, to New York, although a goodly portion of this money never leaves the 'pious' hands to which it is intrusted. But the movement which has its headquarters in the Yildiz-Kiosk is by no means of insignificant proportions, and all the more so since the self-consciousness of the Moslems and their self-confidence have been materially increased through recent political events. In all corners of the earth Christianity and Mohammedanism are coming into collision, and the indications are that a struggle for the mastery is inevitable. The Moslems are burning with anxiety to see such a crisis and conflict; but Christianity does not seem to be in a condition to welcome the struggle, as, especially in Europe, it would be almost absolutely impossible to enthuse the masses for a religious contest to the same degree as is possible among the Mohammedan peoples."

The explanation which Dr. Hartmann gives of the inability of the Christian world to meet this impact is suggestive. The kernel of original Christianity has in the course of time been covered with a shell of political and other interests, and beneath these externals it is often difficult to rediscover that which is genuine Christianity. It strikes us that Dr. Hartmann is less analytical, however, when he says that "the teachings of the prophet of Mecca have not been dimmed or changed by later development." Surely anyone familiar with Islam ought to know better than that. In truth, the Koran and its teachings are not apprehended by millions of modern converts in India, Malaysia, and Africa. They know enough to say, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," but otherwise they are the same heathen as before, or have made a composite faith of their own, as in Java, where Mohammedanism, which is distinct from any other religious system, is known as "Javanism." Nevertheless, Dr. Hartmann's caution is timely. "At any rate the peoples of Europe should never forget that the spread of Mohammedanism is a great danger to Christian civilization and culture, and that cooperation among themselves against the extension of its influence and power is one of the crying needs of the hour."

OUR CONTENTION WITH TURKEY.

The claims made by missionaries against Turkey are not for damages done to property by the Koords and others in Armenia. It is true that the only parties demanding redress are missionaries, but it is not as missionaries that they appear in the political and diplomatic arena. They had business establishments, in the form of schools, where fees were received; they conducted the manufacture and sale of books and carried on the practice of medicine; and these occupations were dis-

tinctly sanctioned by the sultan as business enterprises. It is more than three quarters of a century since American missionaries first entered Turkey under a well-established law of the Turkish government formulated over three hundred years ago. Under this general concession, which dominates all Asia far more than any legislators or conquerors, American missionaries have for several decades successfully prosecuted their distinctly professional business in various parts of the Turkish empire. They were conceded by this law the rights of worship, of publication, and of education, not as missionaries, but in common with all other resident non-Moslems. No professions were excepted, any more than were merchants, nor have these Christian workers claimed any other immunity.

It is not as missionaries conducting a propaganda that any claim is instituted for damages, but as foreigners resident in the empire and entitled to the protection of life and property. By the burning and sacking of a mission station at Harput one hundred thousand dollars worth of property was destroyed in 1895–96. Secretary Olney said there was satisfactory evidence that this destruction was to be attributed to the neglect of the native officials to prevent or check these depredations, and to the fact that the soldiers of the Turkish empire took an active part in the robberies. The missionaries asked for a guard in time to have been furnished with protection. This was not sent till the rioting was at its height, when the Turkish soldiers joined with the mob. It thus appears that the army, if not the officials, was in complicity with the rioters.

An editorial of the *Observer* thus puts the case: "Our claim for indemnity is thus not merely for injury done by mobs, as in the case of the British, French, and Italian governments, which are also demanding damages from the porte for losses sustained at the same time, but for injury done by the direct agents and representatives of Turkey. Now, it is a sound rule of international law that aliens are entitled to protection in life and property as fully as citizens of the State in which they reside, and that when they suffer losses reparation should be made. Even though its soldiers did not share in the pillage of the mission buildings the porte would thus be responsible for the acts of the mob within its jurisdiction, and so should recognize the obligation to reimburse the sufferers which civilized nations everywhere assume, and which this government has fulfilled in cases of mob violence to citizens of China. Nevertheless, it has persistently refused to do so, though it is explained that there is no intention to discriminate against the United States, the European governments having received no promise of settlement of their claims, or even recognition of them. If this refusal indicates a fixed purpose on the part of the porte to evade a plain international obligation, and Minister Strauss proves no more successful than his predecessors in effecting an adjustment, a very critical situation will have been reached."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Samuel Eck. The resurrection of Jesus is a theological problem that will not down. On the one hand many are unwilling to accept it as an historical fact; on the other, it is felt by all German thinkers except the most superficial that the belief of the primitive disciples demands explanation. In October, 1898, a company of theologians, all of whom adhere more or less consciously to the liberal school of Albrecht Ritschl, met in Eisenach, Germany, noted as the home of Luther for four years of his schoolboy life, to discuss the significance of the resurrection of Jesus for the early Christians and for those of our day. One of the principal speakers was Samuel Eck. His address as now printed in pamphlet form, under the title, *Ueber die Bedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu für die Urgemeinde und für uns* (Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1898), really adds nothing to the considerations long advanced by the so-called liberals. Yet, because he puts these considerations in their modern form, we here give his views. A sign of the modernness of his theory is that he refuses to ground faith in the resurrection on the hypothesis of mere subjective visions. No psychological explanation of these visions, whether supposedly seen by people of sound or of unsound mind, has ever proved satisfactory to careful and exact thought. Another sign is that he really proposes no theory as to the origin of the belief of the early disciples that Jesus was risen and that they had seen him. Directly connected with this is a third sign, namely, that he lays the chief emphasis upon the fact that those disciples believed Jesus lived. To this fact he ascribes immeasurable significance. He adopts the saying of Straus that but for the belief in the resurrection of their Lord the words and deeds of Jesus would have been lost to the memory of mankind. It was his resurrection which gave them their permanent value and which prompted his disciples to treasure and record them. A fourth sign is that he distinctly makes whatever happened by which the disciples came to believe in the resurrection to be the work of God. While he evidently has no sympathy with the doctrine of the bodily resurrection, he nevertheless believes that in some way the belief of the disciples was a result of a divine revelation by means of which the continuance of the personal life of Jesus Christ became with them a well-grounded conviction. This is at the farthest conceivable remove from the atheistic and infidel theories which made the assertion of the resurrection of Jesus a deliberate falsehood or a product of the tendency to legend, or which based that resurrection upon a deception of which the disciples were the victims. It is but a step to the belief that what God did was to raise Jesus from the dead.

Paul Chapuis. Commencing with the publication of Menegoz's *La notion biblique du miracle* (1894), already noticed in this department, a dispute has been going on among French Protestant theologians as to the possibility and actuality, as well as the nature, of miracles. Chapuis has come out recently with a strong work on the subject, entitled *Du Surnaturel. Études de philosophie et d'histoire religieuses* (The Supernatural. Studies in Religious Philosophy and History). Lausanne, Payot, 1898. He takes the position that physical science cannot possibly recognize the miraculous, because it has to do with the causes, results, and conditions of the world-process. When the scientist cannot find the cause of any phenomenon he is not at liberty to resort to supernatural causation, but must confess his ignorance of the cause, must regard the event, not as supernatural, but as inexplicable. There can be no question of the truth of this position, taking, as we must, physical science to pertain, as its name indicates, to purely physical existences and forces. But then, also, he should have brought out clearly the fact that while physical science cannot recognize a miracle it cannot, on the other hand, deny the possibility of the same. That realm in which the causes known to physical science are inadequate for the explanation of events may be the realm of miracle or of divine intervention. He is right, again, when he says that religious faith sees in all events of the natural world, even where the causal connection is perfectly plain, the purpose of God. But he is not as strong as could be wished in the exhibition of the intellectual justification of this faith. True, he does not admit that the only form of certainty is that which rests upon theoretical investigation; but the impression is left that the assertions of the faith relative to the intervention of the supernatural in the natural world are dependent upon their own inherent right to be and upon their utility in the ethical and religious life. In fact, apart from all this, and even if we could see no good reason why this faith should be preserved, we have the best of reasons for maintaining that we know, in the same sense in which we know any causal connection at all, the causal connection of God with the operations of the physical world and his intervention in at least some instances in the ordinary course of natural processes. There is nothing in science or philosophy to forbid this doctrine, and a sound philosophy demands it. This is itself almost a sufficient foundation. Historical considerations which cannot be now given make certain miracles as sure as any other facts of history.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Der Materialismus vor dem Richterstuhl der Wissenschaft. Den Gebildeten aller Stände dargeboten (Materialism Before the Judgment Seat of Science. For the Educated of All Ranks). By Theodor Menzi. Zurich, F. Schulthess, 1898. Although materialism is held to-day by but few thoughtful people, this book has its place for the reason that many

belated individuals still cherish all the theories of the materialistic philosophy, and especially do they endanger the general moral and religious welfare by applying or proposing to apply those theories to everyday life. Menzi discusses materialism in its relation to the inorganic, the organic, and the intellectual world. Under the first he makes the point that matter, from which materialism starts, is not an object of experience, but something supersensuous. We have certain sense phenomena to account for, and our reason posits matter as the explanatory cause. He calls attention to the fact that no one ever saw an atom and that atoms are strictly a metaphysical fiction; also that the most prominent representatives of the mechanical theory of nature have declined to class themselves as materialists. Coming to the relation between materialism and the organic world, he holds that all attempts to explain life on mechanical principles have proved failures. Life is the same mystery it has always been. In the intellectual world, also, materialism is a failure. The attempt of Carl Vogt and others to regard thought as a secretion of the brain overlooks the incommensurability of material and mental phenomena. Nor has monism succeeded in abolishing the dualism between these two classes of phenomena. The most it has done is to raise the question in a new form. Least of all can materialism explain the facts of self-consciousness and of free will. Menzi admits that the existence of God is not capable of mathematically certain proof. The best proof of the highest truths of life is their power to satisfy us. But since we all have a consciousness of God, he says that it is an original feeling of the human soul, a fact which both extensively and intensively rises above all other energies of the mind, and is best explained, like law and order in nature, on the theory that it is produced by an infinite, almighty, and omnipresent Being. In very brief form Menzi has contrived to exhibit the hallowness, shallowness, and untenability of the materialistic theory. The present writer often asks himself why this country does not produce more works of this kind. Materialism in all its aspects is rampant among the masses of our people. It is a question whether we do well to trust it to wear itself out.

Kelchversagung und Kelchspendung in der abendländischen Kirche (The Refusal and the Permission of the Cup in the Western Church). By Julius Smend. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898. This is a most interesting account of a doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic Church which is but little understood by Protestants. According to Smend, the practice first arose and later received ecclesiastical sanction. He mentions several causes which aided in the movement to withhold the cup from the laity. The first is theological speculation. The doctrine arose that the whole Christ is in each of the elements of the communion. Such was the teaching of Anselm of Canterbury. A little later Alexander Hales held that the doctrine of Anselm can be preserved

only by refusing the cup to the laity. Still later Thomas Aquinas declared that the permission of the cup to the laity tended to perpetuate the denial of Anselm's doctrine that the cup is not necessary, since Jesus gave food, but not drink, to the five thousand, and that its refusal to the laity is necessary to give the priests a more distinguished privilege. The second cause was the influence of great personalities and ecclesiastical counsels. Smend thinks that Pope Gregory II (715–731) introduced the practice of using but one cup in the communion. At any rate, from the eighth century onward but one cup was in use, and it was often so large or otherwise inconvenient to handle that instead of drinking from the rim of the cup a tube was used. But this was exceedingly impracticable on occasions when many communed; and, besides, one cup would not hold enough for a large number. The Ordo Romanus made no provision for a second consecration. Hence unconsecrated wine had to be added to the consecrated, the effect not being to make the whole sacred. As a consequence it was felt necessary to withdraw the cup entirely from the laity. Little by little the practice and the doctrine grew side by side, until in the councils of Constance and Basel the decree went forth that the communion of the laity should be in "one kind," that is, of the bread only. Still, it was not until three centuries later that Benedict XIV (1740–58) was able completely to put the custom into execution. Smend also gives many interesting facts relative to the former practices of the Church. As early as the fifth century it was recommended that the communicant should take something to eat immediately after the Lord's Supper, lest in some way he might expectorate some of the sacred elements. Hence many churches hit upon the plan to furnish to all communicants bread and wine to be used immediately after the sacrament. Granted the doctrine of transubstantiation and the doctrine promulgated by Anselm, the Roman Catholic practice is at least allowable. Theological speculation generally leads to folly in practice and should be wholly abandoned.

Dogmatik (Dogmatic Theology). By Julius Kaftan. Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr, 1897. The name of Kaftan is one which needs only to be mentioned to arouse interest in the mind of the intelligent theologian. His work on dogmatic theology is destined to increase his fame and usefulness. It is impossible here to do more than merely indicate some of his points of view. One of the most important is characteristic of the entire Ritschlian theology, namely, the principle that every proposition in a system of Christian doctrine must be brought into connection with the life of the individual and receive from the same its convincing force. With reference to the relation of faith and Scripture he teaches that faith has for its immediate object the revelation contained in the Scripture, while, on the other hand, only when one has a personal faith can he be assured of the truth of that revelation. It is to be

observed here that the word faith is used, as by so many writers, in these two propositions in two different senses. But he proceeds to say that if the above-mentioned relation between Christian faith and the historical revelation actually exists, then the idea of inspiration is foreign and secondary. On the other hand, the peculiarity of Christian faith demands that the Scripture shall be conceived of as simply and solely the record of the historical revelation of God. From this it follows that the Scripture must be understood historically. Concerning the deity of Christ, it is held by Kaftan that this deity signifies that in his person we have the perfect and complete revelation of God to man. This, however, has to do with the risen and glorified Christ, since the faith of the disciples prior to the ascension was not Christian faith, which was produced by the appearances of the risen Lord and by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, this ascended Christ is no other than the one who was among men in the flesh, who was the historical Saviour. As to his oneness with God it is mysterious and incomprehensible. Yet this was the very core and center of his consciousness of himself; and in him the will of God was executed, and the spirit and life of God were imparted to man. Jesus, so far as his divinity was concerned, was in God from all eternity. We cannot get on without the thought of a real, as distinguished from an ideal, preexistence of Christ, though it is necessary to bear in mind the inadequacy of the expression. Jesus would have been incarnated according to the counsels of God, even had man never sinned. As to the manner of the incarnation, it can only be said that it differs absolutely from birth and development as ordinarily seen in the world. These brief statements show that, though accompanied by many cautions and provisos, Kaftan is in reality orthodox on the main points. To the confusion of many hasty critics of the Ritschlian theology so much must be said.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Modern Preaching from German Pulpits. The German idea of modern preaching does not demand the so-called up-to-date topics employed in America. One will seldom hear any reference in the German pulpit to disputed subjects in theology. These are rightly left to the schools. Nor does one often find a preacher who takes up the latest sensation, whether local, national, or international. The German notion of modern preaching is that it should meet the demands of present-day ethical and religious conditions. It must be said in truth that there is very little attempt to be modern in this or in any other sense. The average German preacher goes the round of the topics of the ecclesiastical year, as though this was in exact correspondence with the needs of his congregation. In fact, the pastors of the German State Church scarcely pretend to know the immediate needs of their flocks. The parishes are too large for such knowledge. Any information bearing on the subject

must be obtained from literary sources, rather than from personal contact with the people. This would be, under given conditions, a distinct advantage over the methods employed in America. The preachers are prevented from emphasizing unduly the merely local, temporary, and sensational in current thought and activity. They are in a position to adapt their preaching only to the profounder and more permanent aspects of the life about them. Both they and their congregations are thereby saved from the distractions which American churchgoers suffer at the hands of many of the clergy. But, while there is very little effort to adapt preaching to the needs of the times, there are those who believe there ought to be more of such effort. It is claimed by them that one of the characteristics of modern German church life is a disposition to get on smoothly with one's own conscience. Modern preaching, according to their view, ought to make the unconsecrated or morally depraved in the congregations feel uncomfortable, and thus lead them to feel a need of pardon, regeneration, and a holy life. More of such modern preaching is needed in America also.

Ultramontanism in Alsace and Lorraine. In September, 1897, Pastor Gerbert, of Biebrich, Alsace-Lorraine, delivered an address in Berlin in which he described a Roman Catholic procession, one of whose features was a cross to which was fastened an almost nude boy with a couple of girls, fifteen or sixteen years old, kneeling before him. This he described as a shameful profanation of that which is most sacred in Christianity. The Ultramontane press at first denied *in toto* the truth of his allegations, and even high ecclesiastics, having professed to investigate the matter, pronounced the story false. Gerbert was brought to trial under the laws protecting the religious sentiments and practices from insult. He was found guilty and fined fifty marks, while his accusers were required to pay the costs. The court held, however, that in the main the story as told by Gerbert was true, or at least had not been proved false by his accusers. It was brought out in the trial that the names of the accusers, who numbered one hundred and sixty-six, were at least in some cases secured by misrepresentation. But what is most striking of all is that such high officials in the Church as a bishop and a general vicar did not know that the use of "living pictures" in such processions is strictly forbidden by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, that the attorney for the accusers had the effrontery to assert that Alsace-Lorraine was not a country in which religious equality between Romanists and Protestants exists, and that as the German empire was founded by Pope Leo III the rightful emperor must always be a Roman Catholic. If we add to this the statement of the court in the Gerbert case that in Lorraine the priesthood often combines national, linguistic, and confessional enmity to Germany, we see something of the spirit of Ultramontanism in Alsace and Lorraine.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The centralization of wealth in the hands of a few is a feature of American life to which no student of social science can be indifferent. In the *Christian Quarterly* for January, 1899, its editor, W. T. Moore, regards the fact as ominous, and discusses with vigor the question, "How Shall We Save the Rich?" As an illustration of the centralization of property he writes: "It has been stated that recently twenty-one railroad magnates met in New York to discuss the question of railroad competition, and that these gentlemen represented the enormous sum of three billions of dollars. This is undoubtedly a startling fact, and ought to call very earnest attention to two exceedingly dangerous tendencies, namely, the rapid increase of wealth and the absorption of that wealth by comparatively a few individuals. Let us take a few facts from a very conservative calculation with respect to the wealth of New York City. We find the surprising number of 1,157 individuals and estates that are each worth not less than $1,000,000. That is, there are in New York City over 1,100 millionaires, while in Brooklyn there are 162 millionaires, making 1,319 in the two cities, or what is now called Greater New York. The nine wealthiest estates in the United States are said to be as follows: William Waldorf Astor, $150,000,000; J. Gould, $100,000,000; John D. Rockefeller, $90,000,000; Cornelius Vanderbilt, $90,000,000; William K. Vanderbilt, $80,000,000; Henry E. Flagler, $60,000,000; John L. Blair, $50,000,000; Russell Sage, $50,000,000; Collis P. Huntington, $50,000,000; making the grand total of $720,000,000. . . . Nor is this all. Eight members of the Vanderbilt family are estimated to be worth $254,000,000; while the Standard Oil Company, composed of nine (specially wealthy) persons, is reckoned to be worth $825,000,000. It must be remembered also that this immense sum has been accumulated within twenty years." Of the danger which this condition implies the author further writes: "Who does not know that wealth begets profligacy, and that the downfall of nations has usually started from the temple of fortune? The historian, Rollins, tells us that the opulence of Sybaris was soon followed by luxury and such a dissoluteness of manners as is scarcely credible. The citizens employed themselves in nothing but banquets, games, and carousals. Public rewards and marks of distinction were bestowed on those who gave the most magnificent entertainments, and even to such cooks as were best skilled in the important art of making new discoveries in dressing dishes and inventing new refinements to please the palate. . . . When we hear of dinner parties costing $50,000 in the houses of some of our rich men, surely we are not in a position to speak contemptuously of the Sybarites; and, when Mrs. Brown is determined by hook or crook to make her party 'outshine' that of Mrs. Smith, it is evident we are already passing

through the zodiac of danger to at least republican institutions." But how does the writer propose to "save the rich?" First, he replies, the "strong arm of the law ought to be used in bringing about a more equal distribution of wealth." While realizing the delicacy of pressing such a point he suggests: "Let there be laws passed which will make labor and capital coordinates in every enterprise where they are called upon to assist each other. Let the cooperative system be compulsory in all cases where capital employs labor or where labor seeks to employ capital." Secondly, much "might be done through our colleges, the public press, churches, etc., in creating a public conscience that will so severely condemn excessive money-getting as will make it impossible for selfish millionaires to live at peace in any well-educated community." And, lastly, the author is persuaded that "it is possible by faithful preaching through all the instrumentalities . . . mentioned to create a better conception of what success is than is now held by the average millionaire. . . . Christ's success is wholly owing to the fact that he taught and lived in direct opposition to everything that now makes it possible for a man to be a millionaire in this life. Can we not make the rich see this? Can we not make them feel it? Can we not make them act upon it?" The author's closing position as to the laying up of earthly treasures is the extreme view whose observance would render great riches impossible: "Every Christian is here to do good. Of course this involves a proper care for himself and his family; but beyond providing for these what is needful for education and reasonable comfort no Christian man has a right to lay up a dollar. As has already been intimated, he may retain enough means for a reasonable capital on which to do business for the Lord; but whatever is beyond this is sin, and the sooner he learns this fact the sooner our plea for the return to primitive Christianity will be understood and respected."

In two foreign periodicals for January the existing controversy in the English Church receives consideration. The article in the *Edinburgh Review* is entitled "The Unrest in the Church of England," and makes six recent publications on the subject the basis of its discussion. The first of these is the Archbishop of Canterbury's "Charge Delivered at his first Visitation," in which he states that "among the modern clergy the doctrine of Hooker as to the real presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is giving place to a doctrine akin to consubstantiation." Sir William Harcourt, as a participant in the discussion, has written "a series of vigorous letters" to the *Times*, in which he "has set himself at the head of the more distinctly Protestant section of Church feeling. He alleges that a vast conspiracy exists among the clergy to 'Romanize' the National Church. By means of 'special services' and the gradual introduction of Roman forms and practices the ritualistic clergy are attempting, he says, to undermine the triumphs of

the Reformation and to bring about the return of Englishmen to Roman doctrine and ultimately to the Roman fold." In Canon Gore's recent volume is expressed the dissatisfaction of different writers with "a constitution which makes Parliament virtually the sole legislative authority for the Church of England. The authority of Parliament, it is urged, is more and more centered in the House of Commons, an assembly consisting, not merely of Churchmen or even of Christians, but having also among its members, in greater or less number, Jews, infidels, and heretics. Yet Parliament, and only Parliament, can alter a paragraph, or article, or single line of a single rubric of a book which was framed in substance more than three and a quarter centuries ago." The three other publications on which comment is made are by Drs. Maitland, Ball, and Warren respectively, the conclusion of the whole article being the belief that "the general desire of the English lay world is to uphold in Church and State on its main lines the system which, with occasional modifications, has existed since the Reformation." The second article on the same general subject is found in the *London Quarterly Review*, and is entitled "The Present Crisis in the Church of England." Besides its notice of the publications of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Canon Gore already mentioned it gives a large consideration to the results of the Oxford movement as suggested by the recent history of Walter Walsh. Three "evil features" of this movement have been "the thinly veiled spirit of insubordination to the rightful authority of the bishops;" the "adoption of a position which requires the constant exercise of a faculty for drawing oversubtle distinctions and for skillfully evading actual illegality," and which "must of necessity undermine the habit of robust truthfulness which is, above all else, vital to moral integrity;" and, lastly, "the secrecy of the movement," "the multiplication of societies whose objects, proceedings, and members are hidden from the light of day," and the "deliberate and ostentatious adoption of the principle of 'reserve in communicating religious knowledge.'" The conclusion of the whole, according to the reviewer, J. Scott Lidgett, is that disestablishment is "the probable issue of the present situation; and the programme of the reformers shows that disestablishment might probably bring a great accession both of vigor and of wisdom to the Church itself."

The *Review of Reviews* for February is largely devoted to topics relating to the late war with Spain or to its results. Among its papers one of much interest is entitled "Aguinaldo: A Character Sketch." The writer exalts its hero to a lofty rank among leaders—too lofty, it may be, to meet the best judgment of many. The notable company in which he places Aguinaldo is indicated as follows: "When any man holding a high position is praised on the one side and abused on the other he generally is a person of more than average ability. When the praise and the abuse divide the reading public of a dozen civilized countries he

may be justly regarded as a character of considerable historical importance. The personages who have passed through this ordeal in the present century include Napoleon Bonaparte, Disraeli, Gladstone, Louis Napoleon, and—greatest of all—Bismarck. To this list may now be added the name of the great Filipino insurgent, Aguinaldo." While this estimate seems extravagant regarding one who has not yet won his rank by any great achievement in war or statecraft, it nevertheless appears from the sketch that Aguinaldo ranks far above his fellows in native gifts. Such opportunities, furthermore, as fortune has brought him for study and improvement he has diligently improved. Belonging also to "a community which for more than three hundred years has undergone a political, civil, and ecclesiastical tyranny of the most pronounced type," he has shown a skill in leadership which for the islands of the far East is remarkable. So that we can at least accept the conclusion of this biographical sketch as a moderate estimate of the case, "He has done better than anyone possibly believed, a year ago, and he has shown the world that the Filipino is capable of that self-control upon which all good government must be based." And with a measure of generous regret we may also contemplate Aguinaldo's latest reverses in war and the probable disappearance of his star below the horizon.

To the mention of the *London Quarterly* in a previous paragraph a fuller reference may now be added. The January number appears in a new dress and begins a new series. Besides its article on "The Present Crisis in the Church of England" its table of contents has: "The Effect of the Recent War upon American Character," by C. J. Little, D.D.; "The Historical and Spiritual Christ," by R. M. Pope; "Vacation Rambles of a Naturalist," by L. C. Miall, F.R.S.; "David Hill," by S. R. Hodge; "Palestinian Syriac Lectionaries of the Bible," by Agnes Smith Lewis; "The Wound Dresser," by R. C. Cowell; "Egypt and the Soudan," by U. A. Forbes; "Sport in the Caucasus," by H. D. Lowry; "Methodism and the Age," by the Editor. The number is a strong issue, and does honor to English Methodism.

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January is found the following table of contents: 1. "Christianity and the Cosmic Philosophy," by Professor H. C. Minton, D.D.; 2. "The Metaphysics of Christian Apologetics: V. Immortality," by Professor W. B. Greene, Jr., D.D.; 3. "Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher, The Representative Theologian of the Nineteenth Century," by Rev. James Lindsay; 4. "The Modern Hypothesis and Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets: Isaiah," by Professor Geerhardus Vos, D.D.; 5. "Herbert Spencer, 'Our Great Philosopher,' *versus* The Known God," by D. S. Gregory, D.D.; 6. "John of Barneveldt, Martyr or Traitor," by Professor H. E. Dosker, D.D.; 7. Critical and Historical Notes; 8. Review of Recent Theological Literature.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Freedom and Mediation. By Rev. Albert J. Lyman, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 23. Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 24 Franklin Street. Price, paper, 20 cents.

This is the sermon preached by appointment before the National Council of Congregational Churches, at Portland, Ore., on Sunday, July 10, 1898. The text is Eph. ii, 14: "He is our peace." The introduction is in part as follows: "Whether the letter to the Ephesians were written, as some assert, in the year 59 or 60, when Paul was a prisoner at Cæsarea, or two or three years later from the period of the early imprisonment at Rome; whether it were definitely addressed to the Ephesian Church, which Paul peculiarly loved, or was intended rather as an encyclical, and sent to Ephesus because that city was the capital of proconsular Asia—in either case the document has, on the whole, held its own against the storm of critical assault, and vindicates itself as being the authentic product of Paul's mind at the full maturity of its power. Its so-called 'insipidities of diction' are insipid only to unspiritual critics, who fail to discern in the noble carelessness and even redundance of phrase, which a more self-conscious art might prune away, the natural expression of a man writing at white heat and pouring out his whole soul to men whom he perfectly trusts. The letter, in truth, for spirit and substance, is on the very highest Pauline level, 'exceedingly full,' to use Chrysostom's noble eulogy of this epistle; 'exceedingly full of thoughts and lofty things, so that what Paul nowhere else even utters, that he here explains.'" Speaking of the cleavage of present religious thought in every Christian communion between "conservative" and "liberal" tendencies, Dr. Lyman says: "Would any man dare to say that each side, upon this issue, does not possess a truth, though the truth may be more conspicuously manifest on one side than on the other? Would any man dare to say that the irenic creeds, articulating the common faith of the Church universal, do not express also much of the very mind of Christ? '*Vox Ecclesiæ, vox Christi.*' From my soul I believe it. And, on the other hand, is it not possible that the Protestant axiom of the right of private judgment reaches the very point of its both legitimate and logical fulfillment and finish in the critical methods of the present hour? But what can mediate between sentiments which seem so far asunder as these, except intelligence, perfectly free and fair, and inspired, moreover, with the supreme energy of the Christ-like love? Now, the perfect type of such liberty of intelligence is found in Jesus himself, and only by means of it could he 'abolish' the 'enmity' to which the apostle refers. But, perhaps, we have not been accustomed to regard our Master as incarnating liberty as well

as love. Our Christology must be finer. It must discover in Jesus the typical freeman, in Christ the divine incarnation of freedom itself. Let us dare to surmise that only God's free self in man's free self can be, in the perfect sense, our 'peace.' Begin, if you will, down on the firm ground floor of undoubted historical data. See how free Jesus stands as a man, in relation to the human life of his time—this beautiful young Stranger of thirty-three—in the midst of the crowd. Who was he? Everybody's Free Friend; so that the rigorists found fault with this very thing, namely, the genial freedom of the way he had. This spirit of freedom in Jesus was, indeed, most reverent and delicate, but not less daring than it was delicate. Into it entered no drop of selfishness or disdain or haughty pride, and it was pervaded with a most sweet acquiescence with the Father's law. It was the freedom of a Christ, yet it was freedom. And he followed this free spirit so far that in outward forms he broke loose both from the civic ambitions and the religious customs of his times, while perfectly fulfilling, indeed, the deeper spirit of both. He loved not lawless, but unfettered things. He loved nature, and he loved little children, and he moved about Palestine as free as the wind, and as law-abiding. And when we carry the analysis as far as we dare toward the profounder and diviner mysteries of that God-man, we yet never lose the note of liberty in connection with that of love. 'I lay down my life,' he murmurs. 'No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father.' Under God and his law Jesus Christ surely stood for liberty as well as love. The incomparable charm of his matchless grace was the beauty of love in its freedom to serve. And this liberty which Jesus Christ displayed was an intellectual liberty. What large, free play of mental faculty in the responses, the maxims, the discourses of Jesus! Indeed, there can be no true liberty without liberty of intelligence. Thought and freedom are correlatives. Let us insist upon that when it is the fad to assume the contrary. Against the pseudo-science which flaunts the philosophy of fatalism; against the current fatalistic literature—the literature of the iron chain, the literature of Ibsen and Maeterlinck and Hardy and Hall Caine, which plays the dead march in front of the jail, which invokes upon its art the benediction of despair—let us dare, with a sober gayety and faith, still to maintain that the ultimate force is a force, not of fate, but of free will and love. God is not passionless and relentless—a Matterhorn at midnight—so much as he is Calvary, with the resurrection coming on. Freedom is a part of reason and a part of love, and, together with reason and love, is incarnate in the Christ. Wide, fair, fluent, delicate, Christ's intelligence commanded both sides of every 'partition wall.' With sweetest grace and steady poise, it could disentangle the good from the evil, the true from the false, and unite the partial excellences on both sides in one 'new man, so making peace.' Mediation between men, therefore, might we dare

to say, becomes an intellectual phase of redemption itself. Christ is the supreme Mediator, the supreme 'Peace,' because he stands as truly for the fine freedom of rational justice as he stands for love." Referring also to the condition of conflict in religious thought, the preacher says that it is conflict in the interest of a wider freedom and a nobler peace: "For is not this very relation of initial controversies to final harmonies the distinguishing mark of the time in the fields of religious thought? Our debates are as strenuous as ever, but something new is underneath them. Gladstone lies sleeping at last 'under the wings of renown' in the venerable abbey which Macaulay, you remember, called 'That temple of reconciliation, where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried.' Are we not beginning to see the rising walls of a temple of reconciliation for the living, wherein Christ stands at the open door?" The questions in controversy are, it is true, imminent and wide. Old 'enmities' which are in the domain of 'ordinances' still divide even Christian men. Not only the supreme question of the age confronts us, What is the relation of the world of nature and scientific truth to the field of faith?—but sharper issues are urged. A critical intellectualism, on the one hand, restating the origin and content of the biblical literature, meets on the other hand a profound renaissance of faith in the authority of the irenic creeds, as articulating something of that Spirit of Christ which was promised to be always with his people; while, on the arena of practical affairs, in the Church and out of it, the field to the horizon is tumultuous with the stimulating though rather bewildering claims of the new sociology. Then, too, there are questions, more specific still, already enunciated in the papers to which this council has listened. The relation of our Churches, for example, to current ethical and public reforms; the question, than which none other is more imperative, of more practical federation of interests in our denominational field, as well as that magnificent and prophetic question of the closer federation of all our Protestant communions, in common Christian work and even worship. Questions such as these, instant and insistent, are at our doors, and concerning them our best and wisest men are not all agreed. But although the century is thus closing in our religious arena with such tumult of interrogation and debate, everywhere beneath the surface one feels the straining muscles of a double passion, not only that passion for intellectual liberty which was the bequest of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth, but the still deeper passion for a more spiritual and practical fraternity which is to be the bequest of the nineteenth century to the twentieth. And this deeper impulse toward fellowship is associated with a freshened and loftier sense of Christ. A more spiritual alliance is discoverable between freedom and faith. Men '*loose*' are yet walking *together* in the intellectual furnace of the time because with them walks the 'form like the Son of God.'" Dr. Lyman holds that the spirit of mediation is increasing in all our great Protestant bodies; that it is more and more illustrated in the actual

temper, the personal endeavor and achievement of representative Christian men and schools. He thinks, for example, that Principal Fairbairn's temper is expressed in his words, "The society of the Son of God is a family of brothers." He says there are many men of similar temper on both sides of the sea. To Professor George P. Fisher, of Yale, this is his fitting reference: "If this were the fitting moment, one would quickly speak the name, for example, of our own noble scholar and Church historian, the enthusiasm of forty classes of students in yonder Divinity Hall beneath the elms, who, in the environment of a great university and fearlessly sympathetic with its spirit of literary and scientific criticism, has yet illustrated with singular breadth and constancy the spirit of fidelity to the ancient faith." Referring to Dr. Richard S. Storrs and his great mediating, reconciling, unifying work in the American Board, during his eight years' presidency over it, are these just words: "One would speak that other name, which seems to shine across the land with a certain serene splendor, of him who sits crowned in our Congregational fellowship, about whose honored head the shadow of a supreme bereavement fell with last winter's snows; who, for more than fifty lustrous and devoted years, has proclaimed the pilgrim's faith; who, while inheriting and maintaining the traditions of a conservative ministry, yet stretched his two hands to the tips of both 'wings' of our American Board, interpreting each to the other, and steadily uniting them, until the threat of division passed away, and he was able to lay in the hands of a successor of kindred spirit, '*suaviter in modo fortiter in re*,' the tested precedent and accomplished authority of a policy of Christian mediation, of union and of progress. In such instances and offices speaks the genuine and typical Mediator—the Peacemaker." The following appeal to the ministry of his own Church is equally suited to other denominations than his own: "Let every Congregationalist, then, resolve to be himself plus something of his antagonist, in the spirit of that phrase of Burke, 'Our antagonist is our helper.' It is a peculiar attitude and temper which we need, I imagine, a certain air of intellectual and Christian chivalry. Let us especially avoid partisan polemics in Church councils, as well as in preaching, in writing, in denominational discussions. In a word, let us not carry the cudgel in front of the lantern, but the lantern in front of the cudgel. Let us be genial in little matters and fair in big ones. Polemics may speak the truth, yet not speak it 'in love.' Let us strain toward the common centers of things. Why should it be thought hopeless to practically unite a conservative liberalism and a liberal conservatism? I love the magnificent, manly splendor of that double thickness, suggested in such mutual extension and overlapping of complementary sentiments." Dr. Lyman's sermon closes in the same noble wisdom of spirit which warms and sweetens its whole course: "Christianity on its human side is comradeship raised to the level of consecration. Let us not fling stones at fossils; we have other work to do. Let us be marching men, not sitting too long by last

night's camp fires. With a certain buoyancy of purpose let us carry the flag of Christ, the double flag of liberty and faith, through the splendid opening twentieth century doors. And if the hands must ache and even bleed which hold that standard steady, let them ache, let them bleed. God is with us in the rocking time. If he were not, it would not rock so nobly. God is with us, because Christ is with us. Things are moving, on the whole, not from good to bad, not from bad to worse, not from bad to good, but from good to better. This is the creed of the reverent evolutionist and the Christian; it is the inspired optimism of St. Paul: 'For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.' I plead for a definite and supreme endeavor everywhere among us to illustrate with an utter gallantry the spirit of the Christian mediation. I plead that freedom shall count itself bound under Christ's law of service. I plead that if any man or body of men dares to assume the awful and splendid rôle of freedom at the foot of the cross, that man or body of men shall be mediatorial as well as free, that so 'speaking truth in love [we] may grow up in all things into him, which is the head, even Christ, from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.'"

Luxury and Sacrifice. By CHARLES F. DOLE, author of *The Coming People, The Golden Rule in Business, The American Citizen*, etc. 12mo, pp. 63. New York and Boston: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, 35 cents.

Luxury is a relative term. Some may think the author's remonstrance against some degrees and forms of luxury not strenuous enough. His own view is put with clearness and consistency. His definition and doctrine of sacrifice are clear, wholesome, and practicable. We quote: "From all our experiences we read a profound law of life. The law of man's life is to march erect, with his face to the front. To look backward, to live regretful over the past, to contemplate its disappointments and reverses, and to stay in the evil company of one's mistakes and sins, is to thwart and spoil life. If a man were his own master he might have a right thus to live in the past, to beat his breast as much as he pleased, to shut himself up in the grim castle of his egotism. The truth is, he is not his own master. He is like a soldier under orders to hasten forward. Lame, wounded, beaten, blinded, he is still in the service; he must add his little to the help of the rest. While life lasts, it is all for the sake of the great cause. Pleasure and personal success become, therefore, incidental. The man's work is larger than to get pleasure or success for himself. His work is to put his whole life out in the service of the beneficent powers. He may seem, like William the Silent, never to win success in his immediate undertakings. It is enough that God's life flows in him. If God's life is his, joy is his too. He takes it as the soldier takes his rations, his rest, or his furlough, or, on occasion, the tremendous ventures of battle. 'March on,' is the voice of the Master.

Trust him for more joy and new life as you go. Real life is here and now; it meets you as you move on. As Browning says:

> Was it for mere fool's play, make-believe and mumming,
> So we battled it like men, not boylike, sulked or whined?
> Each of us heard clang God's 'Come!' and each was coming:
> Soldiers all, to forward-face, not sneaks to lag behind!
>
> How of the field's fortune? That concerned our Leader!
> Led, we struck our stroke nor cared for doings left and right:
> Each as on his sole head, failer or succeeder,
> Lay the blame or lit the praise: no care for cowards: fight!"

Of sacrifice the author writes as follows: "We ought by this time to have taken the word 'sacrifice' entirely out of the class of dreadful and negative things, and to have placed it forever where it belongs, among the great positive and inspiring watchwords. What every chivalrous soul really wants is the opportunity of sacrifice, in other words, the opportunity of growth and life. Jesus expressed this fact when he said that the kingdom of God was 'like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found the pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.' What should we say if this man began to tell us of the terrible loss that he had undergone! The fact is, the man was never so rich before. His sacrifice was simply the process of translation from lower values into higher and more precious terms. The child gives up his own way to obey his mother; in that act he grows toward manhood. The youth gives up time and money to secure an education. It is not loss, but wise investment. The bridegroom says, 'With all my worldly goods I thee endow;' the words of seeming renunciation are the fulfillment of all the lover's hopes. The mother forgets herself in her children; Nathan Hale, the patriot boy, gives his life. John Bright, the stalwart English reformer, with his young wife lying dead in his house, puts away his own personal sorrow at the thought of the needs of the poor, to do immediate public service for his country. You do not altogether pity the suffering mother, the martyred patriot, the burdened statesman and reformer. You glory in them; all men are richer for them; they opened the way for more life to come into the world. The hope of immortality itself stands in such lives. There is no difficulty now in understanding what has seemed to many one of the most difficult in the stories of the New Testament. It is the story of Jesus's treatment of the rich young man, earnest and lovable, who came asking what he must do to possess eternal life. Jesus's treatment of him seems almost harsh. Why should a man who had kept all the laws fail of winning eternal life? The fact is the young man had not yet caught the idea of what the quality of 'eternal life' is. He knew what a respectable personal life was, but he did not yet see that larger and higher thing, the social and universal life—the life of God's sons. Eternal life is the life of sacrifice. We can imagine that some fine young man had come to Washington at Valley Forge with the question, what he needed

to do to enter into the life of a patriot. Would Washington have simply told him to go on keeping the laws of his country? But the times demanded, as they always demand, something more vital than to keep the laws of decent society. 'If you want to be a patriot,' we can hear Washington say; 'if you wish to be one of my men, do what I am doing; put your fortune and life at risk, come with us and serve the utmost needs of the people.' As a matter of fact, Washington lost neither his life nor his fortune, but he sacrificed them, that is, he held them utterly at the disposal of his country. And we all truly see the gulf of difference between such patriots as Washington and the men at Valley Forge, and men who merely kept the laws and looked after their property in New York and Philadelphia. So we all see the difference between the rich young ruler and Jesus. It is the world-wide difference between the narrow or selfish life and the social, the universal, the 'eternal' life, which holds all things as from God and for man. . . . Christianity has hitherto only partially, feebly, and waveringly taught its great doctrine. Christendom has not believed its own gospel. Forsaking the vital religion of Jesus and of all the heroes and saints as impracticable, men have put up with a sort of conventional Christianity, from which the great ideas of the Golden Rule and the real presence of God were dropped out. We are only beginning to find that these majestic ideas may be trusted and followed to their splendid conclusions, as surely as the law of gravitation or the fact of the sunshine. The fundamental duty of sacrifice is not a sad, repellent, negative rule, to scare the hearts of youth, to minimize life, to check man's eager desire for joy. It is a grand highway, where life may run to its fullest accomplishment and realization. It is a word to stir the chivalry of ardent and noble souls. We cannot repeat to this generation too clearly its stirring gospel—as sure as the universe—that it is safe and beautiful to live as if in the presence of God; that it is safe and beautiful to trust the voices of conscience and love—God's testimony within us; that this is to make all life sacred, to bring life to its highest efficiency. All details and conditions fall under the one comprehensive law. To sacrifice luxuries is to handle them efficiently for love's sake. How shall they do the most human service? To sacrifice money is to consecrate it to its largest opportunities in making men wise, free, virtuous, happy. To sacrifice time, so far from wasting it, is to spend it in the noblest way. Livingstone and Armstrong, men say, sacrificed their chances for making a fortune. In other words, they gave up a lower and smaller kind of life to take a higher and richer career. Shaw and Winthrop and many another young man in the time of the civil war died at the outset of their career. Jesus died a young man. Was this loss of life? Did Herod or Caiaphas or Cæsar begin to have life as Jesus enjoyed it? In the eyes of clear intelligence, then, to make a sacrifice is to be doing precisely the thing which is best and most fruitful. To live a life of sacrifice is to be doing at every moment the most useful thing possible; it is to be constantly

using the whole of one's power; it is, therefore, to be most alive. What can any man want more and better than this? Is not this the religion for the twentieth century?"

The Modern Reader's Bible. A Series of Works from the Sacred Scriptures Presented in Modern Literary Form. [In Twenty-two Volumes.] By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A. (Camb.), Ph.D. (Penn.), Professor of Literature in English in the University of Chicago. Small 18mo. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents each; flexible leather, 60 cents each.

In this age of indifference to the Scriptures on the part of many all volumes are to be welcomed which tend to foster an increased reverence for the word and a disposition to read with frequency its sacred pages. Measured by this standard the present series of Bible handbooks compels attention and is deserving of unqualified commendation. It must be regarded as a fortunate circumstance that Professor Moulton was led to its preparation. The impairment of interest arising from the artificial division of the Scripture text into verses seems to have been an impelling motive in his authorship, as in his Introduction to Genesis he writes: "To read is easy; but to read with full appreciation is made difficult by certain differences in the form in which books are presented to the eye in ancient and in modern literatures. The differences, it is true, involve no great mystery; they are such as an intelligent reader can correct for himself. But it is also true that such mental checking hampers the faculty of appreciation; books under such circumstances will be read, but not read with a zest. The constant necessity of mentally allowing for difference of literary form makes such reading resemble the use of a microscope with an imperfectly adjusted focus. By thinking, it is possible to make out what the blurred picture should be; but the observer's attention wearies, and all the while a turn or two of a wheel would give clear vision. To assist such mental adjustment to the form of biblical literature is the aim of the *Modern Reader's Bible*." The method in which Dr. Moulton has sought this desirable result is by the elimination of the verse divisions found in the King James Version and the arrangement into sections, with appropriate headings, of the different topics of the Scripture text. The throwing into poetical form of those portions of the Bible which call for versification is moreover a feature which must be delightful to every reader. To each of the numbers of the series the editor has added an Introduction, Notes, and Index—all of these departments contributing to the completeness of each book and making each in some sense a substitute for the formal commentary. Of the author's classification of the books of Scripture into various groups there is no particular necessity to speak. The twenty-second volume is entitled "Bible Stories," and is announced to be a "Children's Number." In text the professor has followed the Revised Version, "with marginal alternatives often adopted;" and in easy print and smallness of volume he has sought the convenience of the user. Altogether he has given a new charm to the pages of the Scripture. We know of

one Christian home whose members are reading with new zeal the message of God in this modern dress. The number of such readers should be greatly multiplied.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Metaphysics. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. Revised Edition from new plates. 8vo, pp. 429. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.60.

This is the book, in noticing the first edition of which Dr. Daniel Curry wrote, "Professor Bowne is the greatest metaphysician of this age, perhaps of any age—the greatest because the clearest." Not often does the average man find metaphysics enticing and exhilarating, but the keenness and brilliance of this book make it fascinating. For omnipresent and sustained intellectual mastery, for piercing criticism, for flawless continuity of reasoning, for unerring precision of thought, for translucence of expression, for simplification, intelligibility, illumination, and convincingness, this volume is unmatched in the literature of metaphysics. It will enable the common man to feel at home, and will give him a sense of getting on in regions where, because of mists or his own lack of vision, he has seen no pathway. The author keeps so steadily in touch with familiar realities and makes the way so clear and solid from them to others unfamiliar and recondite that the reader never feels lost or far from home, but is apt to say to himself that a new kind of metaphysician has found him and taken him by the hand. This impression will be made on most readers at the outset by the Preface to this revised edition. The first statement is: "The most marked feature of the revision is the greater emphasis laid on the idealistic element. This has been made more prominent and more consistently developed. . . . It is shown that on the traditional realistic view both thought and being are impossible. . . . I have sought to save idealism from the misunderstandings which are the great source of popular objections to it, and also to make a place for inductive science." The Preface proceeds: "The method pursued in the discussion depends on pedagogical reasons. A direct abstract discussion would be shorter and, for the practiced reader, more satisfactory. But it would be intelligible to only a few, and they would not need it. For the sake of being understood, to say nothing of producing conviction, it is necessary to start from the standpoint of popular thought and to return to it at each new start. In this way it becomes possible to show the thinker on the sense plane the dialectic which is implicit in his own position, and which compels him to move on if thought is to reach anything sure and steadfast. Unless this method is borne in mind it would be easy to find the discussion in constant contradiction with itself. A great deal of the argument is carried on on the basis of the popular realism, but only for the sake of showing the popular speculator the impossibility of reaching anything final on that basis, and thus preparing him to appreciate the more excellent way.

This method involves much repetition, but it is pedagogically necessary in the present stage of speculative development." In cosmology there is need of a searching criticism of fundamental notions in order that we may emerge out of speculative chaos, but the necessity for such criticism is most marked in psychology. Of this Professor Bowne says: "Current psychology, especially of the 'synthetic' sort, has erred and strayed from the way beyond anything possible to lost sheep, because of the unclear and inadmissible metaphysical notions with which it operates. We have, first, an attempt to construe the mental life in terms of mechanism or of the lower categories. This has led to the most extraordinary mythology, in which mental states are hypostasized, impossible dynamic relations feigned, logical identities mistaken for objective temporal identities, and then the entire fiction, which exists only in and through thought, is mistaken for the generator of thought. Here again nothing but criticism can aid us. We must inquire what our 'synthesis' is to mean, and what the factors are which are to be 'synthesized,' and what are the logical conditions of such a synthesis. This inquiry cannot be dispensed with by issuing cards of questions to nurses and young mothers, or by rediscovering world-old items of knowledge by the easy process of constructing new names for them. The dictionary may be enriched in this way, and charming stories gathered concerning the age at which 'our little one began to take notice,' but this journalistic method is more likely to contribute to the 'gayety of nations' than to psychological insight. Neither can we long dispense with the inquiry by the severities of quotation marks, or by assuming a superior manner and claiming for the new psychology everything in sight." The Preface goes on in its practical way: "The mechanical psychology of sensebound thought has overflowed, with no small damage, into the field of popular education. In many cases sheer fictions and illusions are taught for truth, or are made the basis of educational procedure. . . . Much of the information given seems to be on a level with that which M. Jourdain received from his teacher in philosophy. He learned that there are two kinds of letters, vowels and consonants, and two kinds of composition, prose and poetry, and that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it, and that when he pronounced the vowel O he pursed his lips into a circular form, and elongated them when pronouncing A. He also learned how to tell by the almanac when the moon is shining. M. Jourdain was so enchanted with this information that he thought hardly of his parents for neglecting his instruction in his youth, and also gave himself great airs on the strength of the new education, when he met Madame Jourdain and Nicole the domestic. Not a little of popular pedagogics is of this barren and inflating sort. Knowledge still puffeth up. And sometimes the matter is even worse. This thing having become the fad, the intellectually defenseless among teachers and those who would be thought wise are intimidated into accepting it. Hans Christian Andersen's story a little modified illustrates the situa-

tion. Two knaves set up a loom in the market place and gave out that they were weaving fabrics of wondrous beauty and value. To be sure, nothing could be seen; but they set forth that whoever failed to see the goods was thereby shown to be unfit for his place. Accordingly everybody, from the king down, saw the things and praised them, and nobody dared to let on for fear of being thought unfit for his place. And they bought the goods, to the knaves' great profit, and arrayed themselves, and marched in procession in their imaginary attire. And still nobody dared to let on, until a small boy of unsophisticated vision called out: 'Why, they haven't got their clothes on!' This broke the spell. Intimidations of this sort are all too common in the pedagogical world at present. And they will remain until an era of criticism sets in. Then we may hope to be freed from the mythologies of the mechanical and synthetical psychology and from the misleading or sterile formulas of popular pedagogics. For this desirable pedagogical reform it is necessary that we distinguish more carefully between theoretical and practical psychology. Most theoretical psychology is practically barren. If necessary as a sufficient reason for the facts, it nevertheless often leads to nothing. Power over the facts, whether in education or in society, is not gained by studying psychological theories, but by observation and practice, and by experience of life and men." The habitually and severely practical purpose of this metaphysician are partially manifested in the above quotations. We regret lack of space to give further samples of it from the body of the book.

The Bibliotaph and Other People. By LEON H. VINCENT. 12mo, pp. 233. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These ten papers are reprinted mostly from the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Springfield Republican*, and *Poet Lore*. The first eighty pages contain portraiture and history of the bibliotaph, with spicy chat about his queer ways, his friends, his scrapbooks, and his "bins." The various kinds of book-hunters are classified by their peculiarities. "One man buys books to read, another buys them to gloat over, a third that he may fortify them behind glass doors and keep the key in his pocket. Learned words have been devised to express the varieties of motive and taste. These words begin with *biblio*." Two interesting types of maniac are known as the biblioclast and the bibliotaph. The first of these is one who mutilates books. Such a one was John Bagford, who mutilated ten thousand volumes to form his vast collection of title-pages. He died an unrepentant sinner, lamenting that he could not live long enough to get hold of a genuine Caxton and rip the initial page out of it. The *bibliotaph* buries books; not literally, but sometimes as effectually as if he had put them underground. One sort hoards and hides them like a miser, not using them himself nor allowing anybody else to use them. Another because he is homeless, a bachelor, a wanderer, gathers books only to store them here, there, and yonder. This particular bibliotaph used the garret

of a farmhouse and a village store as storing places for his ever-growing collection. In New York he sometimes frequented the "Diner's Own Home," where scriptural advice and practical suggestions were oddly mingled in placards on the walls. One juxtaposition was this: the first sign read, "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly," and the next one, "Look out for your Hat and Coat." To a gentleman, who would be sixty years of age the following day and who had taken life heartily, he suggested that this message be sent: "You don't look it, but you've lived like it." A certain book-hunter, we are told, found in Montana a Fourth Folio of Shakespeare, with the autograph of William Shakespeare pasted in it, and since then, when he hears some one express a desire for a copy of Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*, or any other rare book of Elizabeth's time, he smiles and says, "If I could get away I'd run out to Montana and try to pick up a copy for you." Here is a part description given of this bibliotaph: "He was a kind of gigantic and Olympian schoolboy, loving-hearted, bountiful, wholesome, and sterling to the core." Mr. Vincent describes felicitously certain authors who write books but do not make literature; who are authors by their own will and not by gift or grace of God; and whose labored writing is so manifestly done with sweat of brow that one may say of them, as Augustine Birrell said of Professor Freeman and the Bishop of Chester, that they are horny-handed sons of toil and worthy of their wage. In the essay on Thomas Hardy is this: "Ask a man of average morals and attainments why he doesn't go to church. You won't know any better after he has given you his answer. But ask Nat Chapman (a character in one of Hardy's books), and you will not be troubled with ambiguities. He doesn't like to go because Mr. Torkingham's sermons make him think of soul-saving and other uncomfortable topics. So when the son of Torkingham's predecessor asks Nat how it goes with him, that tiller of the soil promptly answers: "Pa'son Tarkenham do tease a feller's conscience that much, that church is no holler-day at all to the limbs as it was in yer reverent father's time." This reminds us of an Episcopalian minister in Connecticut of whose faithful prophesying a somewhat bibulous lawyer said, "I like to hear preaching, I enjoy it for its intellectual interest and stimulus. But that man makes things so hot for me that I declare I can't stand it." At the same place and about the same time a colored hack driver, who was a communicant in that church, said one Monday morning to a vestryman whom he drove to the railway station, "How'd ye like de sermon yist'd'y mornin', Mr. De Z. ?" "Yes, sah, yes, sah ! Putty plain preachin', sah. De cushins in dat church is putty comfable, but I tell ye, dar was a good many folks dar yist'd'y dat couldn't keep still. Dey kep a squirmin' and a squirmin' and a squirmin'. Yes, sah; dey did." Of the note of melancholy in Hardy's writings our author says: "No man can apprehend life aright and still look upon it as a carnival. He may attain serenity in respect to it, but he can never be jaunty

and flippant. He can never slap life on the back and call it by familiar names. He may hold that the world is indisputably growing better, but he will need to admit that it is having a hard time in so doing." In the essay on "Letters of John Keats" is Keats's statement concerning the daring of his most ambitious efforts: "I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest." The essay, "An Elizabethan Novelist," informs us that Ruskin said that Miss Edgeworth had made virtue so obnoxious that since her time one had hardly dared express the slightest bias in favor of the Ten Commandments. Mr. Vincent offers us an offhand test with which to determine whether or no a given book is literature. "Can you imagine Charles Lamb in the act of reading that book? If you can, it's literature; if you can't, it isn't." The essay, "A Fairminded Man," has for its subject Dr. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, who says that the only person in Leeds who took any interest in the scientific experiments he was carrying on with vials and tubes and retorts and mice and plants was Mr. Hey, a surgeon and a zealous Methodist, who encouraged Priestley's science but combated his theology. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Priestley: "There is one improvement which I wish to see, the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats." A resident of the present "Wide-open" New York suspects a vein of humor in the Tammany Society on reading its description of itself as "a numerous body of freemen, who associate to cultivate among themselves the love of liberty and the enjoyment of the happy republican government under which they live." Priestley was distressed at the widespread infidelity in America at the time of his visit here in 1794, and wondered to find the lawyers almost universally unbelievers. Getting hold of Paine's *Age of Reason*, he said: "It is the weakest and most absurd as well as the most arrogant of anything I have yet seen." The extracts we have made show that Mr. Vincent has given us an extremely racy and vivacious book, which he dedicates with love and admiration to his father, Rev. Dr. B. T. Vincent. The bright volume closes with two charming chapters on "Stevenson: The Vagabond and the Philosopher," and "Stevenson's St. Ives."

Among the Forces. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, author of *Recreations in Astronomy*, *The Bible in the World's Education*, etc. 12mo, pp. 197. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

A sober judge says correctly that "natural philosophy in its larger features was never more attractively set before the young mind than in these sketches." These stories about the forces of nature and their operation in accordance with natural laws, while scientifically correct and instructive, are as wonderful and fascinating as *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. But the book is not a juvenile, albeit it should be in every Epworth League or Sunday school library and in every home circle of young people; nor is its purpose limited to expositions of nat-

ural philosophy. Its sublimity, sweep, and splendor will give to the noblest minds elevation, expansion, and exhilaration. To Bishop Warren always things visible, however exquisite, magnificent, stupendous, are intimations of, and ladders up to, the greater wonders of the unseen universe. Watching with awe and ecstasy the play of mighty forces, he sees and shows that all this power and infinitely more belongeth unto God. His unfailing intellectual and spiritual jubilance imparts a healthy buoyancy of soul and sends up a perpetual Alleluia to Him who sitteth on the throne of power and glory and dominion. Whatever path his thought pursues through the wide creation, he goes exulting on his way with a robust, athletic, masculine joyousness. These brilliant chapters tell of The Man who Needed 452,696 Barrels of Water, The Sun's Great Horses, Moon Helps, Star Helps, Helps from Insensible Seas, The Fairy Gravitation, The Help of Inertia, Plant Help, Gas Help, Natural Affection of Metals for Liquids and Gases and for One Another, Creations Now in Progress, Some Curious Behaviors of Atoms, Mobility of Seeming Solids, The Next World to Conquer, Sea Sculpture, and The Power of Vegetable Life. Then there are mountaineering experiences in the Alps, which take the reader to Zermatt, the Riffelberg, the Gorner Grat, up Monte Rosa, up and down the Matterhorn, with all the zest of an enthusiast in mountain climbing, all the knowledge of a natural scientist, and all the vision of an intellectual seer. In the chapters on the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River and the Yellowstone Park Geysers the wonders of American scenery are described in a style which would delight the soul of John Ruskin. The volume closes with what one hardly knows whether to call a scientific discussion or a sublime sermon on Spiritual Dynamics, and with that uplifted argument, projected into eternity, which we printed first in the *Methodist Review* in November, 1896, entitled "When this World is Not." An impressive scientific experiment illustrative of the enormous power of vegetable life is described as follows: "In the Agricultural College at Amherst, Mass., a squash of the yellow Chili variety was put in harness in 1874 to see how much it would lift by its power of growth. It was not an oak or mahogany tree, but a soft, pulpy, squashy squash that one could poke his finger into, nourished through a soft succulent vine that one could mash between finger and thumb. The growing squash was confined in an open harness of iron and wood, and the amount lifted by the expanding squash was indicated by weights on the lever over the top. There were, including seventy nodal roots, more than eighty thousand feet of roots and rootlets. These roots increased one thousand feet in twenty-four hours. They were afforded every advantage by being grown in a hot-bed. On August 21 the squash lifted sixty pounds. By September it lifted a ton. On October 24 it carried over two tons. It grew gnarled like an oak, and its substance was almost as compact as mahogany. Its inner cavity was very small, but it perfectly elaborated its seeds, as usual. The lever which indicated the weight had to be changed for stronger ones from time

to time. More weights were sought. They scurried through the town and got an anvil and pieces of railroad iron and hung them at varying distances on the lever to measure the lifting force. By October 31 the squash was carrying a weight of five thousand pounds. Then, owing to defects in the new contrivance, the rind was broken through without showing what might have been done under better conditions. Every particle of the squash had to be added and find itself elbow room under this tremendous pressure. Such is the power of vegetable life. Life will always assert itself." The account of this experiment is followed with a characteristic reflection: "No wonder that the Lord, seeking some form of speech to represent his power in human souls, says, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches.' The tremendous strength of infinite life surges up through the vine and out into all the branches that are really vitally attached. No wonder that much fruit is expected, and that one who knew most of this imparted power said, 'I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.'" An informing and illuminating book Bishop Warren has given us. Let everybody read it!

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850. By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE. Illustrated with maps. In two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 486, 520. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $5.

These volumes suggest to the reader that there are different methods of writing history. The author who prepares text-books in this department for elementary schools and academies must dwell, from the necessities of the case, upon the stirring incidents of exploration, settlement, and warfare; he must describe in graphic words the personality and the deeds of great leaders; and he must linger at length upon all the other concrete incidents which go to make up early national records. But there are other historians—and their work is none the less necessary—who write for the advanced students of great historical movements, and who in this service are untrammeled by the necessity of the pictorial or rigidly chronological method of treatment. To this latter class Mr. Thorpe belongs, and in the volumes now under notice he has evidently made a valuable contribution to the historical literature of his times. His work, as he informs us, "contains the evidence of changes—and, it is believed, of progress—in the ideas and opinions which the American people have held respecting the principles, the organization, and the administration of their civil institutions. It is a record of the evolution of government in this country since the Revolution, and it rests upon authorities hitherto almost entirely disregarded." Of the genesis of government upon these Western shores and the practical necessities which influenced the nature of that government he has much to say at the outset, some of his words being as follows: "Democracy in America is the resultant of Roman, Celtic, and Teutonic ideas. It is a civil composite. Its evolu-

tion is recorded in a series of political adjustments. . . . No American colony broke wholly with the past. The necessity for unrestricted labor compelled a democracy. Had the vast area now comprised within the United States been occupied at the time of its discovery by Europeans by a wealth-accumulating people, however civilized, who permitted European conquest, the conquerors would not have set up a democracy; the Mississippi valley would have repeated the story of Mexico and Peru. Had gold or silver abounded in New England, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, the evolution of democracy on the Atlantic seaboard would have been retarded for centuries. Had the mechanical devices familiar now in lumbering, in mining, in manufacturing, and in agriculture been familiar to the world at the opening of the seventeenth century, democracy in America would still be a matter of political speculation." The relative value of the agriculturist and the manufacturer was furthermore a determining factor in the evolution of democracy. The views of Thomas Jefferson on this value received wide acceptance in the earlier years of our national life. "Accepted without modification they would have held America in a purely agricultural condition. Agriculture and manufactures together have determined the evolution of our institutions. With agricultural institutions slavery was identified, but it could never be identified with manufactures. . . . The most eloquent defenders of slavery were fond of describing the agricultural condition as the ideal state of society. . . . The slaveholding States steadily and successfully resisted all efforts to introduce manufactures among them, and as steadily sought to maintain an agricultural homogeneity which, it must be admitted, was economically as inconsistent as it was unnatural. The economic variations determined by the conflicting interests of city and country, of highland regions and lowland regions, explain many provisions in the constitutions of the commonwealths." The mention of Jefferson suggests his views, expressed in the second volume, upon the value of frequent rotation in the judicial office. He says: "In England, where judges were named and were removed by the will of the hereditary executive, from which branch most was feared and had flowed, it was a great point gained by fixing them for life, by making them independent of that executive; but in a government founded on the popular will this principle operates in a different direction, and against that will we have made them independent of the nation itself. . . . Let the office of judges be for four or for six years; this will bring their conduct at regular periods under revision and probation. We have erred on that point by copying England, where certainly it is a great thing to have judges independent of the government. That there should be public functionaries independent of the nation is an aphorism of the republic." The deep philosophy in this reasoning is no less impressive in these last days, and certainly has its application to short terms of service in other departments besides the legal. The origin of local self-government is traced by Mr. Thorpe as follows: "Local government was passed over by the eighteenth century

constitutions, and was but slightly touched on by those made during the first half of the nineteenth. It was largely a matter of custom or of legislation. In the older States local organization had already been established when their first constitutions were in process of formation. In the North the organization was of the town or township type; in the South, of the county. Town or county government was not an issue at the time of the Revolution. That affected local government only indirectly. The issue was popular government *versus* monarchy, the civil *versus* the military idea in government. America was then a democracy of farmers." The contrast between the Northern and the Southern bar is told as follows: "At the North, although there was less learning at the bar, yet there was a larger practice. Economic conditions there tended to foster the eloquence of abbreviated speech. In Kentucky most of the white men of the county gathered at the courthouses to hear the lawyers discuss an exciting case; in New York the people were too seriously engaged in working their farms, in attending their stores, or in managing their factories to spend their time in listening to the trial of causes. The legal profession was less influential in the North than in the South." Immigration before the year 1820 was but imperfectly tabulated; in 1850 "less than one tenth of the population was foreign born." With the close of the first half of the century "the foreign-born population of the country was not sufficient in numbers to cause any marked change in the organization of local government, or to influence constitutional conventions to introduce provisions in the supreme law affecting the status of persons of foreign birth. To this, however, there is one exception of great moment—the extension of the suffrage. By the modification of suffrage qualifications persons of foreign birth were enabled in some States to vote as soon as they had declared their intention to become citizens." Of the national growth to 1850 Mr. Thorpe concludes as follows: "It was a half century of improvement; of increase of domestic comforts; of more humane treatment of the insane, the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the criminal classes. Legislation in restraint of crime, too long vindictive in its purposes, was becoming remedial. Legislatures were compelled to provide educational opportunities for the poor. Slavery was losing its grasp; freedom was pervading the Territories and overspreading the States. Public sentiment, conscience-stricken, was turning helpfully toward the fugitive slave and the free negro, but it was in defiance of custom, laws, and constitution. Seventy-five years had passed since the great Declaration. They were years of hopeful effort to realize its principles." From these fragmentary quotations may be learned the nature of Mr. Thorpe's work. As a philosophical analysis of our history to 1850 it is at once strong and clear. The grouping of topics in some of his chapters is sometimes inconsistent with the caption of those chapters. Yet this is a defect that does not greatly mar the sterling excellence of his work. The indications of patient research are upon every page, and the reader can but wish for the speedy issue of a

supplemental volume tracing the further developments in our national life from 1850 to the close of the century.

Jerusalem the Holy. A Brief History of Ancient Jerusalem; with an Account of the Modern City and its Conditions, Political, Religious, and Social. With fifteen illustrations from photographs, and four maps. By EDWIN SHERMAN WALLACE, Late United States Consul for Palestine. Crown 8vo, pp. 359. New York, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author of this work rightly assumes that Jerusalem is a city of world-wide interest. "How many times," says he, "has it been described! How many volumes of travel by the amateur and professional tourists make a specialty of the Jerusalem chapter! How many letters to religious and other papers in every Christian land tell the story of the city as it now is! The number of such publications proves that the reading public has been interested in the subject." Nor does the present volume lessen the feeling as to the unique place of the city among the famous centers of human population. As there has been but one Palestine there can be but one Jerusalem in the history of mortal existence until the new Jerusalem descends out of heaven, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." Conceding in the spirit of his volume this exalted rank to Jerusalem, Mr. Wallace writes as an eyewitness of its present life. For five years, in the exercise of his official duties as United States Consul, he was favored with the privilege of permanent residence in the Holy City and the consequent opportunity for full scriptural and antiquarian research. That he put to such a diligent use this rare advantage will be to his many readers a cause for satisfaction. His volume, as a consequence of this long residence in Jerusalem, has the quality of vivid description which makes for interest and instruction. The traditions, topography, customs, and outlook of the Holy City are all included within the compass of his treatment. Its streets and gates, its walls and surrounding hills, its industries and its motley population are all so concreted before the reader that, had he no other book of reference, he would gain no inadequate idea of modern Jerusalem from this painstaking work. Nor does the author write in a spirit of undue subservience to the traditions of Palestine. He thinks for himself, and has a reason for his conclusions, if they are not in harmony with local beliefs. For illustration, his caution in the identification of the localities of famous scriptural events on the testimony of tradition is expressed in his chapter on "The New, or Gordon's, Calvary." A single quotation will suffice to show this disposition. He writes: "Concerning the holy sites of the Holy City anyone has the right to ask why this one is located here or that one there. If the answer given is not satisfactory he has the right to doubt or disbelieve. For instance, when one sees hundreds of Russian pilgrims kneeling devoutly and kissing reverently a spot on the rock on the eastern slope of Mount Moriah, just near where the Jericho road turns to cross the brook Kedron, and is informed that here is where St. Stephen was stoned, he has a right to question the reason for

this localization. The evidence of an old tradition proves nothing. The place of Jewish capital punishment being known and St. Stephen having suffered that punishment, there is no reason to seek another place for his death than the one used commonly in his day. How or when the tradition assigned the event to the spot outside of the present St. Stephen Gate is a matter of no moment. The tradition is groundless. A tradition just as groundless has for fifteen centuries affirmed that the two most momentous facts in Christian history took place on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. To the one whom tradition satisfies this is enough. The one who accepts the *dicta* of the Church without dispute reasons that, as the Church has maintained these two sites during these centuries, he has no right to doubt their genuineness. Had the Church never been mistaken, had she never been compelled to change her position, such acquiescence might be given by even a greater number than now. But, so long as the Church is made up of human creatures dependent upon human judgment, there are those who will refuse absolutely to acknowledge her infallibility. This will be so especially in matters unessential to salvation, to which class certainly belongs the localization of any event connected with the life or death of our Lord." The glimpse of modern Jerusalem which Mr. Wallace gives in his chapter, "The City as it Is To-day," is full of quaint instruction. The reader is impressed, among all else, with the lack of nineteenth century appliances among those Eastern Jews and the general spirit of mediæval conservatism that obtains as to the introduction of the newer inventions. "Street illumination," for instance, "is still in its infancy. In the entire city there are twenty-eight small oil lamps stuck up here and there on the sides of the houses. They are uncared for, and on a dark night do nothing more than indicate that they are lighted. To believe that they do anything in the way of lessening the gloom is a freak of imagination. American companies wish to put in electric lights if the way is clear. But it is not; several insurmountable barriers intervene." And among these hindrances are Turkish opposition and the fact that the investment would not pay. Nor has the Turk, in his fear of electricity in all forms, any need for the telephone. An American missionary having had a telephone sent to him was forbidden by the authorities to put it in service. "Such an innovation could not be allowed unless he had an order from the sultan. He had no such order, and was in no mood to pay the sum necessary to obtain it. The telephone has been lying unused for several years." The concluding chapters of Mr. Wallace's book are important to those who are concerned as to the outlook for Jerusalem and Palestine. They are entitled: "The Jews in Jerusalem," "The Christians in Jerusalem," "The Moslems," and finally, "The Future of Jerusalem." In the last chapter the author commits himself to the belief in the return of the Jews to Palestine. "The land is waiting," he writes, "the people are ready to come, and will come as soon as protection to life and property is assured. I am

ready to go further and say that the coming inhabitants will be Jews. This must be accepted, or the numerous prophecies that assert it so positively must be thrown out as worthless. . . . The present movements among Jews in many parts of the world indicate their belief in the prophetic assertions. Their eyes are turning toward the land that once was theirs, and their hearts are longing for the day when they, as a people, can dwell securely in it. . . . Anyone desiring to know the millennial future of Jerusalem can find it described on many pages of the inspired word. The only legitimate method for the interpretation of the various allusions to that future city is the natural one, that is, to take just what is there said as it is said, and attempt neither to add to nor detract from the statements." This outline will suffice to give a general impression as to the scope and purpose of Mr. Wallace's volume. It is not a compilation of hasty and inadequate generalizations by some tourist sojourning in Jerusalem for a day and thence departing to talk with oracular utterance of the Holy City. Nor is it too voluminous for easy use. But the author has rather aimed "to combine completeness with brevity, and thus to place in the hands of those who are interested in this city of sacred memories and holy sites a book of such facts as are ascertainable."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Eminent Missionary Women. By MRS. J. T. GRACEY. Introductory notes by Mrs. Joseph Cook and Mrs. S. L. Keen. 12mo, pp. 215. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

No history of Christian missions is fully written that does not include the story of the sacrifices made by consecrated womanhood for the sake of the Gospel. Mrs. Gracey's volume of biographical sketches is a just tribute of praise to the workers she enumerates. In number they are twenty-eight. In location some of them labored for the great cause on this side of the ocean, but were no less truly missionary in spirit than others who went as torchbearers into the darkness of India, Africa, and China. In denomination they belonged to different faiths, Ann Wilkins, Mary Reed, Beulah Woolston, and Clara A. Swain, M.D., being the representatives of the Methodist Episcopal Church whose life-stories are outlined. The book "represents the several classes of work which women have been able to conduct on the field—educational, evangelistic, literary, medical, or eleemosynary"—and is calculated to meet a felt need in missionary information. The stories of "toil, danger, loneliness, endurance, patience" which it contains, place a new crown upon the brow of Christian woman. As in the past she is to continue an integral and successful factor in Gospel work—until the kingdom comes.

A Memorial of a True Life. A Biography of Hugh McAllister Beaver. By ROBERT E. SPEER. 12mo, pp. 308. New York, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The subject of this memoir was descended from an honored family in Pennsylvania, was the son of a recent governor of the State, and was

surrounded by those rare home and school influences which are enriching the age with noble illustrations of American manhood. Responsive to his opportunities he grew into an unusual symmetry and perfection. As a college student he was of pronounced Christian usefulness, and in his short years as a graduate was the means of help and blessing to many. His yearning for the deep things of God, his deadness to the world, his sweetness of life, and his expressions of rare intimacy with his Lord gave him rank with those seraphic spirits that now and then live on the earth to show stumbling and sordid men the possibilities of grace. A memorial service was held for him in Northfield, where he had been a worker, at which meeting Mr. Moody said that no other visitors among them had left such impressions as Hugh Beaver and Professor Drummond. His early departure is another of those mysteries over which many Christian workers grieve and which they may not understand.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons for 1899. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 392. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

We believe it to be the plain unexaggerated truth that this book is the best of all helps to the study of the lessons for the year. With the rich abundance of its original and selected comments, methods of teaching, illustrative stories, practical applications, notes on Eastern life, library references, maps, tables, pictures, and diagrams, nothing seems lacking that anyone could need or desire.

One Thousand Questions and Answers Concerning the Methodist Episcopal Church, its History, Government, Doctrines, and Usages, including the Origin, Polity, and Progress of All Other Methodist Bodies. By HENRY WHEELER, D.D., author of *Methodism and the Temperance Reformation*, etc. 12mo, pp. 239. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

It is often easier to ask than to answer questions. Dr. Wheeler is not one, however, who has perpetrated a series of conundrums for the delectation of the reader in an idle hour. In serious purpose, if in an unusual manner, he has here prepared a worthy outline of our denominational history, doctrines, and polity. No volume of its kind can be edited without a most patient and long-continued gathering of information from many sources; and because of its encyclopedic character it is the more deserving of notice. As a handbook of information for such organizations as our Sunday schools and Epworth Leagues it should go forth upon a large mission of usefulness.

The Wondrous Cross and Other Sermons. By DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D., Pastor of the Collegiate Church at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street, New York. 12mo, pp. 351. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Dr. Burrell ranks among the most influential preachers of his city. These discourses are scholarly and strong, and ring with evangelistic appeals to men. The world needs more of such earnest preaching as the new century opens.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1899.

ART. I.—THE CONSTRUCTIVE VALUE OF HISTORY AND SCIENCE.

THE most evident characteristic of the present age, considered as an era in the history of thought, is its transitional character. Following the stormy close of the eighteenth century, and sharing as well in the questions fundamental to all modern thought, the period in which the men of to-day are living has inherited from the past a burden of unsolved problems heavy enough to form the entire load of any single age. But the decades that have intervened since the end of the revolutionary epoch have bred new questions of their own; so that, in an especial sense, our time has become one of those periods of ferment in which old forms of thought, no longer able to satisfy the spirit of the age, give place to new ones, or pass gradually over into these.

Nevertheless, it would be serious error to conclude that the forces now at work in the thought of the world are exclusively destructive. Probably there has never been an era of transition of which such a statement would hold good. For not only are elements of positive thinking present in every age when negation appears to be in control, but skeptical movements are comparatively powerless unless the tendencies which make for the rejection of accepted opinions have in them the vigor proceeding from new constructive principles. This is especially true of the revolutions which have taken place in human thinking since the wane of the mediæval systems.*

* See "Typical Eras of Skepticism," by the writer, *Methodist Review*, September-October, 1897, pp. 770, 771, 774, 775.

The leaders of the Reformation advanced with rapid strides from their denial of allegiance to the pope to the formation of a new religious body; the founders of modern science and modern philosophy, free for the most part from the agnostic despair of later times, believed that they were substituting more stable and fruitful forms of thought for those whose lack of value had at length become patent. A conspicuous feature of the skepticism of the eighteenth century in France is the potency of modern science and the mechanical view of the world, when carried out in all their implications by a people whose logic does not shrink back from even the most extreme conclusions. And the same principle will be found to apply to the present age. The fact, indeed, is obscured by the unique relation existing between the positive and the negative tendencies of the forces by which the thought of our time is molded. Never in the history of human thinking have principles of constructive value in their own sphere been applied with so destructive purpose in other departments of reflection; never, for instance, have men been so confident that they possess settled truth within the region of sense-experience and so doubtful whether truth is even attainable in the region of transcendent speculation. Yet, as the age passes on from its earlier to its later stages, it becomes less possible either to ignore the existence of fruitful positive forces beneath and behind the negative movements, or to confine the effect of these within the limits of the region where their work began. Science still leads on to philosophy as of old; the exigencies of social and political, as well as of individual, life continue to demand an ethic, albeit certain dominant developments of contemporary opinion have little of an ethical sort to offer; religion refuses to accept the sentence of condemnation passed upon it, or even to stay dead in hearts where it has been crushed down.

Prominent among the forces effective in the production of contemporary forms of thought has been the historical spirit. The nineteenth century is preeminently an historical age—an age in which historical studies have engrossed the attention of scholars, and, more notably still, a period marked by the application of the principles of historical development in explain-

ing the genesis of the most various human institutions. The beginnings of this interest in historical investigation go farther back, indeed, than the opening of the present age. There is a sense in which it might with truth be urged that the eighteenth century, also, was characterized by interest in the experience of the past, and even that the leaders of that age made use of the lessons of history, as they understood them, in their endeavors to meet the needs of their time. Illustrations of these positions are easy to cite from among the ranks of the destructive schools themselves. Voltaire wrote histories, as well as satires and lampoons. Montesquieu based his *Spirit of Laws* on the historical parallels of national life, as well as on the current conceptions of nature and of man. Rosseau winged his shafts with comparisons drawn from the democracies of antiquity. The revolutionary assemblies prated of Greece and Rome in their headlong debates, and sought to dignify the government of reason by aping pagan festivals. In Britain, Hume would be remembered for his *History of England*, though we did not have his essays and his philosophical writings to keep his fame alive; and it is but a short time since that the whole English-speaking world was busy in celebrating the centenary of the appearance of the *Memoirs* of the author of the *Decline and Fall*. Thus, though the historic spirit is rightly counted a special characteristic of the present age, it must not be supposed that the current devotion to historical methods of thought sprung up without preparation in the century that preceded our own.

There are two points, however, which serve to distinguish the historical spirit of this age from that of earlier times. The first of these is the better development of the methods of historical investigation. The methods of minute research which have shown themselves so fruitful in other fields of inquiry have been welcomed by historical scholars as potent instruments in the solution of their peculiar problems. Never before has the inquiry into the facts of history been pursued with so persistent determination, and never have the facts when ascertained been utilized so sacredly in the formation of historical conclusions. As the physical scientist observes and experiments in his laboratory or in the fields, as he tests and measures and

weighs, so the productive leaders of historical study in this age go back to the primary sources of information. Animated by a spirit of exact investigation, they make long journeys in order to become eyewitnesses of the scenes of historic events; they study the monuments to recover the annals of early civilizations; they ransack old libraries and bring the facts to light which lie hidden in the time-stained records of the past; they burrow in official archives that original State papers may be made to yield their secrets; and they apply the criteria of critical interpretation to the *data* when they have thus been gathered, in order that the *prima facie* bearing of the evidence may be sifted by the strictest tests. In short, the historian of to-day differs from the annalist of the past as much by his patient investigation of the phenomena of history as by his endeavor to view his results in those larger connections which the mind of the annalist was entirely unfitted to grasp.

If the influence of historical inquiry on the progress of nineteenth-century opinion stopped here, however, its importance would scarcely be sufficient to compel its enumeration among the controlling forces of the age. It is not because history has interested us for its own sake that it has gained a foremost place in our thinking, or even—though here its effect has been very great—because, like history in every age, it enforces lessons bearing on the questions of political and civil society. The strongest attraction that it presents to the minds of contemporary thinkers is to be found in the proffer of itself as a means for the solution of the most varied and most pressing problems. This conception was for the most part foreign to the thought of the eighteenth century. Reflective minds were then too often governed by the same delusion that had misled their Athenian predecessors of the fifth century before the Christian era. As the latter believed that government was the invention of tyrants for the better oppression of the subject, and religion and morals devices of the ruler, abetted by the priest, for the further exploitation of his people, so the former proceeded on the assumption that institutions could be created at a stroke, or that at least they were possible products of artificial making. The State was held to be the result of a compact. In social life, as well as in individual conduct, a return must be made to

the state of nature. Religion was to be purified from the corrupting additions which had been engrafted on the primitive rational faith. In general, on the basis of the new ideas, a complete reform of human institutions was to be undertaken, in the unhesitating belief that the world stood on the threshold of a second golden age. It is the result, in part, of the failure of these brilliant dreams that the thinking of our later age rejects the assumptions on which the work of its predecessor was founded. No longer do we believe that institutions are created out of hand; and at least the calmer heads among us are doubtful concerning man's capacity to better his condition by making all things new. In place of the conviction that institutions have sprung from single deeds, on the part of leading individuals, or on the part of society as a whole, there has been substituted the belief that, like all things else, they are the outcome of a process of growth. In this way the point of view is essentially changed, the method of historical inquiry issuing in the method of genetic explanation. This first watchword of the new time has been well phrased in the title of a work by a well-known American historian and philosopher.* Not merely the destiny of men, but the nature and destiny of all things, are now studied in the light of their origin. Biological science has been revolutionized by a theory of the genesis of species. The final origin of law and custom is sought in the habits of the tribe. The source, if not always the sanction, of moral principles is discovered in the conditions of social health and progress. The great debate concerning religion and theology takes on new forms; for assailant and apologist alike view the subject from a more reasonable position than that which formed the vantage ground of the old antagonists, the questions at issue being discussed no longer as disconnected phenomena to be considered in detail, but in connection with the principle of growth, ultimately in connection with the development of impulses deeply embedded in man's essential nature. Society as a whole is looked on as an organism, subject, like organisms at large, to the laws of evolution. In fine, if the method of genetic explanation was undervalued or ignored in the last age, in this it has become a foremost factor.

* Fiske, *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of his Origin.*

To the exaggerations of the genetic method obvious objection may be taken. First, when it is said that the method of historical or genetic explanation constitutes a constructive force in recent thinking it may be rejoined that, so far from restoring the principles of intellectual and religious belief which of late have been called in question, it raises certain of these difficulties in an acute form. Secondly, in opposition to the confident reliance on the method as the weapon for a successful attack on all kinds of problems, it has often been urged that, after all, the question of origin is one thing and the question of nature and meaning other and different from this. And it must be admitted that these criticisms have considerable weight. In fact, they might be stated still more forcibly and retain their cogency; for it is undeniable that the results of the historical method, especially when it has been made a sort of universal instrument, have contributed as few things else to the transitional character of the age in which we live. The generation is but just passing, for instance, to which Darwinian evolution appeared to undermine the foundations of all religious, if not of all ethical, truth; while the idea of development in general holds so prominent a place in present opinion that the men of the day are liable to forget that, quite before Darwin or Spencer had begun his work, Hegel, among others, announced the principle of continuity with such distinctness and power that many of the questions which it affects—for example, the question of the natural and the supernatural—received a formulation decisive for their critical discussion ever since.

In estimating the force of this objection, however, it is important to consider the question of relative values. No one who understands the history of the times can ignore the destructive influence of the principle under consideration. But when inquiry takes a broader sweep it is clear that in thought, as elsewhere, nothing can be gained without the payment of the purchase price; and that, in times of doubt, especially, all forward movements are liable to involve a heavy outlay. The point at issue is not whether the historical spirit of the age has been one source of the perplexities under which our thinking labors, nor even, when its constructive influence is recognized,

whether it tends to rebuild the intellectual edifice in strict accordance with the old designs; for it needs but slight acquaintance with the progress of human thinking to reveal the truth that exact reconstruction is in the matters of the spirit an impossible dream. Whatever advantages may accrue to thought from the new method of inquiry, it is implied in the very statement of the principle that neither its recasting of old problems nor the fresh solutions which it offers for them can carry us back to the positions occupied before our searching, doubting age began. The sole question to be answered is whether in this case, also, as in the olden time, Out of the eater shall come forth meat? And to this question there can be but one reply. The historical spirit of the century and the method of genetic explanation have not only introduced a radical change in the premises from which reflective thought proceeds, and from which in the future it must continue to take its departure, but, in spite of the furtherance given to negative movements, they constitute an intellectual force of distinct constructive worth in an age when constructive principles are few and far to seek.

Concerning the second of the objections mentioned, a still clearer answer is possible, although it is one which will encounter more dissent. In brief, it may be said that the movement in question is one of the highest importance, but that, like others of a similar kind, it lends itself to grave exaggeration when it is made exclusive. After a considerable period of controversy and confusion it has become plain that in the genetic method and the principle of development the thinking of this age has gained a notable and permanent addition to the intellectual possessions of the race. Denial of their value or resistance to their influence in the large means opposition to the onward progress of thought—an attitude, it need scarcely be remarked, certain in the end to bring disaster on the individuals and institutions that adopt it. Moreover, the claim of the ardent advocates of these principles, that a readjustment of accepted conclusions is necessary in view of the new discoveries, is also to be admitted; nay, further, it is to be recognized that this revision has for some time been actually going on in various departments of thought, for no new movement of such

scope and bearing can fail greatly to alter the course of human thinking so soon as its truth begins to be apparent. It is just this success of these views, however, that in large measure has conditioned their misapplication Their essential novelty, in spite of manifold anticipations since reflective thought began, their marvelous triumphs, and their great fruitfulness when properly employed have so impressed the thinkers of the age that not a few seem to act as though they were exclusive and universal truth. But, if this be so, our age will indeed be memorable as a revolutionary epoch in the history of thought. For up to the present time, at least, no one principle or group of principles has proven of so preeminent importance that it has deserved to be made the sole criterion of truth to the entire transformation or rejection of the intellectual achievements of preceding ages. Happily the error is one which brings its own corrective. The buoyant optimism which extends a new theory beyond the limits of its legitimate application itself supplies the opportunity for the restriction of the doctrine within due bounds. Thus it is in the case before us. As plainly as the student of contemporary opinion discerns the influence and the value of the principles under discussion, so plainly does he perceive that the hour of their first acceptance is to be followed, or rather is already beginning to be followed, by that inevitable process of criticism which gradually separates the elements of permanent worth in new systems from the elements of error and incompleteness that they are sure to contain until man's thinking shall have reached its final goal. In this way, it may well be believed, the thought of later times will reap the benefits from these discoveries of our own, while escaping the various dangers which for us have entered in their train.

A second formative influence in recent thinking has proceeded from natural science. It is a common opinion that the nineteenth century is beyond all others a century of science. But, although this conclusion is for the most part certainly true, in two respects it is open to limitation. In the first place, the early decades of the century were distinguished by perhaps the boldest and, for the time, the most successful development of speculative philosophy that the world has ever

known ; and, secondly, although this was replaced by the dominant scientific movement of the time, our age is not the only one in which abstract thought has felt the weight of scientific control. It would be an idle task to balance the relative importance of modern German thought from Kant to Hegel with that of other leading schools of philosophy, especially the school of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in Greece, with which it is most natural to compare the later movement; but, in order to understand the trend of nineteenth-century thinking at all, it is essential to recognize the prominence of the Kantio-Hegelian speculation alike in the order of time and by any of its effects. Even the gulf which intervenes between the view of the world which prevailed in the days of the Hegelian supremacy and the favorite opinions of the present time should not be allowed to conceal the lines of connection that joined the earlier mode of thinking with the new. History and science—the two formative forces which have come into view in this inquiry—united, it is true, to precipitate the downfall of the Hegelian system. But history, as we have already noted, and the historical method drew much of the inspiration for their larger achievements from the metaphysics against which their polemic directed its attack; while, if the relation between idealism and natural science was in the main a relation of misunderstanding and contempt on both sides, it is at least to be noted that more than one German scientist of the succeeding period received his early intellectual quickening through the influence of the school which his developed scientific consciousness compelled him to abandon. In the case of the precursors of other intellectual movements prominent in this age the truth is still more clear. With singular shortsightedness we discuss many burning questions of the day as though they never before had crossed the threshold of human thinking ; believing, for example, that the problems of biblical criticism are a new and portentous product of our own time, in forgetfulness alike of the development of rationalistic criticism during the second half of the eighteenth century and the tremendous reinforcement which criticism received from the antisupernaturalistic tendency inherent in the idealistic principles. Thus, in particular, we examine the Pentateuch and the pro-

phetical books as our fathers examined the New Testament writings; or we argue *pro* and *con* about the views of Kuenen and Wellhausen and Cheyne and Driver and their fellow-critics, half unconscious of Strauss and Baur and the *Tübinger*, as well as of the speculative genius who furnished the abstract background for many of their critical theories.

On the other hand, the scientific coloring of contemporary thought is not unique in the history of opinion. Our century is no doubt the greatest scientific century, but it is not the only one. The scientific influence which has culminated in this age has been characteristic of the modern period as a whole. The revolt from Scholasticism was in large measure due to a demand for the study of the natural world. The leaders of speculation in the seventeenth century felt the influence of the same movement, even when they did not devote themselves specifically to its service. On the border line between the seventeenth century and the eighteenth Locke, for all his underestimation of the certitude of inductive conclusions, echoed the Baconian spirit in its application to mind, and escaped the skeptical consequences of his empiricism by assuming as metaphysical reality the world which physical science had revealed. In the eighteenth century deism derived one motive for its existence from the great discoveries of British science, while the *philosophes* of France found therein the remedy for all sorts of individual and social maladies. In the present century, it is true, the scientific movement has greatly enlarged its boundaries and consolidated its power. In France it has continued to give the keynote to thought. In Germany it first served as the chief agent in undermining the *a priori* systems, and then filled the void by investigations and speculations conducted under its own auspices. In Britain and America it has numbered great names among its votaries, has led to results amazing at once by the insight into nature which they reveal and by the scope of their influence on contemporary opinion, and, allying itself or being allied with the traditional English metaphysics, has given the latter a new lease of power in the world. Nevertheless, this success is a development, not a new creation. The movement has been gathering force since modern thought

began ; if, in our time, its triumphs surpass those it has enjoyed in any previous age, this is simply an evidence of accumulated power which is now asserting itself under especially favorable conditions.

This account of scientific progress accepted, however, it may still be said that in all the victories of the new manner of regarding the world and the new method of prying into its secrets there is much of negation involved; but to such objections the answer lies that in any estimate of natural science two things are always to be distinguished. On the one side are the crucial problems which have been forced upon the modern mind by the outcome of this, its favorite and most successful, form of intellectual endeavor. These few will seek to ignore, but they have been exploited often enough, and they need no repetition here. It is a pleasanter task to turn to the tendencies in scientific thinking which already have reached a happier issue, or that give promise of positive results to come.

Clearly, then, science has created a view of the world which by its certainty, accuracy, and precision, by its fertility in the production of discoveries and its utility in the service of mankind, is entitled to claim the successful realization of the ideals proposed for it by its leaders in the dawning modern age. It has proved successful, also, in the investigation of internal nature, although the mental sciences remain, as perhaps they must continue to remain, inferior in point of completeness and of certitude to the sciences of material fact. Bacon demanded knowledge which should be both certain and useful. That the results of inductive inquiry into natural phenomena approximate the first of these requirements is shown by the fact that the term "science" is often diverted from its etymological and historical significance to denote this special form of research and the conclusions to which it leads. Further, that life has been prolonged and made more valuable through the labors of scientific inquirers; that earth, air, and sea have been brought more fully under man's control; that the material conditions of individual existence have been made less arduous, and the material progress of society aided—these are facts evident to all. The world, scientific and unscientific alike,

recognizes once more the marvelous expansion of thought which has been gained since the promulgation and adoption of the inductive method of inquiry; while some are more or less clearly aware that the body of accepted scientific principles constitutes a systematic view of the world which, though in itself and strictly interpreted it be no more than a system of correlated truths concerning phenomena, easily passes over into a metaphysical doctrine.

This last item in the success of science has its dangers, as well as its beneficent promise. These deserve greater attention than is commonly devoted to them. But for the present purpose it is more important to notice that science exerts a reflex influence on human thinking, which, as it appears to the writer, is to be reckoned among its greatest achievements. For, in the broad sense of the term, science is a true philosophy; that is to say, its method is based on thought processes and its results lead on to principiant conclusions, even when in themselves they do not amount to definite principles. It is an old error, though one which certain so-called scientists have done their best to keep alive, that scientific work depends upon the exercise of the observational rather than of the rational faculties. The popular mind too often thinks of the scientist as one who peers up through telescopes or down through microscopes, who manufactures queer odors in places called laboratories, or cuts up unfortunate beasts in laboratories of a different sort and name, and who then gives himself to the exact recording of the facts he has observed—the whole process in some mysterious way at times producing practical results of a useful kind, at times tending to subvert the foundations of religious faith. But to the student of scientific method the matter assumes a different aspect. The factors in scientific inquiry which most appeal to his appreciation do not consist in the patient observation and experimentation and the exact recording of the *data* thus obtained, however much he may be disposed to admire the successful devotion with which these necessary operations are performed; rather does he dwell with pleasure on the scientific imagination which strikes out hypotheses fruitful because of their very simplicity and audacity as well as because of the basis of ascertained fact

forming their point of departure; and most of all he is impressed by the scope, by the brilliancy, by the precision in thinking—thinking in the narrower meaning of the term—exhibited by the scientists whose discoveries have made the modern age illustrious. Copernicus and Kepler and Galileo and Newton—to choose a few names from the standpoint of a layman in science—Linnæus and Cuvier and Humboldt, Dalton and Kirchhoff and Bunsen, Helmholtz and Clerk Maxwell, Darwin and Wallace, and the later developers of biological evolution—no mere empirics these, but intellectual leaders in whom patience in research was well mated with the highest powers of correlating thought, synthetic thinkers in the strictest sense, philosophers, if the term be understood to include thinkers of comprehensive grasp and combining faculty, as well as those who give themselves especially to speculative reflection. The case is evident, again, if the results of science be considered, instead of its exponents. The heliocentric astronomy, the theory of gravitation, the atomic analysis of matter, the conservation and correlation of energy, the evolutionary origin of species, the discoveries of solar physics, the germ theory of disease—scientific conclusions like these are principles which bring into connection great masses of facts previously isolated, and which render inference possible to other phenomena distant in time or remote in place.

In consequence of these triumphant labors there has been developed a new ground of confidence in the powers of the human mind. Never before in the history of thought has there been given so impressive an illustration of the capacity of the mind for the discovery of truth. It is especially noteworthy that in no previous era of doubt—the eighteenth century, when also science exerted a constructive effect, alone approximates the present age in this respect—has mankind been in possession of so large and so important a body of accepted conclusions. Thus, amid all the critical questionings of the time, science has exercised a potent steadying influence. Though it has brought into question principles in other departments of thought where our inferences, since they take a wider sweep, are less susceptible of demonstration and less permanently accepted—just as by the rigorous accuracy of its

method it has created standards which these other disciplines are unable to attain—within the limits of its own field it has furnished so striking an instance of the power of thought that the age has been delivered from some of the worst miseries which have beset mankind in other skeptical eras. For, as the writer has remarked elsewhere, the difference between certain forms of ancient skepticism and the agnosticism of to-day is measured by the extent of the imposing edifice of predictable fact and verifiable law in which our science consists. Therefore, whatever be held to be true concerning the possibility of knowledge in the regions of metaphysics and theology, few henceforward will have the hardihood to refuse credence to the conclusions of the sciences of phenomena when they are taken in their strict and proper meaning. Seldom, again, unless science itself should fail, are we likely to hear the wail of the old Greek sophist, "Nothing is," and "If anything were, it would be unknowable," and "If anything were, and were knowable, the knowledge could not be communicated;" for such cries of despair do not go up in times when men are busy in seeking and in finding the secrets which nature has hitherto kept hidden since the world began.

And this element in the thought of the time is great gain. If prophesying were at all in place, one might venture the prediction that later ages will look back with surprise on the failure of so many thinkers of the present time to recognize these positive implications of natural science. Misled, these historians of the future will say, by the conflict between the newly discovered principles and their cherished beliefs, many of the choicest minds of the nineteenth century were blinded to the services which science rendered in saving their age from utter mental despair, in contrast to the votaries of the new learning who, too often, with equal misapprehension of the truth supposed that all man's spiritual need was to be supplied by nourishing his soul on a diet of general laws. Moreover, in addition to their value as a preservative of general mental health, the conclusions of science bear in a positive sense on certain abstract problems which have perplexed modern thought. Berkeley's paradox concerning the external world, for instance, no longer finds its chief non-philosophical antag-

onist in popular opinion, for the realistic assumptions implicit in scientific theory have not merely reinforced the metaphysics of naïve consciousness, but, as science progresses, have made their influence felt in abstract philosophy as well. In a similar way the postulate of a world-order has become intrenched in recent thinking to a very remarkable degree. If Hume himself abated somewhat of his skepticism in favor of everyday life and inductive inquiries, the many thinkers of this later age who have inherited largely of his negative spirit have gone beyond their master, including the principle of uniformity among their somewhat scanty stock of dogmatic beliefs. It is true that philosophy is forced to consider the subject in another aspect, since the question of the world-order for it forms a central and critical problem—a problem, moreover, in whose solution any evidence of an experimental kind is of doubtful validity. But it, too, does not escape the positive impulse which differentiates the agnosticism of the close of the nineteenth century from the skepticism of a hundred and fifty years ago. The argument might be continued further in connection with the recoil from the unbelief of the mid-century to the renewal of interest in philosophical and religious questions which has been characteristic of recent decades. In this movement, also, it would be found that the scientific impulse and the outcome of scientific inquiry have played their important parts. But the discussion, thus developed, would transgress the limits of the present opportunity. Enough has been said, perhaps, to defend the conclusion which to the student of contemporary opinion is abundantly evident. On the one hand, it is clear that natural science, like history, has been a chief instrument in the development of the critical problems of the age and in the genesis of recent doubt; on the other, and like history again, it recoups us in measure for the loss, furnishing a residuum of undoubted value and supplying always an impulse, sometimes a basis, for fresh constructive work.

A. C. Armstrong. Jr.

Art. II.—CARLYLE, TENNYSON, AND BROWNING ON THE FUTURE LIFE.

Perennially interesting are questions concerning death. Does the coffin hold all that there is of man after the pulse is still, or does the redeemed soul go to be forever with the Lord? The Old Testament makes incomplete answer, but the New Testament reveals a glorious life hereafter. Many able men, even at the present day, have not emerged from the dimness and confusion of the Old Testament into the bright sunshine of Corinthians and the clear gospel of John.

Carlyle, Tennyson, and Browning were all religious; not as manifestly so as Milton and Dante, but more so than Keats. Without religion our three contemporaries could not have been nearly all that they were. We do not here discuss the general subject of their religion, but only their attitude toward belief in the future life. The Christian should not be indifferent to the service rendered by imaginative genius to his cause, any more than he should surrender the grounds of his faith in subservience to great names. Every intelligent believer in spiritual things must rejoice that the three men whose names stand above this article did not train in the camp of materialism. Carlyle, Tennyson, and Browning, great in literature, are not, to be sure, authorities on theology any more than Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndall, who are eminent in physical science; yet the Church is not indifferent to the scorn of materialists or the friendliness of literary masters.

The position of Carlyle toward immortality is not satisfactory. This man, who claimed that a miracle was mathematically impossible, naturally never appears to accept the miracle of the resurrection of Jesus. So much the worse for Carlyle, for the proof of the resurrection is so adequate that the acceptance of the testimony is more reasonable than the attitude of incredulity. Beyond question Carlyle was a religious man, but he is almost willful in the way in which he alludes to any attempt to define his faith, or even to afford *data* for a clear surmise of his faith. The idea of God engages much of his thoughts, and (this bears particularly upon the subject in hand)

frequently the thought of man's coming from God and going to God finds solemn expression in his works. But his belief did not bloom into the fullness of the Christian faith. Hallam Tennyson, the son and biographer of the poet, narrates that the Scotchman once put his hand upon the head of the "golden-haired Ally" and blessed him for this world and the next. But many of Carlyle's readers would doubt whether his blessing for the next world meant very much. We are not to look in Carlyle for the precision of a dogmatic theologian, and his independent mind would be the last to attempt to hedge in the indefinable, but the trend of his writings shows that, whatever he thought of the future life, it was not what the Christian thinks. What has he to say of a close fellowship in heaven with the Lord Jesus Christ? A retrogression with his days, moreover, appears in his belief in immortality. The reader of *Sartor Resartus* can find passages that remind one of the fourteenth of John. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Carlyle's faith in the future life never was clear, and grew dimmer with years. Cheerless indeed were the lines that he wrote to Emerson in 1867: "I am as good as without hope and without fear; a gloomily serious, silent, and sad old man, gazing into the final chasm of things in mute dialogue with 'Death, Judgment, and Eternity' (dialogue mute on both sides), not caring to discourse with poor articulate-speaking mortals on their sorts of topics—disgusted with the world and its roaring nonsense, which I have no further thought of lifting a finger to help, and only try to keep out of the way of, and shut my door against." It is matter for a thousand regrets that Carlyle did not come out of his surly gloom into the light of Christian faith and joy with Tennyson and Browning, his contemporary brothers in greatness.

Tennyson was truly a Christian poet, and his treatment of the future life has made him a helper of Christianity. It would appear that he was so alive and favorable to the scientific spirit of his time that he had to pay the cost of sorrow and doubt before he emerged into the restful hope of the soul's undying future. Like every high-souled man, he gave much thought to the subject. But the death of his noble friend, Arthur Hallam, was particularly a ministry of grief

that deepened and made more human the poet who had fallen too much into the love of art for art's sake. The artist had been more particular about the dress of the thought than the thought itself. "Lancelot and Elaine," foreshadowed in the "Lady of Shalott," excels the foreshadow in strong thought, wide knowledge of human nature, and a tenderness such as is found in Browning's "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," or Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet." "In Memoriam" was the fruit of Tennyson's great sorrow. For seventeen years, from the death of his friend to the publication in 1850, he dwelt no more on turn of phrase and beauty of expression than upon the sentiments themselves in regard to the problem, What is the future of a noble man whose breast now heaves no more? To that question we know no better answer in literature out of the Bible than "In Memoriam."

The superficial reader judges wrongly that the poem is a congeries of fragments, but the careful reader sees that it is more than

> Short swallow flights of song, that dip
> Their wings in tears, and skim away;

and whoever takes the trouble to study the masterpiece will find a progress of thought and confidence to the westering joy, the effulgent glory of immortality. The Christmas lyrics mark the advance. The death of his dear friend is a blow that stuns the author at the first of his poem. Far and dark and deep is the fall from the inspired Christian hopefulness of the proem into this depth of root-entwined skull and stony deadness. The reader almost feels that he has come near the gravedigger's scene in Hamlet:

> Calm and deep peace in this wide air,
> These leaves that redden to the fall;
> And in my heart, if calm at all,
> If any calm, a calm despair.

The author rises dazed from this lethargy into the comfort of the memory of the opening life of this friend, the earnest of his intellectual greatness and largeness of soul. Gladstone declared in an article of his that Arthur Hallam was without a peer at Cambridge in promise of greatness. The backward look does not satisfy the yearning heart of the poet. A mystic

communion with the dead man gives more comfort, though the poet held himself unworthy of such converse.

> So word by word, and line by line,
> The dead man touch'd me from the past,
> And all at once it seem'd at last
> The living soul was flash'd on mine.

Think what one may of the extravagance and frauds of Spiritualists, Tennyson found in this undefined spiritual communion a congenial mysticism. And who that has been thrilled by Browning's masterpiece, "The Ring and the Book," will ever forget, after the long and bewildering journey over a wilderness of words, the invocation to his "lyric Love" to stoop to help from the realms of light?

The despondency which is almost despair in the first of Tennyson's great elegy has given way in the last to confident faith in the immortality of the soul. The poet has become a great man by his struggle. He is fully persuaded now that transplanted human worth will blossom otherwhere. That faith rests upon the eternal nature of goodness: sin kills, goodness gives life. Therefore we must needs turn to the last of "In Memoriam" to find the highest and best faith of Tennyson on the future life, and we find him there, like Browning, a veritable Great Heart in assurance.

But the "Idylls of the King" are a retrogression from "In Memoriam" in respect to the doctrine of the future life. The inspiration from the immortality of the soul does not have such power there as we might well look for in the legends of a Christian king. The poet's faith appears to have suffered eclipse. Even Arthur, not defying, Browning-like, the "arch-fear," death, passes, after a life of sad ineffectiveness, to the happy valley of Avilion with all his mind "clouded with a doubt." Was there not here a loss of faith in the poet himself? Dramatic requirement does not call for so faint-hearted a close to a righteous life. Was the only crown for the noble Arthur's brow a crown of thorns? The poet has not been dramatically successful with the king, as he was with Elaine, and Arthur's passing is not fortunate, save for the rare excellence of literary expression. Can we not discover in the "Idylls" that a materializing philosophy had dimmed the

spiritual light of the poet-prophet? Darwin and Huxley had upon the writer, by their friendship and intellectual force, the beneficial effect of making him favor, unlike Ruskin, the advance of physical research and material progress; but a glow of religious experience was not among the effects of friendship with the eminent scientists. Huxley's materialism—"I should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from not living matter"—deadens the soul. Vogt is worse: "Every student of nature must, if he think at all consistently, arrive at the conclusion that all those capacities which we comprehend under the name of the soul's activities are only functions of the brain substance; or, to express myself somewhat coarsely, that thought stands in the same relation to the brain as the gall to the liver." Was Tennyson successful in freeing his mind from the weight of this earthy teaching? It would appear not. The words of Professor W. N. Rice, favorably quoted by Professor George P. Fisher in his *History of Christian Doctrine*, are sound to the core: "The opinions of a scientific man on philosophy or theology are no more a part of science than are his opinions on politics or poetry." The cheerless darkness of such loss of faith as hangs, like a pall, over Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach," does not cover the "Idylls of the King." The hope of heaven, however dim, is their one gleam of light, and keeps Tennyson a Christian poet. The words of the beautiful song, "Late, late, so late," fell like a knell on the ears of Queen Guinevere, for it was too late to avert the woe wrought by her sin. But she, after her life so wild and disastrous, passed the evening of her day at the nunnery of Almesbury in holy peace, expecting reunion with the husband whom she loved at last. Her story is a sad one, but lighted at the end by a ray of heaven:

> I think there was a hope,
> Except he mock'd me when he spake of hope;
> His hope he call'd it; but he never mocks,
> For mockery is the fume of little hearts.
> And blessed be the king, who hath forgiven
> My wickedness to him, and left me hope
> That in mine own heart I can live down sin
> And be his mate hereafter in the heavens
> Before high God.

However the poet may have wrestled with doubt, he threw it eventually. His later poem, "Vastness," gives no uncertain sound in its hopeful sentiment, "The dead are not dead but alive." Calmly, peacefully, he faced the end, not hopeless like Carlyle. Has the reader of Tennyson noticed that those lines, no less faultless in art than full of comfort, "Crossing the Bar," though the poem was not his last, close the recent editions of his works? This placing is not a chance. He bade his son see to it that it be put there, and well may they stand as the last words of one so confident of immortality:

> For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
> The flood may bear me far,
> I hope to see my Pilot face to face
> When I have crost the bar.

We come now to mighty-souled Robert Browning, whose absolute confidence of immortality has naught of doubt or cloud. So sure is he of the soul's great future that for him the present, not the hereafter, is "life's dream." The great fault to find with him, in fact, is that his faith is so exuberant that he is too impatient to give its grounds. "In Memoriam" reasons, where "A Grammarian's Funeral" sentimentalizes. This unreasoning enthusiasm seems strange in so intellectual a man. But the outstanding fact remains that one of the greatest brained men in England has given hearty indorsement to the doctrine of the future life. When Darwin and Huxley bring sorrow, Browning will bring peace and comfort to the Christian who will take the pains to know him. This poet averred, while he blessed them, that the English public liked him not, and although his fame and influence have gained greatly since he wrote those words a generation ago, it is impossible to see how so deep a writer, indifferent to beauty and music, can ever win popular favor. But it is equally impossible to see how the best minds in the Church, minds yearning for the future life and the best for the soul, can ever fail to read him with an electric glow, and love him, too, for the noblest of his religious poetry. His view of death had nothing of the darkness of Bryant's "Thanatopsis;" for him death was no pale realm of shade, or heaven a pleasant dream, but the future a fuller, larger life than the pres-

ent. However it be with the British public, a thoughtful band of Christians will love him well, and that band will not grow less in the years to come. Browning's great faith in the future gives elevation to life. His "Grammarian's Funeral" is one with Wordsworth's "Character of the Happy Warrior" in elevated thought, and this means that both have touched the high-water mark of literature. Except the words of Paul and John nothing is more inspiring for the soul's future than the lines:

> That low man goes on adding one to one,
> His hundred's soon hit;
> This high man, aiming at a million,
> Misses an unit.
> That, has his world here—should he need the next,
> Let the world mind him!
> This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
> Seeking shall find him.

This high thought finds expression again and again in his writings: man needs heaven to make life complete. The soul is eternal, and noble endeavor is never lost through all the ages to come. God, watching over man and working in him, makes all self-control, self-denial, and suffering work for the good of the soul. Browning is altogether religious.

> Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure;
> What entered into thee,
> That was, is, and shall be;
> Time's wheel runs back or stops; Potter and clay endure.

Nothing short of personal immortality, in short, was satisfactory to him.

Neither Robert Browning nor Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote anything so beautiful as the story of their own wedded life. Against her father's will she married, leaving an invalid's couch for the marriage vows. The obtusely willful father would never become reconciled; would never thereafter even read a letter from his daughter. But husband and wife loved with a love that was stronger than death. In one of those lovely "Sonnets from the Portuguese" she says to her lover:

> I yield the grave for thy sake, and exchange
> My near, sweet view of heaven for earth with thee!

And has he not rewarded her well by his own poem, "Prospice?" He wrote it when her death in Florence was fresh in his mind. That death is thus described by his biographer, Mr. Sharpe: "With the first light of the new day she leaned against her lover. A while she lay thus in silence, then softly sighing, 'It is beautiful,' passed like the windy fragrance of a flower." From the fadeless memory of that picture Browning bids his defiance to the "arch-fear," death:

> I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
> And bade me creep past.
> No! let me taste the whole of it, face, like my peers,
> The heroes of old,
> Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
> Of pain, darkness, and cold.
> For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
> The black minute's at end,
> And the elements' rage, the fiend voices that rave,
> Shall dwindle, shall blend,
> Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
> Then a light, then thy breast,
> O, thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
> And with God be the rest!

Some verse appears and blooms and has its day, and falls to the ground like autumn leaves. Other poetry is like the evergreens that cheer the eye with their life when the cover of the earth is not grass or flowers, but only snow and ice. The Church will let die without regret Carlyle's gloomy words on approach to the grave. But the lovers of the best literature will not let die "Crossing the Bar," "Prospice," or "A Grammarian's Funeral," but will cherish the comfort of them as long as the heart clings to hope itself.

Robert S. Ingraham.

Art. III.—CURRENT BIBLICAL DISCUSSIONS—THE PROPER ATTITUDE OF THEOLOGICAL FACULTIES WITH RESPECT TO THEM.

The discussions here meant are preeminently those which relate to the authorship of certain biblical books and to the age or historic order of certain institutions, codes, and rites referred to in said books. Who gave us the Pentateuch in its present form? Have we in the canon the prophecies of two Isaiahs or only of one? What books, if any, show clear traces of compilation or of composite authorship? What inspired Scriptures had the Jews in the days of Jesus, Ezra, Josiah, Solomon, David? Has the careful study of these points led to any conclusions which ought to modify in any degree traditional views of the history of God's ancient people? These and such as these are the main questions.

Who are the debaters? No one can say that they are insignificant in numbers or in scholarship. It is difficult to name any great Hebrew teacher in any part of the world who has not felt called upon to choose his ground and to take part. A few are perhaps actuated by a spirit of hostility to evangelical religion as at present organized and administered, but by far the larger part impress candid readers as sincere and in their way devout seekers after the truth. Some of the debaters take an extremely conservative position; others, an extremely revolutionary one. Still, they do not constitute two thoroughly separate and distinct camps. It is hard to find any two conservatives of the last five years who agree as to every point involved in their main contention, and equally hard, or harder, to find any two radicals who reach identical results. Mediating schemes abound. Often the radical on one question is conservative on another, and *vice versâ*. Meantime, and as a result of all this earnest and sometimes heated discussion, ancient manuscripts and monuments and literatures and institutions are being searched as never before, and Old Testament study develops an intensity of interest it otherwise could not command. Moreover, if we survey the countries where biblical studies are most cultivated, it is manifest that modified

views of the Old Testament have made great progress. Most striking of all is the fact that, while not a few representatives of traditional views have in mature life gone over to more or less revolutionary positions touching the date of the present form of the Pentateuch and similar questions, no biblical scholar once fairly committed to the newer views has to our knowledge been led by riper studies to the old.

What now should be the attitude of a theological faculty of the Methodist Episcopal Church with respect to these contemporaneous debates? It will, the writer hopes, add to the value and interest of the answer about to be given if, right here, as a preliminary, he frankly states that his own personal sympathies are, and always have been, with the conservatives in these discussions, and that he has as little confidence in the greater part of the minute critical dissections presented in the Polychrome Bible now appearing under learned auspices in this country as he has in the Baconian authorship of Hamlet or in the learned argument just now urged by an able English student of Homer in support of the theory that the "Odyssey" was written by a woman. Of course there are but two general policies which a faculty can pursue, or rather attempt to pursue. First, it can choose and attempt to carry out the policy of silence with respect to all these matters under discussion; or, second, it can choose and attempt to carry out the policy of introducing the students to the discussions and of encouraging them to form intelligent and conscientious opinions of their own on these questions, as they are expected to do on other points of theological and religious controversy. The one is the policy of deliberate and total silence; the other, that of intelligent and critical participation. For brevity's sake let us designate the first as policy A, the second as policy B.

Now, there are three sets of considerations which go to show that our theological faculties and those of other evangelical Churches would do wisely to adopt and to the utmost to carry out policy A. The first set is based upon the nature of the discussions. For the most part these are eminently technical. Moreover, it seems plain that many of the questions raised can never be answered, any more than we can ever hope to know

what lines and words and paragraphs in *Sir Roger de Coverley* we owe to Steele, what to Budgell, and what to Addison primarily, as author and, secondarily, as redactor of the whole composite work. Why waste precious time upon impossible tasks? Finally, granting that some assured new knowledge of generally admitted value is likely some time to result from these lifelong investigations of the erudite radical and conservative critics, it will be time enough to include it in our curriculum when it shall have been attained. The second set is based on the character of the students under instruction. Obviously those young men who, when they enter the theological school, do not know the Hebrew alphabet are in no condition adequately to appreciate nice personal characteristics of style in Hebrew authors, or to distinguish archaic or obsolescent terms from those in customary use at a particular period. Quite as little can they personally judge of the cogency of any argument the force of which depends upon a thorough knowledge of Assyrian, Arabic, or the other constituents of the Semitic group of languages. Why bring before immature schoolboys questions not only confessedly uncertain, but also so recondite that not one in a thousand among mature Christian ministers in any country is equipped with the learning desirable, if not necessary, for their thorough discussion? The third set is based upon the practical perils to which any different policy is believed to expose both the ministry and the Church. Many sincerely believe that the authority of Christ and of his apostles stands or falls with the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in its exact present form. They further believe that the minds of young ministers cannot even be familiarized with such discussions as that relating to a "Deutero-Isaiah" without a certain serious unsettlement of faith in prophecy and a certain serious loss of reverence for the Holy Scriptures as a whole. Moreover, a ministry unsettled in faith is of course the sure forerunner of a Church unsettled and of a universal reign of unbelief. What wonder that multitudes hope and pray that the sacred precincts of our theological seminaries may long be preserved from the admission of investigations the mere presuppositions of which seem so manifestly inimical to faith.

But let us look farther and see what is to be thought of

policy B. Are there not here, also, three sets of considerations which go to show that policy B should be adopted? As before, let us look at "the nature of the discussions." Though highly technical, are they not also highly important? Even if some of the questions "can never be answered," may it not be of great value to the student to learn which of them belong in this category, and why? Just how three divine persons subsist in one divine essence, or how the divine and human natures of Christ subsist in his one adorable person, or how human freedom accords with the divine foreknowledge—are not these also questions which our human theology cannot answer? And is not their difficulty precisely one of the chief reasons why they ought to be discussed in the theological seminaries, rather than a reason why they ought to be deliberately and systematically ruled out? Omit from the curriculum all the religious and ethical and historical questions that apparently "can never be answered," and all the deepest imports of sin and salvation in time and in eternity would be left unconsidered by the coming preacher.

Again, we may take another and a somewhat different view of the students. "Immature" they certainly are. But nobody was ever yet mature who had not first been immature. There was a time when even St. Paul did not yet "know the Hebrew alphabet." In a sense they are "schoolboys," for they are still in attendance on a school; but in another respect they are already public religious teachers holding written commissions to act as such, commissions so signed and sealed as to be officially recognized and honored by more than two millions of Christian people. Many of them are nearly thirty years of age, some of them are still older, and scores of them are already in pastorates. For years they have been under a training that developed their love for the truth and their faith in the safety and wholesomeness of the truth. Their teachers have considered them mature enough to master the most important discussions associated with the names of Copernicus, and Bacon, and Des Cartes, and Kant, and La Place, and Newton, and Niebuhr, and Darwin. In their collegiate course in theism they have had to encounter the strongest arguments of the atheist, the deist, and the pantheist. In their collegiate course

in the evidences of Christianity they have had to form opinions of their own touching the "historicity" of prophecy and the possibility of miracles. Why, then, on their reaching the one place in all the world where they can be effectually aided in the thorough study of the Bible and of Bible teaching, should they suddenly be pronounced too juvenile and unlearned to be able to follow with profit an investigation into the present state of expert opinion touching the age and authorship of Old Testament books? If they are old enough to read Arius on the Trinity, and Hume on miracles, and Herbert Spencer on evolution, may they not be trusted to test the hypotheses of Wellhausen or Kuenen as to Israel's history?

Right here we come again to the considerations based upon the perils to which any other than policy A might be thought to expose both the ministry and the Church. Let us look at these again. And let us ask, Are there no perils inseparable from policy A? Cause it to be understood that no student in any theological school of the Methodist Episcopal Church can henceforth receive instruction as to any currently debated question relating to the authorship or historical order of the Old Testament books, and what would be the effect? What impression would it make upon the best young men now looking toward the work of a Christian minister in our Church? What would the young Matthew Simpsons, and John McClintocks, and D. D. Whedons, and Daniel Currys, and Gilbert Havens think of such schools? Who could blame them if, with the indignation of contempt, they turned aside from such falsely styled schools of biblical learning and sought out other and braver teachers, who at least seemed not to be afraid of scholarly research and who seemed to have knowledge of their times to know what Israel ought to do?

The perils of policy A are really graver than those of the alternative plan. If it were possible to introduce it, and to live up to it, it would quickly give us a ministry far less intelligent and less trustworthy, apart from the surveillance and direction of superiors, than are the priests of Rome. The cowardly plan would repel all candidates that were not cowardly. Intelligent laymen would find it impossible to extend their confidence to the new religious teachers who by a deliberate

conspiracy of ecclesiastical authorities had been kept in ignorance of the most vital religious discussions of their generation. The Church would lose the respect not only of all scholars, but also of all sister Churches. Worse than that, she would at once cease to train up men capable of defending her own conservative views of biblical history, the views which she desires to see maintained against the new critics. In this respect policy A would be simply suicidal. But why argue either for or against the impossible? In our Church in our day the policy of silence is simply impossible. Were the professors ever so anxious to keep the student ignorant of the current discussions, it would not be in their power to do so. The young man would not be safe in any respectable reading room or library. Not only would the theological journals of Christendom at large have to be kept from his eyes, but also the most familiar literary and scientific magazines of the people. He could not be permitted to consult the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The journals of our own Church would have to be placed in the new *Index Expurgatorius*. The Conference course of study would have to be revised and expurgated of such books as Harman's *Introduction*. The zealous pastors and revivalists and bishops who from the pulpit objurgate, and so doing gratuitously advertise, the "higher critics" and their "rainbow Bibles" would have to be silenced. Manifestly the plan is as impossible of execution as it is traitorous in principle. The inevitable conclusion is that the current biblical discussions will have the attention of the students preparing for our ministry, and that they ought to have it.

Here, however, present themselves for our consideration certain new questions. For example, in carrying out policy B would it be wise, and in the interest of scientific fairness and honesty best, to appoint on each theological faculty two professors of Old Testament studies—the one representing strongly conservative opinions, the other strongly radical ones, thus enabling the student to "hear both sides?" In reply to this the writer may perhaps be allowed to quote from what he has elsewhere said, but never printed:

> In Europe in not a few theological faculties this plan (the one just suggested) has been deliberately adopted by the authorities in charge, just

as in one or two universities in this country the experiment has been tried of offering in political economy two courses of instruction, one by a representative of the free trade theory and one by a representative of protectionism. In support of both these arrangements quite plausible arguments have been offered. Experience, however, has taught that their practical tendency is more adapted to produce narrow partisans than men of a candid and judicial type. Indeed, both schemes appear to me to be based upon exceedingly superficial views of the work to be done. In my judgment no man is fit to be a professor of political economy if he is not competent to point out the social and political conditions under which free trade would be a fatal policy and also the conditions under which protection would be equally fatal. In like manner, no man in this day is fit to be a professor of Old Testament studies if his knowledge is so limited, or his mental attitude so partisan, that he is unable, on the one hand, to see that the number of Davidic psalms in the Hebrew Psalter is an interesting and an open question, and, on the other hand, to admit that Tennyson's "In Memoriam," with its contrasting moods, its breaks, its obscurities, its archaisms and modernisms, its far-separated dates of actual composition, would afford, were its authorship unknown, a more hopeful subject for literary analysis on some theory of composite authorship than many a biblical document on which the critic has tried his scalpel. What students need in a teacher is a man of widest knowledge of his subject and of absolute candor in the interpretation of all known or knowable facts. The manifest partisan they will always distrust. If a teacher is a violent partisan, never losing a chance to argue for a given view or set of views, the student soon concludes that the man's own confidence is not profound, and that he feels a certain need of incessant reinforcement. Present-day students of the Old Testament can quickly find from the books and reviews what the opposing partisan positions are. It is not needful to support partisan professors to give them these. What the student needs is to be aided in finding something which he can himself believe with all his heart and build upon in edifying himself and the souls to whom he is to minister. In finding his way to this all-important groundwork of faith and doctrine a single trusted older friend of broadest scholarship and flawless candor and holy life can afford far greater help than any two or ten official protagonists of controversially organized groups of dissentient Christian scholars.

The plan under consideration is not happy in its influence on the professors themselves. No man can pledge himself to a lifelong advocacy of any mere opinion touching a matter which God has not revealed and escape the peril of one-sidedness. The more a body of teachers are looked upon as the paid professional champions—some of this party, and some of the opposed—the more they lose the judicial attitude of mind and gradually come under the influence of motives not favorable to candor and docility. Even in an advocate of most sacred truths lust for dialectic victory and for the plaudits of partisan backers is not edifying. On the

other hand, few things can so appeal to the best and most truth-loving elements in a man as a position in which he daily realizes that by virtue of his office he is bound to ascertain all that is true and just in the contentions of two or more mutually opposing parties and to represent it to pupils whose future influence and power for good are to be profoundly affected thereby.

Another interesting question arises at this point. Granting the expediency and the necessity of accepting policy B, must we conservatives in the Methodist Episcopal communion on this account share all the misgivings and fears of conservatives in the older Protestant Churches? Is Methodism's relation to the Old Testament and to the questions of the age and authorship of the Old Testament writings identical with that of historic Calvinism? Or with that of confessional Lutheranism? Or, again, with that of such a Unitarianism as Channing's, or of such a Universalism as Hosea Ballou's, both of whom aimed to build on the divinely given groundwork of the Bible as it is? The limits of this article will not permit a suitable discussion of these inquiries, but we cannot close without expressing our firm belief that no great doctrinal system in the Christian Church has so little to fear from the critical study of the Old Testament as has Methodism. Indeed, we sometimes take comfort in the thought that, if ever satisfactory evidence shall demonstrate the composite authorship of every one of the Old Testament books, the ministers and members of our own Church will find that they have in their hands and homes one of the best possible aids to a right understanding of that fact, an aid which will go far toward relieving their faith in the Bible of any perilous strain.

Let us illustrate our meaning by a single example. What does the average Puritan theologian writing in explanation or defense of the Bible mean by the term "genuine" as applied to a biblical book? We all know. "A genuine book or document," he says over and over, "is one written by the person whose name it bears, whether it be truthful or not." Accordingly, if Job, the man of Uz, wrote the Book of Job, it is genuine; if, on the other hand, it was written by some poet of a different name and residence, it is spurious. So of Jeremiah, and Daniel, and Ezra, and the rest. It would seem as if the Puritan mind was so steeped and centered in individualism that

any form of authorship other than the personal and strictly autographic had never so much as occurred to it. Now we have before us as we write a somewhat suggestive document. It was printed as recently as the year 1898. It is an open letter addressed to more than a million of people residing in the United States. It is signed by eleven men, each of whom is personally known to thousands in the communities where they live. We have ourselves seen a majority of them, and esteem them all as uncommonly high-minded men. In the whole letter there is not a word which, in view of their known convictions and in view of their relations to the persons addressed, they had not a perfect right to say, and indeed a call to say. Were this signed document to be discovered one or two thousands of years hence, and proof, also, that the signers were well-known public men in this country and were alive in the year of our Lord 1898, the discoverer would certainly hold that he was in possession of a document of thoroughly attested genuineness and of singular historic value. But suppose the excavator were to proceed with his work and were to bring forth from the same vault another document which also lies before us as we write. This, also, is a personally signed letter, but the persons addressed are not the same. It was printed forty-six years before the other. Its seven signers are all dead, but the present writer was acquainted with all but one of them. This letter is a little more than twice as long as the one first described, but the puzzling thing about it is that every sentence in the letter of the eleven men seems to have been stolen *verbatim* out of the one signed by the seven men. Suppose, now, that the discoverer could find no clew by which to determine which was the older of his two documents; immediately two schools of critics would arise. The one would hold that the manifestly plagiarized document must be more recent than the original from which it was taken. The other, reasoning from the nature of the matter not common to the two, would be able to give plausible reasons for considering the short letter, the original one and the longer one the result of one or more editorial enlargements, or a result of explanatory marginal notes creeping into the original text in the process of copying, generation after generation. Which school would

win we shall never know. If a microscopic examination of the two texts, however, should later establish the fact that D (the document signed by the eleven) was printed A. D. 1898, and that D1 (the one signed by the seven) was printed A. D. 1852, it is likely that the critics supporting the first theory would immediately announce that the archæological evidence had overwhelmingly confirmed their claim. D1, they would say, was manifestly stolen from the older original D1, and the eleven men that conspired together to palm off D upon their contemporaries were parties to a disgraceful literary fraud.

Bad as the case might then appear, it would become still worse in case that priceless vault should yield up a third document which also lies before us at this moment. This was printed in the year 1896, and bears the personal signature of eighteen eminently respectable and honest men, all citizens of the United States and all personally known to us. It closely resembles D and D1, yet differs from both. We will call it D2. Comparing it with D, we find the curious fact that, while parts of every sentence in D are found in D2, not one complete sentence is the same in the two. Again, between the plagiarized half-sentence with which D2 begins and D's second sentence, in the modified form in which it appears in D2, more sentences intervene than are found in the whole body of D. More perplexing still is the fact that, while no one of these apparently interpolated sentences was taken from D1, it is evident from some of the phraseology that the eighteen men were acquainted with the letter of the earlier seven men. At the same time the verbal and textual difference between D1 and D2 are great, greater, perhaps, than those between D1 and D. What a puzzle! One might long search the annals of literary criticism without finding a parallel. One thing alone seems manifest, and that is that of the three companies of men (the eleven, the seven, and the eighteen) two must certainly be branded as guilty of literary forgery and theft. But the seeming serious as it is, is in this case not half so startling as the reality, for the simple truth is that not one of the eleven men ever wrote one line of D, and not one of the seven men ever wrote one line of D1, and of the eighteen men who signed D2 not one was born when the original of their document was published.

That original was printed in 1789, and even then was a piece of composite authorship.

By this time we must suppose that every shrewd reader recognizes the three documents. For the benefit of any slower wits we will state that they are merely three of the more than fifty existing recensions and versions of Coke and Asbury's letter commending the Book of Discipline to the laity of the Church. D is that letter in the form lately signed by the eleven bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and prefixed to their new Discipline of 1898; D1 is the same in the form signed and prefixed to our own Book of Discipline for the year 1852; D2 is the form found in our Discipline for 1896. They strikingly show us how easily the acutest critic studying isolated and undated documents two or three thousand years after their production may be led to mistake younger texts for older, copies for originals, and honest men for forgers or thieves. Like every page of the book to which they are prefixed, they remind us that in sacred texts authorship is as likely to be corporate and cooperative as it is to be individual and autographic. They illustrate the fact that holy writings may be ascribed to holy men who never wrote a line of them, and yet without the slightest thought of fraud, pious or impious. The fact that the law book to which this oft-redacted letter was originally prefixed has itself been redacted in every chapter every four years for more than a century, becoming every time decidedly other than it was, yet through it all losing for no moment of time one iota of its supreme authority, goes far to assure the writer's mind that if ever he shall be compelled to believe that the law of Moses, undergoing like redactions, grew slowly through centuries to its present form, it will still have for him all the significance it ever had, both as respects its content and as respects its place in the providential government of the world and in the drama of divine revelation.

Conservative in his sympathies, the writer has always been anxious to make the most of Christ's apparent testimony to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. At the same time he has not been able to conceal from himself the precariousness of the argument. Because Jesus spoke of Moses as hav-

ing "given" the Jews their law, we have been told that Moses wrote the first five books of the Bible and in the exact form in which we have them to-day. It is a large conclusion to draw from such a premise. Many a historian of Methodism has in like manner, and truthfully, said that John Wesley "gave" to our Church its Articles of Religion; but it is equally true that not one line of them was written by John Wesley. It is perfectly proper to say that the founder of Methodism wrote the "General Rules of our United Societies;" yet when we turn to them in our Discipline we find some things therein which Wesley never wrote. In nearly all modern hymnals poetic or unpoetic redactors present over the authors' names famous hymns in forms to which those authors would have raised strenuous objection, and this is often done without the slightest warning to the innocent reader. In justification it is said that when a hymn has become the possession and the voice of the Christian world the Christian world has the right to improve it and to make it the most perfect possible expression of the common faith. The operation illustrates the profound law according to which in the sphere of religion all high forms of personal and autographic authorship tend ever more to pass over into an authorship that is, first, vicarious and representative, then composite, and finally more corporate than individual. The Methodist, with his quadrennially redacted law book, and with his occasionally redacted hymnal, is exceptionally well qualified to understand how the psalms of David and of the other inspired singers of ancient Israel may have been long in reaching the form and compass of the historically completed Psalter, and how the laws of Moses and of the other inspired leaders of the nation may have been long in reaching the form and compass of the existing code completed and forever fixed by the destruction of the holy city and of the theocracy which was there centered.

After more than twenty-five years largely devoted to the study of the sacred books of all nations the writer has reached three decidedly firm convictions. The first is that, if a nation's traditions are trustworthy with respect to anything, they are preeminently so with respect to its own sacred rites and the laws under which those rites are perpetuated and safe-

guarded. In no other matters is a tribe or people so conservative as in these. As a consequence the traditional view of the origin and age and purpose of any religious rite or code, particularly in a nation employing the art of writing, must be assumed to be the true one until the clear evidence of error can be produced. The second conviction referred to is that, granting the composite authorship of Genesis or of the Book of Joshua or of the Book of Isaiah, no critic's analysis at this date, if based solely on verbal or stylistic peculiarities or on what that particular critic thinks the writer ought to have said, will ever satisfy all other critical analyzers or attain such a recognition in the world of sober scholarship as to justify the historian in changing the date of the document by centuries and in then employing it as authority for reconstructing the history of a nation in square contradiction of its own immemorial traditions. The third of the three convictions is that whatever may have been the time-order or the time-period in which the law and the prophets and the *Ketubim* slowly grew to the compass and form in which we find them in the present Hebrew canon, the right understanding of the total process and of the significance of the whole for the Christian Church is likely to come less from the ingenious conjectural hypotheses of isolated closet philologists than from that ever-growing insight of the living Church into her own continuous life-processes which normally accompanies her own supernatural, her own theopneustic, life. Anchored in these firm convictions we feel no anxiety whatsoever as to the outcome of the critical study of the Old Testament. We decline to be scared by anybody. And any Church that will thoroughly anchor herself in these firm convictions may blandly dismiss the shuddering alarmist. We believe our own Church is so anchored. By her deepest and most characteristic principles and teachings she is entitled to a serene confidence in the result of the current biblical discussions. It is her duty not to borrow the panics and blind terrors of theologies alien to her own, but intelligently and bravely and increasingly to train up preachers and teachers who can allay those panics and banish those terrors wherever found.

If the thoughts above expressed are true, in pleading for the

study of current biblical discussions in our theological seminaries the writer pleads for the young men who feel themselves called to the work of the ministry, but have been staggered and perplexed by what they hear and read respecting the higher criticism. He pleads in behalf of the older ministry who increasingly feel that, in the most intelligent circles they are called upon to influence, their competence to deal with the new phases of the question of the authority of the Bible is more and more discredited. He pleads in behalf of the laity who are calling for pastors to whom they can carry any problem that is agitating the public mind and disturbing their own religious faith. He pleads in behalf of the Holy Scriptures themselves, all of which deserve to be searched and studied in the light of their actual authorship. He pleads in behalf of the Spirit of truth who, far from closing the gate to any knowledge, is evermore striving to lead us into all truth.

William F. Warren.

Art. IV.—THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF LAW.

In seeking the origin of law, whether in morals or in physics, we must first of all discriminate between laws and distinguish them by their specific differences. We shall then be able to classify them, and so avoid confusion. Laws are legion, yet they may be classified under three general heads: (1) the modes of being, (2) the modes of action, and (3) the modes of relation.

1. Let us consider the laws of being. "God is a personality." This is a law of being. It is the mode of his eternal being; it is grounded in the necessities of his eternal nature; hence it is uncaused, it is eternal. "Man is a personality" is also a law of being. This law existed subjectively in the thought of God before it existed objectively in the world; but it had no more existence apart from man subjectively in God's thought than it has apart from man objectively in the world. This law of being is not objectively eternal, for man and the universe had a beginning. If this law is eternal at all, it is eternal subjectively in the thought of the eternal mind. It cannot be eternal in space, apart from mind. But we do not think it necessary to regard the law of man's being as eternal subjectively in God's thought. We may say it was a creation of the divine mind operating according to the laws of divine thought when the occasion for it was reached. We do not conceive that the infinite mind had the universe, with all its laws fully elaborated, eternally in subjective thought, but that they unfolded according to the laws of divine thought as the occasion required. This does not mean, however, that God increases in knowledge, but that he is infinite because he is the ground of all knowledge. It is not necessary to suppose that God has forever carried all science, fully elaborated, in his mind, but that he possesses the ground of infinite knowledge in his infinite mind forever. The unfolding and elaboration of knowledge is complete and perfect in the infinite mind, but is imperfect and incomplete in the finite mind. The laws of being, then, of all that is not God, whether matter or spirit, have their origin in God, their ultimate cause.

2. Notice the laws of action. In morals action always has reference to just authority. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God" is such a law of action. It supposes at least two personalities, the actor and the acted upon. It has no existence, either subjective or objective, apart from the actor and the acted upon. We may say it did not exist even subjectively in the divine thought until it was there elaborated according to the laws of divine thought, when the occasion for it was reached. As a mode of action it is not eternal, except as having its ground in the inherent qualities of the infinite mind.

There is a law of action in physics. In this department action always has reference to cause. "Light varies inversely as the square of the distance" is a physical law of action. Time and space are involved in it, and so are the four "causes" of Aristotle. In this law of action something is acting. Change is wrought by it. This change occurs in time. We may call this "something" energy or "efficient cause." In this law something is being acted upon. We may call it substance or "material cause." We also find another factor here. Let it be called "mathematical truth," if you wish. It is a mode of relation or "formal cause." It is the relation of quantity to space expressed in the ratio, "inversely as the square of the distance." We also notice intelligibility here, for in this mode of action change always proceeds according to this same mode of relation. This intelligibility points to intelligence as its origin, and intelligence points to personality as its seat. Intelligible action of an intelligent person indicates motive or end. Here, then, is "final cause." This law is not self-made. Final cause points unmistakably to an "ultimate cause" back of all as the origin of the law. God is the ultimate cause of this law and of all other laws of action in physics. Now, this is not saying that God made the formal cause or "mathematical truth" found in this law; but it is saying that he formulated the law of light. Some scientists confound the modes of action with the modes of relation in physics. They are widely different in nature and origin. Having now torn the law of light to pieces, let us put it together, and what do we have? We have the law of action, "Light varies inversely as the square of the distance"—a law involving efficient, material,

formal, final, and ultimate causes, time, and space. We would say the law of light and other laws of action in physics are not eternal, except as having their ground in the inherent powers of the eternal mind. We do not think they existed even subjectively in the thought of God until they were there suggested and elaborated, when the occasion for them was reached. If the laws or modes of action in physics are necessary, and could not have been otherwise than they are, it would seem that they are so only as considered in their relation to the grand scheme or plan of the universe, which was adopted by the Creator in the beginning. We are not competent to say the Creator might not have adopted some other plan, and so have elaborated some other laws of physical action. This also holds true of the modes of being, of all that is not God. But it is not true of the modes of action in morals, for they are what they are by the necessities of the divine nature itself, and not by an act of the divine will.

3. Let us now turn briefly to the laws of relation. "Transgression of the law is sin" is such a law. It is a truth. It supposes personality and just authority. Just authority inheres in God's nature and is eternal. As an act, considered either objectively or subjectively, transgression originates in the will of a rational cause. But transgression is also a mode of elation. It is the relation between the transgressor and just authority. Obedience is the relation of the obedient to just authority. Now, why is obedience good and transgression evil? God's will cannot be the ultimate ground of difference, for, if so, there could be no essential difference between the two acts. We know there is an essential difference. To illustrate, man commits two acts—obedience and transgression. God's nature is what it is; hence obedience is good and transgression evil. If God's nature were not what it is, obedience would not be good nor would transgression be evil, yet an essential difference would exist between the two acts. The moral quality of the act and the moral relation of the actor are therefore determined by the moral nature of God. Hence evil and good are such by the necessities of the divine nature, and the mode of relation between the transgressor and just authority is what it is by necessity. But that is not saying the

mode of relation is eternal. No such relation existed even subjectively in God's thought until brought forth by the energies of his mind when the occasion for it was reached. It could not exist anywhere in thought—and much less in space—apart from its own terms, or from the things themselves.

What is true of modes of relation in morals is true of modes of relation or "mathematical truths" in physics. They are what they are by necessity, but they are not eternal, except as they may exist in the thought of the eternal mind. Such is the law of the circumference of a circle. The relation of the circumference to the diameter of a circle is what it is by necessity. Now, in summing up, it is evident that,

(*a*) The modes of action and of being, in physics, and the modes of being in morals—of all that is not God—are what they are by the will of God. They are necessary laws only as they are related to the plan of the universe—a relative necessity.

(*b*) The modes of action and of relation in morals are what they are, being determined by attributes of the divine nature and not by act of God's will—an absolute necessity.

(*c*) The modes of relation in physics are what they are, being determined by the qualities of the things themselves or of their terms—an absolute necessity.

But these relative necessities are not eternal, nor are all absolute necessities eternal. They have no existence apart from the things themselves or their terms. They may be said to exist, properly, first, subjectively in the divine thought. The thoughts of God have their ground in the inherent powers of his infinite mind; hence these relative and absolute necessities are eternal only as they have their ground in the infinite mind. But since personality is the ultimate form of being, and since thought is the ultimate form of action, it follows that the law of divine being and the law of divine thought only may properly be said to be both necessary and eternal.

In conclusion, therefore, we would say that the position of those scientists who hold natural law to exist independently of God, as being both necessary and eternal, is untenable.

Geo. H. Bennett.

Art. V.—WILLIAM MORRIS—POET, SOCIALIST, AND MASTER OF MANY CRAFTS.

Could that blithe old singer of the "breathing morn" from his pleasant "lodge within a park" come stepping briskly along our noisy nineteenth-century ways, bringing with him the scent of English fields, and notes of mavis and of merle—could Geoffrey Chaucer with ruddy cheeks, kindly eyes, and pointed beard, his flowing locks surmounted by a sheepskin cap, appear suddenly to our weary eyes with all the buoyancy of his own fresh day—even outwardly he might not differ greatly from that virile and sturdy figure which, to the present generation, has been known as William Morris. As story-tellers Geoffrey Chaucer and William Morris are akin. Ancient Woodsteck and modern Kelmscott meet where these minstrels chant. Although in art Chaucer and Morris are closely related, in the products of their pens they are notably dissimilar.

William Morris was of Welsh extraction. He was the eldest son of his parents, and was born in the village of Walthamstow, Essex, on March 24, 1834. He himself says in *News from Nowhere:* "I was born and bred on the edge of Epping Forest, Walthamstow and Woodford, to wit. . . . A pretty place, too, a very jolly place, now that the trees have had time to grow again since the great clearing of houses in 1855." In the same work he speaks of the lovely river Lee, "where old Izaak Walton used to fish about the places called Stratford and Old Ford." In a letter to *The Daily Chronicle* he says of Epping Forest: "When I was a boy and young man I knew it yard by yard from Wanstead to the Theydons, and from Hale End to Fairlop Oak. In those days it had no worse foes than the gravel stealer and the robbing fence-maker, and was always interesting and often very beautiful."

Morris's artistic sense developed early. It is recorded that as a boy of nine years, with a pony of his own, he rode half Essex over in search of old churches. So deep an impression did the results of these researches make upon his mind that, after an interval of many years, he could remember the

details of a building which he had not seen since his boyhood. It was from Sir Walter Scott that Morris imbibed his first taste for art and romance. At the early age of seven he had read nearly, if not quite, all of Scott's works; and it was the "Wizard of the North" who taught him the love of Gothic architecture. He says:

> How well I remember as a boy my first acquaintance with a room hung with faded greenery at Queen Elizabeth's Lodge, by Chingford Hatch, in Epping Forest, and the impression of romance that it made upon me! A feeling that always comes back on me when I read, as I often do, Sir Walter Scott's *Antiquary*, and come to the description of the green room at Monkbarns, amongst which the novelist has with such exquisite cunning of art imbedded the fresh and glittering verses of the summer poet Chaucer.

Morris was educated at Marlborough under clerical masters, against whom, he remarks, he naturally rebelled. The loose discipline of the place allowed him full scope for the cultivation of his individual tastes and pursuits. He was not more than fourteen years of age when the first general appearance took place, before the public, of the Preraphaelites, the radical doctrine of whom was naturalism as distinguished from realism. But the time was not yet ripe for Morris to come under their influence, nor was he ever formally enrolled in their ranks. Says Aymer Vallance:

> It is, therefore, a supreme achievement of William Morris to have brought art, through the medium of the handicrafts, within reach of thousands who could never hope to obtain but a transitory view of Preraphaelite pictures; his distinction, by decorating the less pretending, but not less necessary, articles of household furnishing, to have done more than any other man in the present century to beautify the plain, everyday home life of the people.

On the second of June, 1852, Morris matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford. This was an event of first-rate importance in his life. Edward Burne-Jones matriculated on the same day at the same college. The two freshmen were drawn together by ties of sympathy and friendship that remained unbroken until the day of Morris's death. At this time Morris began to be conscious of the poise and strength of his own life, and to become intensely interested in the origin and characteristics of mediæval art. Now, also, began to grow up

within his soul that uncompromising protest against the vulgar and tasteless commercialism ruling the present century. He thus expresses himself:

> It is a grievous thing to have to say, but say it I must, that the one most beautiful city in England, the city of Oxford, has been ravaged for many years past, not only by ignorant tradesmen, but by the university and college authorities. Those whose special business it is to direct the culture of the nation have treated the beauty of Oxford as if it were a matter of no moment, as if their commercial interests might thrust it aside without consideration.

While still an undergraduate at Oxford he "first saw the city of Rouen, then still in its outward aspect a piece of the Middle Ages: no words can tell you how its mingled beauty, history, and romance took hold on me." And he further adds: "I can only say that, looking back on my past life, I find it was the greatest pleasure I have ever had; and now it is a pleasure which no one can ever have again; it is lost to the world forever;" that is, because of the injurious and ignorant restoration. Morris had come to Oxford with a warm admiration for the writings of Mrs. Browning. While in college he became acquainted, not only with the works of Browning and Tennyson, but also with certain older writers, with the *Chronicles* of Froissart, and with a book destined to exercise a far-reaching influence upon him and his circle, the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory. About the time of Christmas, 1855, Burne-Jones relinquished his intention of entering the ministry, and proceeded to find Rossetti in London with the purpose of becoming his pupil. Ere long he presented his friend Morris to his chosen master, whom he then regarded as the greatest man in Europe. Without waiting to take his degree Burne-Jones began at once the systematic study and practice of painting. Morris, on the contrary, preferred to complete his university course, which he did, taking his degree of B.A. in 1856.

The first step in William Morris's artistic career was when he articled himself to George Edmund Street, then located in the university town as an architect to the diocese of Oxford. As fundamental to all art he elected an architect's training. He says of this pursuit:

> I have spoken of the popular arts, but they might all be summed up in that one word "architecture;" they are all parts of that great whole,

and the art of house-building begins it all. If we did not know how to dye or to weave; if we had neither gold, nor silver, nor silk, and no pigments to paint with, but half a dozen ochers and umbers, we might yet frame a worthy art that would lead to everything, if we had but timber, stone, and lime, and a few cunning tools to make these common things not only shelter us from wind and weather, but also express the thoughts and aspirations that stir in us. Architecture would lead us to all the arts, as it did with earlier men; but if we despise it and take no note of how we are housed, the other arts will have a hard time of it indeed.

Morris was possessed of a remarkable faculty of concentration, being able to wreak his whole soul without distraction upon the subject in hand, so that he mastered easily and quickly the things learned by others with difficulty or not at all. In 1856 Mr. Morris settled in lodgings with his friend Burne-Jones, at 17 Red Lion Square, where they shared a studio in common. In this same year appeared *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, which continued exactly twelve months. Among such contributors as Vernon Lushington, Jex-Blake, Burne-Jones, and D. G. Rossetti, Morris was not the least figure, being, indeed, the largest contributor, and causing his friends to prophesy for him a brilliant future in the world of letters. Rossetti introduced Morris to Ruskin and other noted artists and literary men. Early in 1857 Rossetti thus writes to Bell Scott:

> Two young men, projectors of *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, have recently come to town from Oxford, and are now very intimate friends of mine. Their names are Morris and Jones. They have turned artists, instead of taking up any other career to which the university generally leads, and both are men of real genius. Jones's designs are marvels of finish and imaginative detail, unequaled by anything unless, perhaps, Albert Dürer's finest works; and Morris, though without practice as yet, has no less power, I fancy. He has written some really wonderful poetry, too.

In 1858 Morris published his first volume of poems, *The Defense of Guinevere*. It was a remarkable work for a young man twenty-four years of age. At that time Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* had not yet appeared; nor had the published poems of Rossetti been other than a few occasional pieces contributed to periodicals. Mr. Arthur Symons writes thus of Morris's *Defense of Guinevere:* "His first book—which invented a new movement, doing easily, with a certain appro-

priate quaintness, what Tennyson all his life had been trying to do—has all the exquisite trouble of his first awakening to the love of romance."

Burne-Jones delighted to portray upon canvas the identical subjects which Morris chose for his poems; these breathe a mediæval atmosphere, and are full of archaisms and quaintnesses which might easily have declined into mannerisms and as easily lent themselves to parody. To illustrate:

Across the empty garden beds,
When the Sword went out to sea,
I scarcely saw my sisters' heads
Bowed each beside a tree.
I could not see the castle leads,
When the Sword went out to sea.

. . . . . .

O, russet brown and scarlet bright,
When the Sword went out to sea,
My sisters wore; I wore but white:
Red, brown, and white, are three;
Three damozels; each had a knight
When the Sword went out to sea.

. . . . . .

A golden gilliflower to-day
I wore upon my helm away,
And won the prize of this tourney.
Hah! hah! la belle jaune giroflee.

. . . . . .

No one goes there now:
For what is left to fetch away
From the desolate battlements all arow,
And the lead roof heavy and gray?
"*Therefore,*" *said fair Yoland of the flowers,*
"*This is the tune of Seven Towers.*"

. . . . . .

There was a lady lived in a hall,
Large in the eyes, and slim and tall;
And ever she sung from noon to noon,
Two red roses across the moon.

Yet the *Defense of Guinevere* was a notable production, and lovers of true poetry found in this volume much to impress and delight them. Anent the poems contained in this first venture Algernon Charles Swinburne says:

The figures here given have the blood and breath, the shape and step, of life; they can move and suffer; their repentance is as real as their

desire; their shame lies as deep as their love. They are at once remorseful for their sin and regretful of the pleasure that is past. The retrospective vision of Lancelot and Guinevere is as passionate and profound as life. . . . Such verses are not forgettable. They are not indeed—as the *Idylls of the King*—the work of a dextrous craftsman in full practice. Little beyond dexterity, a rare eloquence, and a laborious patience of hand has been given to the one or denied to the other. These are good gifts and great; but it is better to want clothes than limbs.

Despite this favorable judgment it is said that the general reception of his first work was so discouraging to the young author that he had little heart to continue writing, and so turned his hand to other and more grateful occupations. Not until repeated volumes had attracted public favor did a demand arise for Morris's earliest volume, and it then had to be reprinted, the stock of "the original impression having been returned to the paper mill."

In the autumn of 1857, during a temporary residence at Oxford, William Morris was introduced to the lady who afterward became his wife. She it was whose features Dante Gabriel Rossetti delighted to portray upon canvas, and whom the artist has immortalized in numerous drawings and paintings. The marriage rendered it necessary that Morris should provide a suitable home for the young bride, and so was begun the erection of the "Red House," a structure after the bridegroom's own design, and which was mainly responsible for the revival of that style of architecture termed "Queen Anne." The firm of "Morris & Co., Decorators," is closely connected with the development of artistic house furnishings and decorations during the past twenty years and more in England. In the furnishing of the "Red House," at Bexley Heath, Morris had exercised his ingenuity in embroidery design, in ceiling and mural ornamentation, and in numerous other ways had become possessed of practical experience in various branches of domestic art. It is recorded that neither "love nor money could procure beautiful objects of contemporary manufacture for any purpose of household furnishing or adornment when William Morris undertook the herculean and seemingly hopeless task of decorative reform and wrought and brought deliverance from the thraldom of the ugly, which oppressed all the so-called arts" of this century. That branch of the ceramic

art which is represented by the decoration of tiles owes its rescue from vulgarity and degradation to William Morris. "All nations, however barbarous," said he in his lecture on "The Lesser Arts of Life," "have made pottery; but none have ever failed to make it on true principles, none have ever made shapes ugly or base till quite modern times. . . . As to the surface decoration on pottery, it is clear it must never be printed." When, at the beginning of 1862, tiles were required for the "Red House," there were no hand-painted tiles in England, so Morris found it necessary to begin at the foundation. Plain white tiles were imported from Holland, and after various experiments with glazes and enamels the desired results were obtained.

Of the many industries related to the skill of William Morris none has wider celebrity than that of wall paper hangings. It was he who lifted this branch of domestic ornamentation above the level of a mere crude expedient into a sphere of genuine art. His wall paper designs were models of beauty and simplicity, and in this particular field he was little short of a creator. Two or three years after the establishment of the firm of "Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co." Morris conceived the purpose of adding weaving to their other enterprises. Concerning this art Morris says:

> As the designing of woven stuffs fell into degradation in the latter days, the designers got fidgeting after trivial novelties—change for the sake of change; they must needs strive to make their woven flowers look as if they were painted with a brush, or even sometimes as if they were drawn by the engraver's burin. This gave them plenty of trouble and exercised their ingenuity in the tormenting of their web with spots and stripes and ribs and the rest of it, but quite destroyed the seriousness of the work and even its *raison d'être*.

It is averred that the attention of Morris was drawn to the industry of weaving by observing a man in the street selling toy models of weaving machines, when it occurred to him to purchase one and practice upon it for himself. After a series of experiments he endeavored to secure a full-size old-style hand loom, with hand shuttle, but it was not until well on toward the eighties that a Jacquard loom was erected in Ormond Yard, when Morris was enabled systematically to carry on weaving as a part of the work of his firm.

About 1875 Morris happened to need some special shades of silk for embroidery. Unable to procure what he desired, he determined to undertake dyeing on his own account. Morris began by dyeing skeins of silk for embroidery, and then proceeded to dye wool for tapestry and carpets. Morris was strongly of the opinion that certain results effected by chemical science had proved extremely injurious to the art of dyeing. He says:

> No change at all befell the art either in the East or the North till after the discovery of America; this gave the dyers one new material in itself good, and one that was doubtful or bad. The good one was the new insect dye, cochineal, which at first was used only for dyeing crimson. . . . The bad new material was logwood, so fugitive a dye as to be quite worthless as a color by itself (as it was first used) and to my mind of very little use otherwise. No other new dyestuff of importance was found in America, although the discoverers came across such abundance of red-dyeing wood growing there that a huge country of South America has thence taken its name of "Brazil."

Among the domestic arts taken up by this versatile man were printing on textile fabrics, embroidery, dyeing, carpet and arras weaving, glass painting, and cabinet making.

After the volume, *Defense of Guinevere*, the poems of Morris dealt no more with the Arthurian legends. This first book was followed by *The Life and Death of Jason*, one of the longest narrative poems in the language. The plot of the story differs little from the classical one, though the setting and elaboration are the poet's own. "It was all more or less exquisite," says Mr. Saintsbury, "it was all more or less novel." Here we come upon such rememberable lines as

> Dusk grows the world, and day is weary-faced.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The slim-leaved, thorny pomegranate
> That flung its unstrung rubies on the grass.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Darksome night is well-nigh done,
> And earth is waiting silent for the sun.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And so began short love and long decay,
> Sorrow that bides, and joy that flects away.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And one hour
> Ripened the deadly fruit of that fell flower.

Concerning this book Swinburne says, "In all the noble roll of our poets there has been since Chaucer no second teller of tales, no second rhapsode comparable to the first, till the advent of this one." And he adds to this word of eulogy: "No higher school has brought forth rarer poets than this. . . . Here is a poem sown of itself, sprung from no alien seed, cut after no alien model, fresh as wind, bright as light, full of the spring and the sun."

Ten years intervened between the appearance of *The Defense of Guinevere* and the first part of *The Earthly Paradise.* The latter work reveals a complete departure from his earlier manner and methods. It is one of the richest and sweetest productions in any language. It is a recital of old legends and traditions from many sources, but all so molded and interfused with the poet's own genius and personality as to render them in all essential respects quite original. The prevailing tone of the work is one of gentle sadness at the omnipresence and inevitability of death, but there is nowhere anything weak or maundering. The amazing fecundity of the poet is well illustrated by presenting the bare titles of the tales contained in *The Earthly Paradise.* They are as follows: "Atalanta's Race," "The Man Born to be King," "The Doom of King Acrisius," "The Proud King," "The Story of Cupid and Psyche," "The Writing on the Image," "The Love of Alcestis," "The Lady of the Land," "The Son of Crœsus," "The Watching of the Falcon," "Pygmalion and the Image," "Ogier the Dane," "The Death of Paris," "The Land East of the Sun and West of the Moon," "The Story of Accontius and Cydippe," "The Man Who Never Laughed Again," "The Story of Rhodope," "The Lovers of Gudrun." "The Golden Apples," "The Fostering of Aslaug," "Bellerophon at Argos," "The Ring Given to Venus," "Bellerophon in Lycia," "The Hill of Venus." It is almost impossible to adequately represent the work of Morris by any selections from these tales, so interwoven with the context are his most beautiful lines. However, here is a song under the title month "July:"

> Fair was the morn to-day, the blossom's scent
> Floated across the fresh grass, and the bees
> With low vexed song from rose to lily went,

A gentle wind was in the heavy trees,
And thine eyes shone with joyous memories;
Fair was the early morn, and fair wert thou,
And I was happy—Ah, be happy now!

Peace and content without us, love within,
That hour there was, now thunder and wild rain
Have wrapped the cowering world, and foolish sin
And nameless pride have made us wise in vain;
Ah, love! although the morn shall come again,
And on new rosebuds the new sun shall smile,
Can we regain what we have lost meanwhile?

E'en now the west grows clear of storm and threat,
But midst the lightning did the fair sun die—
Ah! he shall rise again for ages yet,
He cannot waste his life—but thou and I—
Who knows if next morn this felicity
My lips may feel, or if thou still shalt live
This seal of love renewed once more to give?

The poet's skill in portraying scenes of nature is well indicated by these lines from "Pygmalion and the Image."

Fair was the day, the honeyed beanfield's scent
The west wind bore unto him; o'er the way
The glittering noisy poplar leaves did play.

All things were moving; as his hurried feet
Passed by, within the flowery swath he heard
The sweeping of the scythe, the swallow fleet
Rose over him, the sitting partridge stirred
On the field's edge; the brown bee by him whirred,
Or murmured in the clover flowers below,
But he with bowed-down head failed not to go.

Mr. John Morley has written thus of the poetical art of William Morris:

Mr. Morris's central quality is a vigorous and healthy objectivity; people who talk conventional cant talk about word-painting should turn to a page of *Jason* or *The Earthly Paradise* and watch how the most delicious pictures are produced by the simplest and directest means. Mr. Morris's descriptions, condensed, simple, absolutely free from all that is strained and all that is artificial, enter the reader's mind with the direct and vivid force of impressions coming straight from the painter's canvas. There is no English poet of this time, nor perhaps of any other, who has possessed this excellent gift of looking freshly and simply on eternal nature in all her many colors, and of reproducing what he sees with such effective precision and truthfulness.

The following lines from "Love is Enough" emphasize at least a part of what Mr. Morley has so finely said:

> And what do ye say then? that spring long departed
> Has brought forth no child to the softness and showers;
> That we slept and we dreamed through the summer of flowers;
> We dreamed of the winter, and waking dead-hearted
> Found winter upon us and waste of dull hours.

In the year 1871 William Morris and D. G. Rossetti entered into the joint occupation of Kelmscott Manor, a name which for five and twenty years thereafter was associated with some of Morris's most remarkable work. Prior to this time Morris had become an enthusiastic student of Icelandic literature, his studies in this field resulting in the translation of *The Saga of Gunnlaug the Worm-tongue and Rafn the Skald*, a volume entitled *The Story of Grettir the Strong*, and the *Völsung Saga*. Of this latter work Buxton Forman says: "Here the reader will find sentiment enough and romance enough—flashes of a weird magnificence that all the hills of the Land of Ice have not been able to overreach with their long dusk shadows, and that all the 'cold gray sea' that rings the Island of Thule has not washed free of its color and heat." "The Story of Trithiof the Bold," "The Story of Viglund the Fair," "The Tale of Hogni and Hedinn," "The Tale of Roi the Fool," "The Tale of Thorstein Staffsmitten," "The Story of Howard the Halt," "The Story of the Banded Men," "The Story of Hen Thorir," "The Story of the Ere Dwellers," and "The Story of the Heath Slayings" followed. That many of these works were in collaboration with Mr. Eirikr Magnússon does not detract from the immense industry and fertility of Morris. His translations, *The Aeneid of Virgil* and of *The Odyssey of Homer*, must also be regarded as triumphs of literary workmanship.

In 1877 Morris published his colossal work, *The Story of Sigurd the Volsung, and the Fall of the Niblungs*. This extended poem is written in anapestic rhyming couplets. The following quotation will convey but a slight impression of this noble and splendid poem:

> All hail, O Day and thy Sons, and thy kin of the colored things!
> Hail, following Night and thy Daughter that leadeth thy wavering wings!

Look down with unangry eyes on us to-day alive,
And give us the hearts victorious, and the gain for which we strive!
All hail, ye Lords of God-home, and Queens of the House of Gold!
Hail, thou dear earth that bearest, and thou Wealth of field and fold!
Give us, your noble children, the glory of wisdom and speech,
And the hearts and the hands of healing, and the mouths and the hands that teach!

In 1891 appeared *Poems by the Way*, a collection of the poet's fugitive verse. During the last eight years of his life, that is, from 1888 to 1896, Morris produced little poetry. But during this interval he was intensely alive to the world of humankind and to the great questions which are everywhere clamoring for solution. He seemed to feel that there could be nothing in common between modern social conditions and the spirit of poesy.

Morris's revolt against so much that is unlovely and grossly utilitarian in our present "unexampled progress" is revealed in the following lines from *The Earthly Paradise:*

Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
Forget the spreading of the hideous town;
Think rather of the pack-horse on the down,
And dream of London, small, and white, and clean,
The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green.

The root of Morris's socialism is to be found in the "terrible contrast presented by the life of the workmen of the past and the life of the workmen of to-day;" hence "the more profound grew his sense of dissatisfaction with the present conditions of society." His yearning for the better time was thus expressed:

Ah! good and ill,
When will your strife the fated measure fill?
When will the tangled veil be drawn away
To show us all that unimagined day?

The poet was constantly moved by his overmastering devotion to art and his clear perception that, if labor and art are again to go hand in hand, man must love his labor; he saw, further, that in the midst of modern social conditions man will not and cannot love his work. The distinct proposition which Morris formulated was this: "It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth

doing, and be of itself pleasant to do, and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither overwearisome nor overanxious." He says again:

What I mean by socialism is a condition of society in which there should be neither rich nor poor, neither master nor master's man, neither idle nor overworked, neither brain-sick brain workers nor heart-sick hand workers—in a word, in which all men would be living in equality of condition, and would manage their affairs unwastefully, and with the full consciousness that harm to one would mean harm to all—the realization at last of the meaning of the word "Commonwealth."

In further explanation of his position he said that he was compelled

Once to hope that the ugly disgraces of civilization might be got rid of by the conscious will of intelligent persons; yet, as I strove to stir up people to this reform, I found that the vulgarities of civilization lay deeper than I had thought, and little by little I was driven to the conclusion that all these uglinesses are but the outward expression of the innate moral baseness into which we are forced by our present form of society, and that it is futile to attempt to deal with them from the outside.

The unhappy condition of the modern workingman, as compared with the workingman of the past, was a theme to which Morris returned again and again. He says:

Now, they work consciously for a livelihood and blindly for a mere abstraction of a world-market which they do not know of, but with no thought of the work passing through their hands. Then, they worked to produce wares and to earn their livelihood by means of them; and their only market they had close at hand, and they knew it well. Now, the result of their work passes through the hands of half a dozen middlemen. Then, they worked directly for their neighbors, understanding their wants, and with no one coming between them. Huckstering which was then illegal, has now become the main business of life, and of course those who practice it most successfully are better rewarded than anyone else in the community. Now, people work under the direction of an absolute master whose power is restrained by a trade's union, in absolute hostility to that master. Then, they worked under the direction of their own collective wills by means of trade guilds. Now, the factory hand, the townsman is a different animal from the countryman. Then, every man was interested in agriculture, and lived with the green fields coming close to his own doors. In short, the difference between the two may be told very much in these words: "In those days daily life as a whole was pleasant, although its accidents might be rough and tragic. Now, daily life is dreary, stupid, wooden,

and the only pleasure is in excitement, even if that pleasure should be more or less painful or terrible."

In his Utopian romance, *News from Nowhere*, Morris presents us with a condition of human society in which there are no laws nor lawyers, no judges, no government. He aims at escaping wholly from the complex relations of modern life, and seeks to enter into a state of primal, untrammeled simplicity. According to Mr. Lionel Johnson, he shows a "loving and personal regard for the very earth itself, . . . that sense of the motherhood of the earth which makes a man love the smell of the fields after rain, or the look of running water." The leading thoughts which the author seeks to impress upon the reader are that "pleasure in work is the secret of art and content," and that "delight in physical life upon the earth is the natural state of man."

The year 1888 saw the beginning of that cycle of prose romances upon which Morris continued to work until the end of his life. *A Tale of the House of the Wolfings* appeared in December, 1888. In 1890 was published *The Roots of the Mountains*. In this year, also, *The Story of the Glittering Plain* was printed as a serial in Macmillan's *English Illustrated Magazine*. Then followed *News from Nowhere*, which in turn was followed by *The Wood Beyond the World*. In 1895 appeared the volume entitled *Of Child Christopher and Goldilind the Fair*, which was succeeded, in 1896, by *The Well at the World's End*, the last work which Mr. Morris published before his death. *The Water of the Wondrous Isles* and *The Sundering Flood* are posthumous works in character not unlike their predecessors.

Morris took up the work of printing and book decoration in the same spirit in which he engaged in other arts. All the volumes which have come from the Kelmscott press are models of beauty and design, and show a return to the earlier styles of printing and binding when thought and individuality went into the making of each book. Superadded to this is an originality of detail and execution which set the Kelmscott publications quite apart from the usual modern products of the press.

In the month of February, 1896, Morris's health gave way,

and his friends began to entertain for him serious alarm. Afterward he seemed to rally a little. But on the third of October, 1896, the end came, and he tranquilly passed away at Kelmscott House, Hammersmith. The funeral was unostentatious, as he would have desired. At Lechlade station the remains were placed on a harvest cart, instead of a hearse. The body of this cart was painted yellow, the wheels red, and the framework had been festooned with vines, willow branches, flowers, and berries. "The roan mare in the shafts had vine leaves in its blinkers, and strings of vines were festooned across the top of the wain. The bottom of the cart was lined with moss." Thus the body of William Morris was conveyed to the churchyard of his beloved Kelmscott. The grave lies shadowed by tall trees and buried in long grass, close to the wall of the little churchyard where it is skirted by the country road—a remote and quiet resting place for one who, throughout his busy and strenuous days, dreamed of that happy bourne "where beyond these voices there is peace."

Says a certain writer of the benefits which resulted for the age from his artistic service:

> His whole life was a vivid and in many respects a successful protest against the squalor of modern industrialism. To him, more than to any other man, we owe our emancipation from the hideous vulgarity of middle-Victorian house decoration and upholstery. Others preached, but William Morris, in whom a keen artistic sense was happily allied to skilled workmanship, was able to supplement precept by practice and visibly demonstrate the superiority of his methods. . . . He warred with brilliant success against the tyranny of ugliness . . . surely no mean achievement in a mechanical and utilitarian age.

James B. Kenyon.

Art. VI.—MUST SYNTAX DIE THAT THE SABBATH MAY LIVE?

In the contest with the tireless seventh-day Sabbatarians increasingly are certain Methodist writers insisting that the resurrection of Christ upon the first day of the week recovered and reenacted the original, creational, and true Sabbath.* With hearty sympathy does the writer view their every legitimate argument to establish the sanctity and foster the hallowing of the Lord's Day. But when a claim on its behalf is distinctly based upon, or forcibly corroborated by, a gross wresting of the Holy Scripture, suspicion as to its validity instinctively sets in, to say nothing of mortification and repugnance.

Each of the works named, and two of them with the pleasing consciousness of having brought to light that which was hid from the wise and prudent from the foundation of the world, assert that the words in Matt. xxviii, 1, *μίαν σαββάτων*, are falsely translated "the first day of the week." One avers that it can only be rendered "the first of the Sabbaths." Thus to him Christ's resurrection was so timed as to mark for all mankind through ages to come the very day of the week which was the original "first of the Sabbaths," to the abrogation of all other later, transitory, and inferior Sabbaths, such as that of the Jews on the seventh day. With slightly less grammatical violence another will read it, "[Number] one of the Sabbaths," declaring the Holy Ghost uniquely thus to have numbered it as the first of the new series of Christian Sabbaths. These are the general affirmations: (1) Nothing in the Hebrew Old Testament justifies the "day-of-the-week" rendering of Matt. xxviii, 1, and its similar parallels. (2) Both the LXX and the current Greek had a phrase for "the first day of the week," had any New Testament writer wished to speak thereof.† (3) The Greek of the LXX, in constant use by Christ and the apostles, never used the Greek word for "Sabbath" to

*"Saturdarianism: A Brief Review," *Methodist Review*, November, 1897. *The True Sabbath*. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1892. *The Sabbath*. New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1888.

†Apart from the form to be considered later the present writer fails to recall the use of such phrase by the LXX.

express "week" or "day of the week." (4) No Greek word for "day" occurs in any of the passages. (5) There is no Greek word for "week" or "day of the week" in the Greek New Testament. Forcing this last assertion even in Luke xviii, 12, where the Pharisee says, *νηστεύω δὶς τοῦ σαββάτου*, they flinch not, one valiantly rendering it, "I fast twice on the Sabbath," while another, with more or less tenderness of grammatical conscience, hunts up two yearly fasts and then renders it, "I fast twice (a year) on the Sabbath!" Characterized has been the action whereby one will strain out a "week" or "day" and then swallow a whole "year," with a wipe of the mouth denying all iniquity. Of this more anon. But this widely heralded Klondike discovery as to *μίαν σαββάτων* turns out to be only the glitter of fool's gold. It rests upon the profoundest ignoring or ignorance of a law of syntax fundamental to inflected speech, and especially of the usage and influence of the Aramaic tongue which was the vernacular of Jesus and his apostles. Must syntax die that the Sabbath may live?

Let these affirmations be traversed: "4. No Greek word for 'day' occurs in any of the passages." Made for simple readers of English, that statement lacks candor. Said word is there, latent, to a much greater degree than it is in our phrase, "The 25th of the month." Upon being asked, "The 25th what?" the veriest child instantly replies, "day." But stronger yet is the case in hand. The adjectival word *μίαν* is in the feminine gender, and an immutable law requires adjective modifiers to agree with their nouns in gender. *Σάββατον* is of the neuter gender (Mark ii, 27, *τὸ σάββατον*; iii, 2, *τοῖς σάββασιν*), and out of the question. What feminine Greek word is latent in this phrase, and yet so patent as to reflect upon this adjective numeral its feminine hue? Plainly the feminine word *ἡμέρα*, "day," as analogously it is found in Mark xiv, 12, *πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων*, though latent in Matthew's parallel (xxvi, 17), *πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων*, "the first day of unleavened bread." Baldly to aver that "no Greek word for 'day' occurs in any of the passages," is to blind the simple English reader to the fact that an inflected language, by its numerous genders and cases, can indicate the presence and force of latent words to an extent undreamed in English. Of every candid Greek scholar it is

properly demanded what feminine Greek word it is which compels the numeral adjective to don its feminine dress. Until a more suitable word is proved we insist that it is *ἡμέρα*, "day."

But difficulties thicken fast. Only a tyro would render that phrase as "the first (or one) of the Sabbaths." Such a rendering could arise only from a construction known as that of "the part and the whole." Amplified it would be "the first [or one] Sabbath [the part] of the Sabbaths [the whole]." Elsewhere, however, the Holy Ghost has invariably taught that the numeral adjective governing the word for the part must agree in gender with the word for the whole. Thus, with masculine nouns of the whole, the form of the numeral governing the latent noun of the part is ever in the masculine also. The following are examples of this rule: Matt. xviii, 28, *ἕνα* [*masc.*, *σύνδουλον*, *masc.*] *τῶν συνδούλων* [*masc.*], "one of his fellow-servants;" Mark xii, 28, *εἷς* [*m. γραμματεύς*, *m.*] *τῶν γραμματέων*, [*m.*], "one of the scribes;" Luke xi, 46, *ἑνὶ* [*m.*, *δακτύλῳ*, *m.*] *τῶν δακτύλων* [*m.*] *ὑμῶν*, "one of your fingers." The same holds good with neuter nouns of the whole: Matt. v, 29, *ἓν* [*neut.*, *μέλος*, *neut.*] *τῶν μελῶν* [*neut.*] *σου*, "one of thy members;" Matt. vi, 28, *ἓν* [*n.*, *κρίνον*, *n.*] *τούτων* [*κρίνων*, *n.*] "one of these [lilies"]; Rev. xv, 7, *ἓν* [*n.*, *ζῷον*, *n.*] *ἐκ τῶν περάσσων ζῴων* [*n.*], "one of the four beasts." Nor is it otherwise with feminine nouns: Matt. v, 19, *μίαν* [*fem.*, *ἐντολήν*, *fem.*] *τῶν ἐντολῶν* [*fem.*] *τούτων*, "one of these commandments;" Mark xiv, 66, *μία* [*f.*, *παιδίσκη*, *f.*] *τῶν παιδισκῶν* [*f.*], "one of the maids;" Luke v, 12, *μίᾳ* [*f. πολεῖ*, *f.*] *τῶν πόλεων* [*f.*], "one of the cities," [R.V.]; Luke xiii, 10, *μίᾳ* [*f.*, *συναγωγῇ*, *f.*] *τῶν συναγωγῶν* [*f.*], "one of the synagogues;" and notably, Luke xx, 1, *μίᾳ* [*f.*, *ἡμέρᾳ*, *f.*] *τῶν ἡμερῶν* [*f.*], "one of those days." According to this law, had the Holy Ghost seen fit to write either *πρῶτον* or *ἓν τῶν σαββάτων* we could and must have rendered his phrase "the first [or one] of the Sabbaths." Or, were *σάββατον* feminine in gender, *μίαν σαββάτων* should be rendered as alleged. But, as neither of these conditions is real, the Holy Ghost evidently declined thus to speak, and he may be trusted exactly to have said what he meant, and meant what he said.

Consider affirmation 1, "Nothing in the Hebrew Old Testament justifies the 'day-of-the-week' rendering of Matt. xxviii, 1, and its similar parallels." This is another bluff. For centuries Hebrew had so ceased to be the vernacular of the people that the masses could not understand the reading of the Hebrew Old Testament in the synagogue. Thus the extra-Palestinian Jews had to have the same translated for them into that modification of Greek which was current in the native land of each. Thus arose the Alexandrian Greek version known as the "Septuagint," and designated the "LXX." But the Palestinian Jews received the same carefully translated sentence by sentence by the "*methurgeman*" (modern dragoman) into their Aramaic vernacular. The result of such translation is the "Targum." This it is which furnishes the key to unlock the present mystery, as presently will be shown. To affirm, therefore, that a certain phrase is not justified in a version of the Greek New Testament because absent from the Hebrew Old Testament is about as forcible as to aver that our present English lacks some idiom because the Latin ancestor of the Norman French knows nothing of it. Alas! Into the gulf between the Testaments how many have plunged headlong.

Consider affirmation 3. "The Greek of the LXX, in constant use by Christ and the apostles, never used the Greek word for 'Sabbath' to express 'week,' or 'day of the week.'" Unfortunately this is in "head-end" collision with the facts. The Septuagint Greek is that of the Greek-speaking Alexandrian Jews, and is tinctured with Egyptian forms. It gives no hint as to the form of Greek used in Palestine, measurably perhaps by Christ and the apostles, and tinctured by their Aramaic vernacular, its words, and idioms. But even the Alexandrian LXX of 275 B. C. shows that the Jews had begun to understand the Hebrew word שַׁבָּת, "Sabbath," not only of a single day, but also of the period following each Sabbath which we call the week. In certain cases they actually so render it. For instance: In Lev. xxiii, 15, are the words שַׁבָּתוֹת תְּמִימֹת שֶׁבַע, or "seven full Sabbaths." This the LXX unhesitatingly render as ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδας ὁλοκλήρους, or "seven full weeks." In verse 16 the Hebrew says, "Until the morrow after the seventh [שַׁבָּת] Sabbath shall ye number fifty days." This the LXX

give thus, "Until the morrow [*ἐσχάτης ἑβδομάδος*] of the last week shall ye count the fifty days." In Lev. xxv, 8, the Hebrew שֶׁבַע שַׁבָּתֹת הַשָּׁנִים, "the seven sabbaths of years," is given by the LXX as *ἑπτὰ ἑβδομάδες ἐτῶν*, "seven weeks of years."

These cases, however, are but as the little finger compared to what stands out in the titles to some of the Psalms, as given by the LXX. Thereby is most manifest that they did use the Greek word for "Sabbath," *σάββατον*, for the "day of the week." It gives: Psalm xcii, as for *τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου*, *Heb.*, יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, (Jerome's *Vulgate*, "*In dei Sabbati*"); Psalm xxiv, as for *τῆς μίας σαββάτου*, (Jer. *Vulg.*, "*Prima Sabbati*"); Psalm xlviii,* as for *δευτέρα σαββάτου*, (Jer. *Vulg.*, "*Secunda Sabbati.*"); Psalm lxxxii, "According to the Talmud it was the psalm for Tuesday," (Delitzsch), that is, for the third day of the week; Psalm xciv, as for *τετράδι σαββάτου* (Jer. *Vulg.*, "*Quarta Sabbati*"); Psalm lxxxi, "In the liturgy of the temple for the days of the week it was the psalm for Thursday," (Delitzsch), that is, for the fifth day of the week; Psalm xciii,† as for *τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου*, (Jer. *Vulg.* "*Die ante Sabbatum*"). Here the combined testimony of the LXX, the Talmud, and the Vulgate shows that in the time of the second temple seven psalms were used in the daily service. ‡ There is one for each day in the week. What was the force of the word *σαββάτου*, as well as the Latin form of the same, we beg our discoverers to say. They are tabulated as follows:

xcii	for the day of the Sabbath;
xxiv	for (day) one *σαββάτου*, = ? ;
xlviii	for (day) second *σαββάτου* = ?;
lxxxii	for (day) third of the week;
xciv	for (day) fourth *σαββάτου* = ?;
lxxxi	for (day) fifth of the week;
xciii	for the day of the fore-sabbath.

In the first and last cases the word "day" is expressed. As in the remaining, the numerals "one," "second," and "fourth,"

* So Codex B. and others. † So Codex B.

‡ Says Cheyne, in the Bampton Lectures for 1889, pp. 72 and 83: "Sunday's psalm is Ps. xxiv; Monday's, Ps. xlviii; Tuesday's, Ps. lxxxii; Wednesday's, xciv; Thursday's, Ps. lxxxi; Friday's, Ps. xciii; Saturday's, xcii."

are feminine they must be controlled by a noun of that gender, unanimously and analogously indicated as *ἡμέρα*, "day." Will our friends give us the translation of the word *σαββάτου* therein?

But, behind all this growing usage of the LXX was that of the speakers of the West Aramaic—often falsely called "Chaldee" and even "Hebrew," as in Acts xxi, 40—the vernacular of Jesus and the apostles. Through the Greek Testament and even into the English shine certain of the actual precious words of Jesus in his Aramaic tongue. They are found in Mark v, 41; vii, 34; x, 9, 10; xv, 34. Another word therefrom in 1 Cor. xvi, 20. In that language we have the names of the days of the week * as Mary taught them to her son Jesus. The allied ancient East Aramaic, or Syriac, had exactly the same.† It should be noted in the correspondences made that "day" is masculine in Hebrew, but feminine in Greek:

First day, אֶחָד בַּשַּׁבְּתָא (יוֹם), ("day" *m.*), "one [*m.*] in the Shabba" ‡ = ? (*ἡμέρα*) *f.* *μία* (*f.*) *τῶν σαββατῶν*, ("day" *f.*) "one § [*f.*] of the——— ?"

Second day, תְּרֵי בַּשַּׁבְּתָא (יוֹם), ("day") "second in the Shabba = ?" (*ἡμέρα*) *δευτέρα σαββάτων*, ("day") "second of the——— ?" ‖

Third day, שְׁלִישֵׁי בְּשַׁבְּתָא (יוֹם), ("day") "third in the Sabbath" = ? (*ἡμέρα*) *τρίτη σαββάτων*, ("day") "third of the——— ?"

Fourth day, רְבִיעָי בְּשַׁבְּתָא (יוֹם), ("day") "fourth in the Sabbath" = ? (*ἡμέρα*) *τέτρας σαββάτων*, ("day") fourth of the——— ?" ‖

Fifth day, (exactly the same formation). See *Teaching*, etc.

Sixth day, עֶרֶב הַשַּׁבָּת, "eve of the Sabbath." Mark xv, 42, "preparation" = *παρασκευή* = *προσάββατον* = the "fore-sabbath."

Seventh day, יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת "the Sabbath." Josephus, *Ant.* 3. 6. 6; *τὴν ἑβδόμην σάββατα καλοῦμεν*, "the seventh [day] we call Sabbath."

After examining this table who is there with the temerity to deny that in the dialect of Jesus and his companions the

* See Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ*. 1686, vol. ii, p. 389. According to him, also, the Jews were wont to speak of the first day of the week as יוֹם נִיצְרֵי, or the "day of the Nazarenes."

† See Nestle's *Syriac Grammar*, 1889, p. 132.

‡ At various times the Talmudists spelled the word שַׁבָּת as שַׁבְּ and שִׁיבְּ. They also used the Aramaic form שַׁבְּתָא = Shabbetha, which the Greeks transliterated now as a singular neuter noun *σάββατον*, and now as a plural neuter noun *σάββατα*, with like singular significance. See Gesenius's *Handwörterbuch*, Elfte Aufl.

§ The philosophy of this cardinal number will be later set forth.

‖ See *The Teaching of the Twelve* for this form, which will be discussed hereafter.

word σάββατον or σάββατα meant not only a day, but also the period following that day until the next, which we call a week?

One of the writers demands a case in Greek literature outside the New Testament in which σάββατον is used for "week." It is close at hand, and occurs in connection with the Pharisaic fasting mentioned in Luke xviii, 12, which was later baptized into the Christian Church and morals. Abundantly established is it* that the Pharisees fasted twice a week,† namely, "on the fifth day of the week, on which Moses ascended to the top of Sinai [Thursday];" and "on the second day, on which he came down [Monday]. This biweekly [*sic*] fasting has also been adopted in the Christian Church; but Monday and Thursday were changed to Wednesday and Friday (*feria quarta et sexta*), as commemorative of the betrayal and crucifixion of Christ."‡ The process of weaning the early Christians from these Jewish twice-a-week fasts, and that by the ingenious substitution of two other days in the week, is laid bare in the lately found *Teaching of the Twelve*, which was published not much more then twenty years after the death of the apostle John and cites principles long settled at that time. In viii, 1, are found these words: Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν · νηστεύουσιν γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων, καὶ πέμπτῃ · ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. The writer dares render

* See Taanith 12a, and McClintock and Strong, vol. iii, p. 489, col. 1.

† Groundlessly does the article in this *Review* (November, 1897) deny this, alleging that "the Pharisees came into existence to revive the literal teachings of Moses. He never taught weekly fasts. There is no intimation of anything of the kind in the Old Testament or anywhere in the New, except by misrepresenting this passage of Scripture," that is, Luke xviii, 12. A tissue of misrepresentations is this entire passage. How strange that Jesus so sadly misjudged this animus of the Pharisees, but constantly cried against them, "Woe unto you, hypocrites! Why do ye make the word of God of none effect by your traditions?" Strange that the evangelists should so have misrepresented them as "fasting oft" and "washing their hands oft, holding the tradition of the elders," since Moses said as little about eating with "unwashed hands" as about "weekly fasts!" *Ergo*, they gave no heed, forsooth, to such things! In addition to a fuller and unbiased study of the Bible very informing would be a greater familiarity with such works as those of Schürer, Edersheim, Delitzsch, Weber, and Stapfer. Judith (viii, 6) religiously feasted (not fasted) all the Sabbaths.

‡ John Wesley's *Journal* shows how, in the days of his legal struggling, he adopted these two days of fasting as "kept by the ancient Church." It was done in the same spirit in which on March 28, 1738, just eight weeks and one day before his heart's strange warming at Aldersgate Street, he resolved "not willingly to indulge" himself "in laughter, no, not for a moment." The Friday fast he never outgrew, but sought to enforce it among "the people called Methodists." The history and fate of the attempt may be instructively studied in the various editions of the Discipline.

this exhortation only thus: "Let not your fasts be in conjunction with the hypocrites;* for they do fast on the second day of the week and the fifth; but do ye adopt fasting during the fourth and Preparation!" That last was the sixth day of the week. What were the others by number referred to in the passage?

But the most delicate point of all remains. It clearly reveals that we have here to deal with a Hebraism and Aramaism which has clothed itself in Greek words. The keen eye has noted that *μίαν* is a cardinal numeral, not an ordinal, as in the other cases. Elsewhere we have had "second," "third" (Luke xviii, 33), "fourth," etc. But in all these seven passages alone, which are rendered "the first day of the week," the numeral is really the cardinal "one." Thereby hangs a true tale, not a pious fiction. The fact is that the Hebrew, and after it the Aramaic, had no ordinal corresponding to "one."† It therefore used the cardinal, not only as a cardinal, but as an ordinal also. The Revised Version now shows this peculiarity at the end of the first creative day. We have in Genesis i, 8, "second day;" 13, "third day;" and so on to 31, "sixth day." In verse 5, however, it is "one day," or, following the exact Hebrew order, "day one."

With all the delicacy of the Bertillon system of identification this mysterious cardinal *μίαν*, "one," exceptionally used in just these seven cases of the day of the week‡ where Greeks, Latins, Germans, and English would use their ordinal, "first," reveals the fact that we have here nothing but the slavish Greek wording of the Hebrew Aramaic phrase יוֹם) אֶחָד בְּשַׁבָּא), or, "(day) one in the week," which in Matt. xxviii, 1, and parallels is Grecized as *μίαν τῶν σαββάτων*. In

* Observe how this characterization of the Pharisees by Jesus appears as the standing term for them, even a hundred years later.

† The Hebrew word רֵאשׁוֹן meaning "head," "chief," not a numeral at all, is often used, and is usually rendered by the LXX by *πρῶτος* and by the A. V. as "first."

‡ Strangely corroboratory is the fact that in speaking of "the first day of" other periods than the week, as the "days of unleavened bread," Matt. xxvi, 17; Mark xiv, 12, the ordinal *πρώτη* is invariably used. The classical and anomalous use of *πρώτη* (followed too by the singular, *σαββάτου*) in Mark xvi, 9, astonishingly credits the statement lately discovered that, as long suspected, the last twelve verses of that book are not Mark's, but were written by the "Presbyter Ariston, a disciple of the Lord."

the light of its history and syntax it can be intelligently and honestly rendered other than "the first day of the week." *

As a vital or corroboratory part of any argument for the sanctifying of the Lord's Day this traversed exegesis, instead of being a monumental discovery, is but a monumental blunder. Thereby our foes will have us in derision.

> Tell it not in Gath,
> Publish it not in the streets of Battle Creek;
> Lest the daughters of the Sabbatarians rejoice,
> Lest the daughters of the Saturdarians triumph.

* Translating the New Testament into the most idiomatic Hebrew for the Jews, Delitzsch hesitates not to render Matt. xxviii, 1, as אֶחָד בַּשַּׁבָּת, "One [*masc.*] in the Sabbath," after the Hebrew Aramaic usage. Born a Jew, and for the larger part of a century a devout and scholarly Christian, he may be trusted to have known something about the Holy Scriptures. In order to prevent a misunderstanding, however, he renders Luke xviii, 12, by שָׁבוּעַ, the word customary for "week," when the order of its days is not in mind.

Wilbur Fletcher Steele.

Art. VII.—JOHN WESLEY'S SCHOOL AT KINGSWOOD.

Methodism owes more than it knows to the fact that its founder was a gentleman and a scholar. The rector of Epworth gloried in the knowledge that he had given his three sons "the best education which England could afford," yet he little dreamed that the training received by John and Charles Wesley at Charterhouse and Westminster schools and at Christ Church and Lincoln colleges in Oxford would become a lever for raising the whole tone of education throughout the English-speaking world. Charles Wesley's poetry was itself an education for the early Methodists. All his classical learning, all his reading, all his studies of the English poets were brought to bear on his work as the hymn writer of the evangelical revival. Doors were thus opened into literature, and a tincture of scholarship given to the colliers, weavers, tinners, and common folk who sang the Methodist hymns at Moorfields, Gwennap, Kingswood, Bolton, and Newcastle. John Wesley's influence was not less decisive. He had to deal with common people and early mastered the art of simplicity, but never forgot the words of John Richard Green in his exquisite volume of *Stray Studies*, "I must confess that my own experience among the poor agrees pretty much with Edward Denison's, and that I believe 'high thinking' put into plain English to be more likely to tell on a dockyard laborer than all the 'simple Gospel sermons' in the world."

Wesley's zeal for education found notable expression in the founding of his famous school at Kingswood, which celebrated its third jubilee in June, 1898. It has long since left its first home in the colliers' village near Bristol for a splendid site near Bath, but the third jubilee carries us back to the homely beginning of a scheme which might not unaptly be described, with all due regard to his wife, as Wesley's "thorn in the flesh." None of his schemes tried his faith and patience more than this institution at Kingswood. In the spring of 1739 George Whitefield had laid the foundation of a school for the colliers' children there. Wesley had to take over this unfin-

ished work, and for months he begged subscriptions for it wherever he went. One of the first masters was John Cennick, author of the well-known hymn, "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb." Afterward Cennick became a Calvinist.

The colliers' school was a happy success, and in 1746, when Wesley's plans for what would now be called secondary education had ripened, he selected a site in the same village for his new institution. It was a peaceful spot, remote from high-roads and with abundant room for large gardens. In a conversation at the Conference of 1748 Wesley said, "We design to train up children there, if God permit, in every branch of useful learning, from the very alphabet till they are fit as to all acquired qualifications for the work of the ministry." The great evangelist sketched his scheme before his friends and helpers. The time-table was so full that a natural objection was made that it left no opportunity for the boys to play. "No," rejoined Wesley, "he that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man." The master of logic was betrayed into a gross fallacy here, and it vitiated much of his work at Kingswood. But his heart was in his task. He contributed largely to the funds from the proceeds of his fellowship, and found a noble benefactor who sympathized with his desire to establish a school worthy of the apostolic age, and gave him first £500 and then £300 for his building.

The school was opened on June 24, 1748, by the Wesleys. John preached from the text, "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it." After the communion service the brothers retired to draw up the rules for their new institution. Provision was made for receiving fifty children, and on the front of the building was inscribed its famous motto, "*In Gloriam Dei Optimi Maximi, In Usum Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ.*" Below was written, "Jehovah Jireh" in Hebrew characters. Wesley's rules for his model school were very strict. Parents handed over their boys to the entire control of the master with an agreement that they should observe all the rules of the house. No boy was to be taken "from school, no, not a day, till they take him for good and all." The children had to rise at four, both in winter and summer, and after an hour given to private reading

and prayer they met for public worship. "From six," say the rules, "they work till breakfast; for as we have no play-days (the school being taught every day in the year but Sunday), so neither do we allow any time for play on any day. He that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man." This was a German proverb which Wesley fondly calls "wise," and to which he adds the question, "If not, why should he learn now what he must unlearn by and by?" But, if the boys were not allowed to play, they were encouraged to work in the garden, to chop wood, to draw water, and to engage in other useful exercise. Despite its hard rules Kingswood was not unpopular. Within a few months after it was opened there were twenty-eight pupils, each of whom paid fourteen pounds for board, teaching, and books. Wesley set his heart on securing masters "who were truly devoted to God, who sought nothing on earth, neither pleasure, nor ease, nor profit, nor the praise of men." These were high qualifications, but some of the masters possessed them in no small degree. One of them was William Spencer, of whom John Cennick wrote to Wesley on August 16, 1740, as follows:

Dr. Brother—I write now to ask your mind about letting Wm. Spencer be a sort of Usher to y^e^ school at Kingswood under me, so might fifteen or twenty Boys more be brought up, to y^e^ Good of them, and to y^e^ satisfying y^e^ inquisitive people, who are always asking for more Masters. You are perswaided I cannot alway be there. Yet so often as I cou'd an Hour or more of a day perhap's I might, and in that I might show him what to do. He can write and cast account well, and wou'd be content with Food & Rayment. This, I believe, we (that is, our Society) cou'd afford. Yet, dr Sir, if it be not according to your will, speak and I have done. He is teas'd at Home, and to get from them looks to Jamaica. I think 'tis better to abide here.

Mr. Spencer did good service in the colliers' school and was transferred to the boarding school. The whole household shared the same temper. Mary Davey, the housekeeper wrote to Wesley:

The spirit of this family is a resemblance of the household above. As far as I can discern they are given up to God, and pursue but the one great end. If any is afraid this school will eclipse and darken others, or that it will train up soldiers to proclaim open war against the god of this world, I believe it is not a groundless fear. For if God continue to

bless us, "one of these little ones shall chase a thousand." I doubt not but there will arise ambassadors for the King of kings from this obscure spot, that shall spread His glory all abroad, and bring many souls unto the knowledge of the truth.

At first things went well, but when Wesley visited Kingswood in July, 1749, he found that the rules had not been observed. The maids were divided into two parties, and the flames were studiously fanned by the constant whispering of a tale-bearing manservant. Mary Davey herself was found wanting. "The children were not properly attended, nor were things done with due care and exactness." All this might have been remedied, but the masters were not faithful. Richard Moss "was grave and weighty in his behavior, and did much good," Wesley says, until Walter Sellon "set the children against him, and, instead of restraining them from play, played with them himself." The following year Wesley was so troubled that he expressed surprise that he was withheld from dropping a design attended by such continual difficulty. Changes and expulsions cleared the atmosphere, and in June, 1751, Wesley writes of his diminished but purified establishment, "I believe all in the house are at length of one mind, and trust God will bless us in the latter end more than in the beginning." Two years later he has to speak again of his struggles. "Surely," he says, "the importance of this design is apparent, even from the difficulties that attend it. I have spent more money and time and care on this than almost any design I ever had, and still it exercises all the patience I have. But it is worth all the labor."

In 1756 the Conference in Bristol agreed that a short account of the design and present state of the school should be read in every society and annual subscriptions and collections made for its support. This raised it to the dignity of a connectional institution, though the financial results were modest. A few preachers' boys were admitted free, but Kingswood was still a boarding school for the sons of the laity. An old account book for 1764 to 1770, preserved at the school, shows that a "sute of cloathes" cost about £2. 6. 0. The long coat was of broadcloth; there was a vest and a pair of knee-breeches. Stockings were from eighteenpence to two shil-

lings and fourpence a pair. One boy indulges in a new wig at a cost of six shillings, a pair of gloves at tenpence. His great coat is turned into a straight one, with new trimmings, for three shillings and sixpence. This same boy figures again in the records: "To pocket money for a year and a Hatt and A Bottle for his head 3s. 3d., to ye Doctor for sore head 10s. 6d., to doctor's bill for sore breast 16s. 6d." Of Willie Darney, a preacher's lad, there is this brief but touching record, "Physic 2s., to doctor's bill £1. 3s. 9d., to coffin, shroud, etc., 19s."

In April, 1768, when Joseph Benson and James Hindmarsh were masters at Kingswood, a great revival broke out. Hindmarsh wrote to tell Wesley the good news. "We have no need to exhort them to pray," he said, "for that spirit runs through the whole school; so that this house may well be called 'a house of prayer.'" Eight boys found peace whilst he was writing, and he opened his letter to report that two more were rejoicing in God, their Saviour. "This," he adds, "is the day we have wished for so long; the day you have had in view, which has made you go through so much opposition for the good of these poor children." Wesley's heart was gladdened in September when he visited Kingswood. "All behave in such a manner," he wrote, "that I have seen no other schoolboys like them." The numbers rose till there were nearly fifty boarders. The masters were now overburdened, and the exact order possible in a smaller school could not be maintained. "However," says Wesley, "this still comes nearer a Christian school than any I know in the kingdom." In 1770 there were thirteen days of spiritual tension which could not fail to be injurious to excitable boys. Wesley found next year that the effects of this upheaval had disappeared. "I spent an hour," he says, "among our children at Kingswood. It is strange. How long shall we be constrained to weave Penelope's web? What is become of the wonderful work of grace which God wrought in them last September? It is gone! It is lost! It is vanished away! There is scarce any trace of it remaining! Then we must begin again; and in due time we shall reap, if we faint not."

Ten years later Wesley again complains of the state of

things: "I found some of the rules had not been observed at all, particularly that of rising in the morning. Surely Satan has a peculiar spite at this school! What trouble has it cost me for above these thirty years! I can plan; but who will execute? I know not; God help me!" Besides the boys Wesley made provision for the training of more advanced students. It was in this capacity that Adam Clarke made his unfortunate acquaintance with Kingswood in August, 1782. He was sent here by Wesley to prepare for the ministry, but Mr. Simpson, the head master, received him very coolly. He advised the Irish youth to go to Bristol and await Wesley's instructions. But this was idle talk for a man who had only three halfpence in his pocket. Clarke had to stay, but he was made as uncomfortable as possible. He was confined to his room, where the maid brought him his solitary meals. Mrs. Simpson, whom Clarke described as the "Bengal Tiger," suspected that he had the itch, and he was compelled to rub himself with Jackson's ointment, a ceremony which introduced him to the only fire he saw at Kingswood. A change of sheets was refused him, and for about ten days his box was left lying at the inn in Bristol, so that he had no change of clothes and was forced to bear about him by day and night the "infernal unguent." He had bread and milk for breakfast, for dinner, and for supper; he was left to make his own bed, sweep his own room, and perform all the other duties of a chambermaid. His durance lasted for three weeks. His fingers were benumbed with cold, but Mr. Simpson would not allow him to have a fire. He advised him to try some form of physical exertion from which, however, he was forced away by the redoubtable "Bengal Tiger," who never seemed happy unless she was driving everything before her. Working in the garden here Clarke found half a guinea. No owner could be discovered, and Mr. Simpson refused to accept it for the school. It thus remained in Adam's hands. It enabled him to subscribe for a Hebrew grammar published by the second master. The foundations of his scholarship were thus laid in the uncongenial atmosphere of Kingswood. Wesley's return brought sunshine for Clarke. He was differently treated when it was found that he enjoyed the favor of the founder.

He now discovered that Mrs. Simpson was the real head of the school. All stood in awe of this redoubtable woman, and Clarke says, "I feared her more than I feared Satan himself." The following indicates the disorganization of the school:

> In several respects each did what was right in his own eyes. There was no efficient plan pursued; they mocked at religion, and trampled under foot all the laws. The little children of the preachers suffered great indignities; and, it is to be feared, their treatment there gave many of them a rooted enmity against religion for life. The parlor boarders had every kind of respect paid to them, and the others were shamefully neglected. Scarcely any care was taken either of their bodies or souls.

Clarke's verdict probably influenced Wesley, who changed the masters and was able at last to rejoice that all the rules were observed and the children in good order. In 1786 he says: "I walked over to Kingswood school, now one of the pleasantest spots in England. I found all things just according to my desire, the rules being well observed, and the whole behavior of the children showing that they were now managed with the wisdom that cometh from above."

The preachers' sons were now beginning to push out the lay boarders. The Conference of 1788 resolved to raise the number of the first to forty and to reduce the boarders to ten. About six years later Kingswood became exclusively a school for preachers' sons. Joseph Bradford, Wesley's former traveling companion—who had nursed the old evangelist with filial tenderness, and repeated the words, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and this heir of glory shall come in," as the founder of Methodism escaped to the skies—was governor of Kingswood from 1795 to 1802. An "old boy" used to describe how the tall and gaunt governor stalked into the dormitory in the early mornings and with one stroke of his oaken staff on the floor roused the youthful sleepers. Then, watch in hand, he marked off three minutes, at the end of which all the boys were expected to be sufficiently dressed to kneel down for their devotions. They washed in a long, low gallery open to the raw air, so that the old prayer was not offered in vain,

> Train up thy hardy soldiers, Lord,
> In all their Captain's steps to tread!

Pocket money, one finds from the accounts, was given to the little fellows, and when he left the school each boy had six new shirts, six new pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, two hats, pocket-handkerchiefs, and other articles.

Kingswood sometimes furnished a welcome shelter for a broken-down preacher such as William Stevens, who was appointed writing and English master in 1802. A small dirty cottage was all that could be provided for him at short notice, and here he had to begin life again without a spoon or a single article of furniture. Besides his scholastic duties he opened a druggist and stationery shop and did duty as a medical practitioner in the district. He afterward started a boarding and day school in Kingswood, toward which the Conference gave him a grant from the Preachers' Merciful Fund.

The first prize list that has been preserved—that for January, 1819—contains the name of James Moulton, who received Homer's *Iliad* as his prize. His father was a Wesleyan minister, and he himself entered the ranks in 1828, and left four sons—William Fiddian, who became head master of the Leys; James Egan, President of New South Wales Conference in 1893; John Fletcher, the distinguished Q. C., who was senior wrangler in 1868; and Richard Green, professor at Chicago University. Another prize winner was William Maclardie Bunting, son of the famous Dr. Bunting, who became one of the most accomplished men in the Methodist ministry.

The Rev. John Lomas became a junior assistant at Kingswood in 1813, with a salary of sixteen guineas. Three years later it was resolved by the committee that he should be examined by Dr. Clarke, Joseph Benson, and McHorner, with a view to testing his fitness for the post of classical master. Another was preferred before him, but in 1819 he was appointed. He was a "universal favorite, an admirable scholar, and, if not a strict disciplinarian, one who allowed no liberties to be taken with his authority." When he left Kingswood the chapel choir sang an anthem in which the refrain, "Farewell, Lomas," occurred again and again. To stand in the pulpit facing the boys during this performance must have been one of the trying passages of John Lomas's life. Another worthy of a different stamp was the Rev. Robert Smith, governor from 1820

to 1843. Dame Smith was a wonderful housekeeper, of whom one old scholar wrote:

Her horror at any misbehavior of the boys in regard to the property of the school was one of the features of the place. The lads often tried for fun, from the bedroom windows overlooking the garden, how far their nightcaps would be blown—everyone wore nightcaps in those days. When recovered from the trees and cabbages of the garden Dame's invariable exclamation came dolefully ringing out, "O, those wicked lads! they'll ruin the institution!"

With the Rev. Jonathan Crowther, appointed head master in 1823, "came the rod of iron, fear, indignation, and finally rebellion." He seems to have acted like a tyrant. One boy whose red and swollen face caused some merriment among his schoolfellows was flogged there and then for making a disturbance. He was found to be suffering from erysipelas, and "when the nurse and Mrs. Smith and her daughters heard" of the lad's punishment they all wept. On a later occasion the same boy stumbled in his Cæsar, and was goaded into rudeness by Mr. Crowther's taunts. He was put across a desk and beaten so severely that for several days he could hardly walk or sit. Some years later, when the boy became a minister, Mr. Crowther remarked, "Ah! I gave that young gentleman as fine a flogging as any boy at school ever received, and one that I have no doubt he will remember to the very end of his days." Yet even under this rule of terror the preachers' boys were not cowed. One merry lad was challenged to defy the head master. "Charlie, I'll give you a penny if you'll go up to his desk and offer to fight him." The offer was promptly accepted, and of course secured a sound thrashing.

There was a famine of love at Kingswood, and the small fellow who had left mother and sisters often felt himself utterly desolate. Says one of the former boys:

True there was Dame Smith; but she seemed centuries off, and never spoke to us unless, in true shopkeeper fashion, she sold us sweets once a week. There was Miss Smith, too, but her duties did not lie our way. I remember how we little boys yearned for a look from her, and if she ever smiled on one of us the favored one ran off with raptures to boast of it to the rest.

The rule forbidding play had been rescinded after Wesley's death, but a strange incapacity for understanding a boy's na-

ture still lingered. One lad was publicly expelled because he had twice visited his widowed mother without leave. She lived close by in Bristol, so that the offense was not heinous, yet the chairman of the school committee in pronouncing sentence angrily addressed the culprit as "you dastardly coward."

Wesley's school had been enlarged in 1828, at a cost of £2,194, so as to take one hundred boys. But the laymen of Methodism felt that it was pitifully inadequate for a great connection, and in June, 1850, the foundation stone of New Kingswood was laid by Mr. James Heald, M. P., at Bath. It was hard to leave a spot that was laden with associations. It was found, however, that it would cost six or eight thousand pounds to patch up the old place, and even then the long-standing difficulty of the water supply would have to be faced. It was a wise decision to spend £16,000 on a new school, and Kingswood has enjoyed rare success in its present splendid position on Lansdown Hill. Generous benefactors, like John Cannington, of Liverpool, have added many a happy finishing touch. Mr. Cannington's right foot, hand, and eye had been touched by paralysis, and he was for forty years a crippled man, but he was never more at home than among the Kingswood boys, and became their most popular visitor. He always left a ten-pound note to provide them with bacon for breakfast; he gave £1,000 to provide a ten-acre playing field, and £420 to build another story over the kitchen for the better housing of the servants. "He liked no part of his visits better than the daily prayers in the hall; his favorite tunes were sung, and all sang their best. As the boys passed out their names were whispered to him. 'It is like reading the stations,' he would say," the preachers he had long known through the list of appointments being represented in their sons.

The Rev. Theophilus Woolmer, who became governor in 1857, is gratefully remembered for many gracious measures which tempered the old régime. He distributed apples from his own garden, and opened that enchanted realm on Sunday afternoons to the boys. He allowed unlimited supplies of bread, and substituted hash for the Saturday dinner of bread and cheese. To this last reform he devoted his entire salary of one hundred pounds a year, and it was found impossible to

revert to the bread and cheese after his departure. The fame of Mr. T. G. Osborn as head master has become part of the glories of Kingswood. He was tenth wrangler and a fellow of Trinity Hall. Mr. Fawcett, the postmaster general, once said of him to Sir Henry Fowler, "You Methodist people have an enormous advantage in having such a man to train your ministers' sons."

Dr. Jowett, the great master of Balliol, once expressed his pleasure at receiving Kingswood boys at his college in Oxford, because "they were not all cut to one pattern." Dr. Rigg was here as boy and master. Dr. Moulton was trained at Woodhouse Grove, as also was Sir Henry Fowler, but his three brothers, one of whom was a brilliant senior wrangler, were all Kingswood boys. The present head master, W. W. W. Workman, was second wrangler and Smith's prizeman; the three sons of the present governor, the Rev. Wesley Brunyale, were ornaments of Kingswood, and one of them was second wrangler in 1888. One of the most successful scholars ever turned out by Kingswood was Alfred Cardew Dixon, who in 1878, at the age of thirteen, took the first place in the first class at the Junior Oxford Local; next year he held the same position in the Senior Oxford, and the following year in the Senior Cambridge. In January, 1882, he headed the London matriculation list, securing in other examinations there the mathematical exhibition, the scholarship and the gold medal in the mathematical branch of the M. A. examination. In 1883 he won the first open scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1886 was senior wrangler. He is now professor of mathematics in Galway.

This brief survey will show that John Wesley's zeal for education has been nobly rewarded. Kingswood school had to face many a storm, but it has weathered them all, and was never more solidly prosperous or more full of promise than it is to-day, when it has just celebrated its third jubilee. "Three Old Boys" have just written the history of their school, and from it are drawn the facts here given.

Art. VIII.—MARTHA AND MARY—LOVE GREATER THAN ACHIEVEMENT—A CHARACTER STUDY.

In all literature there is nowhere presented a character study more beautiful or more instructive than that given in the three pictures of the Bethany home by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The first two pictures are given by Luke and John respectively, neither one being mentioned by any other writer. But the third and last scene—the supper—is the united work of these four old masters.

It should be noted at the beginning that our attention is directed and limited to the character of the two sisters. Their ages or states in life are not given. As to Lazarus, their brother, we shall find only his name and that Jesus loved him, that he was sick and died when the Lord was absent, and that he was raised from the dead by Jesus upon his return to Bethany. It is remarkable that about all which is current in literature concerning Martha and Mary has been drawn from Luke's brief account of a conversation in their home. Commentators and preachers, seemingly without due consideration of the fuller description of these sisters in the other three gospels, have commonly exhibited Martha as a type of those persons who bestow too much attention upon temporal affairs, permitting the cares of the world to choke the growth of the implanted word of God, so that their lives become unfruitful. This error seems to us to be unjust to Martha, whom Jesus loved, and unfortunate for those who embrace it; for it causes them to lose a very practical lesson taught in Luke's story. We see very clearly, from the study of the real Martha and Mary, that a very high attainment in grace may be acquired by eminently practical persons, of whom Martha was surely a type. But we see, also, that the highest state of grace may be reached by those persons also who, through some physical or mental infirmity, are so emotional as to be eminently unpractical. It is also made pretty clear that the Marthas and Marys who are to that "manner born" are not changed in their distinctive characteristics by conversion.

Take two instances of the common interpretation of the character of the two sisters. One comment says:

> Martha was doubtless a believer, but a worrying, restless believer, giving quite as much thought to the things she could not do as to those she could, and never limiting her thought or work for the time to one thing above all others. Mary, on the contrary, could center her whole being on one thing that for the time demanded her chief attention. Martha's method of work and her worrying spirit were such as our Lord could not approve. Mary's spirit and method were approved by him. . . . Martha could not be so good a housekeeper as Mary. Martha must be always worrying. Mary would never worry.*

The foregoing follows in the current drift of depreciation of Martha. Whedon also says, "We venture to believe that Mary, who limited one duty by another, and gave each its just proportion, could, in her calmness and clearness, accomplish more even of secular duty than her older sister with all her fluster." This appears to be a pretty large and free "venture," inasmuch as there is nothing related of Mary in the Scriptures to show that she had any ability whatever as a housekeeper, or that she ever did anything in "calmness and clearness." We see the very opposite of this in Mary's behavior wherever she is presented to us. Martha in every scene is shown to be the one capable and responsible housekeeper in that home, and not the foolish woman who "plucketh it [her house] down with her hands."

The picture is one of real life. It happens in many homes that one or more members of the family by reason of some physical or mental infirmity find themselves unable to do an equal share of labor. Such persons add somewhat to the ordinary burdens resting upon some other member of the family. Mary appears to have been one of this kind, and Lazarus may have been another. In such a home a woman of capacity for affairs finds that exercise which gives superb development to such abilities. In Proverbs, chapter xxxi, we have the description of a model woman at the head of a model home. She is a good buyer of real estate; "she perceiveth that her merchandise is good;" she has æsthetic taste, wears fine clothing, and has tapestries in her dwelling; she dispenses charity near and far; is an early riser and a

* *The Sunday School Times*, August 15, 1891.

pattern of industry. The last statement is a summary of all—"she looketh well to the ways of her household"—that is to say, she is "careful and troubled about many things." We prefer to believe that the last chapter of Proverbs comes much nearer a true description of Martha of Bethany than anything given us by those who hold the views before quoted. That there are many and perplexing details in housekeeping is recognized in the Lord's reply to Martha; but these are strikingly ignored by the interpreters who tell us she was "a worrying" and "restless" woman—as if, forsooth, such a woman could have rendered her house so attractive, "with all her fluster," that Jesus would make it his favorite resort for recuperation after his day's encounters with the multitude. When therefore we consider that Jesus made Martha's house his stopping place so often, and established such tender relations with its inmates, we see that our Lord paid the highest possible compliment to Martha's achievement as a housekeeper. It appears more reasonable to suppose her appreciative guest would put infinite tenderness, rather than what Whedon calls a "solemn reproof," in his words, "Martha, Martha, thou art careful and troubled about many things." Adam Clarke finds no reproof in those words. The text does not present any grounds for believing that Martha had no method, that she made confusion in performing a few necessary duties, and by attempting impossible things overloaded herself with needless burdens. There is no word in the Scripture that charges her, even by implication, with the habit of worrying. Do we not need a new interpretation to displace that which finds, as the chief lesson of the Bethany story, that Christ's rebuke to Martha is a warning to overcareful housekeepers? It is safe to say that the explanations of this Scripture, together with the conjectures made by different writers as to the character of the sisters, are more unsatisfactory, contradictory, and confusing than those which have been written on almost any other portion of Scripture. We prefer to believe that Jesus comforted his much-burdened hostess by his gentle words.

But, it may be asked, was not Mary justified in sitting at Jesus's feet and listening to his words, while her sister was

left to "serve alone?" We answer, yes. It is not however, necessary to condemn Martha, in order to justify Mary; for, whatever merit there is in exalted service, either in housekeeping or in statecraft, there is one thing still more exalted, namely, love to God. This is the "one thing . . . needful." Competent Marthas may exhibit their love by eminent works; emotional Marys may show their love without doing, or having ability to do, any works that the world appreciates or applauds. Great service is the privilege of the few; great love is the privilege of all men. Why has it not occurred to some one to suppose that Martha, in coming to the Master with her burden of service, was comforted by the Lord's announcement that her sister, who "also sat at Jesus's feet, and heard his word," had "chosen" Christ that very day and hour? It seems to us that such supposition is warranted by the words in Luke's gospel, and that it furnishes ample justification for Mary's leaving her sister to serve alone. It would also account for her appearance and actions after Lazarus died and when she afterward anointed the Saviour's feet at the supper. It would be a good lesson for some of the foremost doers in the Church to note how the Lord accepts those who appear to have little faculty for accomplishing practical things, but who, nevertheless, love the ordinances of God's house and delight in the songs of Zion, whose attitude is well expressed by the words "sitting" and "hearing."

From childhood we have doubtless been misled, here, as elsewhere, by pictures. Artists show Jesus only with Mary and Martha. By such pictures, and also by what expounders have written or have omitted to write, we have been led to think Jesus was the only guest in Martha's house. But it would seem, unless stated otherwise, that many, perhaps all, of his disciples were entertained in Martha's house, for it was their custom to question him at night about his addresses to the people during the day. In Matthew, chapter xxi, and in Mark xi we read of his going out of Jerusalem to Bethany in the evening, and of his return the following morning. This he did on three successive days during the week of the crucifixion, and in every instance it is stated that his disciples accompanied him. That some of them, or all of them, were entertained at

Martha's house with Jesus must be concluded in the absence of any statement of his being separated from them. The number of her guests, therefore, would be sufficient to account for Martha's care and trouble, without attributing them to restlessness, worry, or "fluster."

In the second picture, given by John in the eleventh chapter, the brother, Lazarus, is introduced, together with several circumstances that show the prominent social standing of the family. The raising of Lazarus is not given in any other gospel. But all the four writers show that a remarkable turning of the Jews to Jesus made a great excitement in Jerusalem about this time. When Lazarus was sick the language of the message sent from the Bethany home to Jesus in Bethabara discloses the intimate relations subsisting between Jesus and the members of Martha's home, "Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick." Very tender are Christ's words to his disciples, two days after that message was received, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep." Correcting their misapprehension of his meaning by telling them plainly that Lazarus was dead, he also tells them the purpose of the miracle, "I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe." While the Lord is journeying with his disciples toward Bethany John gives us a view of the house of mourning. Many Jews are there from Jerusalem, which proves the home of the sisters to have been of some distinction. Some messenger tells the sisters privately that Jesus is coming, and is not far away. We see no reason to believe that Mary did not get the word when Martha "heard," for the language clearly points out a contrast in the behavior of the sisters. As Mary sits "still in the house," Martha quietly withdraws from the company of guests, and goes to meet the Lord on his way to her home. Though her heart is broken by the greatest sorrow of her life, she is able to go about her accustomed duties with an exterior calmness, while her sister Mary, overwhelmed with sorrow, is in a state of physical collapse. The meeting with Jesus that day was a most trying ordeal for Martha. Feeling would be at flood tide when she looked into the eyes of him whose loving presence had so often blessed her home,

and whose recent absence had cost her so much. We can hardly come near enough to Martha in her sorrow to measure the power of the woman who—after her burdened soul is poured out in the cry, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died"—went right on, her utterance unchecked by sobs, and added, "I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee." It was worth burden-bearing for many years to have acquired power to bear up like that in a tempest of the soul, for it brought the Lord's reply, "Thy brother shall live again." Whedon, with fine discrimination, remarks, upon Martha's rejoinder, "Martha puts this unhoping construction upon the Lord's words, as if to draw out a more explicit assurance of present aid. Little did she anticipate in what a burst of grandeur the assurance would come forth." The Lord's final challenge of her faith, "Believest thou this?" brings out Martha's clear and sublime confession, "Yea, Lord: I believe thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world." Now Martha returns to her sister sitting in the house, and tells her, privately, "The Master is come, and calleth for thee." "As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came unto him." That nervous haste is as like Mary's manner as it is unlike Martha's. The language, "She arose," would lead us to suppose she had remained sitting while her sister had been absent. The ready conclusion of the Jews, "She goeth unto the grave to weep there," would seem to show that she spent most of her time weeping. Her movement at this time was merely a change of place, not of occupation. When she met Jesus she uttered her cry of distress in the same words her sister had used. But, overcome by her emotion, she fell weeping at his feet, while speaking. John directs particular attention to her tears and the effect of her grief upon the bystanders. It does not appear that Mary had any hope her brother would be raised at this time, for Martha's faith alone is mentioned. After the account of the coming forth of Lazarus, John tells us of the effect of this miracle: "Then many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen . . . believed on him. But some of them went their ways to the Pharisees and told them what things Jesus had done."

We are told in verse nineteen that many of the friends who came to Bethany to comfort the sisters were Jews, and find in the following verses a very remarkable confirmation of the statement: Verse 31, the Jews were in the house; verse 33, Jesus saw many weeping, and the Jews also weeping; verse 36, the Jews said, "Behold how he loved him;" verse 45, Many of the Jews which had seen, believed; verses 37 and 46 mention the Jews by the pronoun. This repeated statement that many of the visitors were Jews seems superfluous on the supposition that Martha's house was Jewish, for the place was nigh to Jerusalem, and one would not think of the friends being Gentiles unless it were so mentioned. But it is not stated that the sisters were Jews. If we take the assumption that these Bethany sisters were Gentiles, we shall see reason for the repetition above noted, and in many passages find a profound significance not otherwise manifest. But is it a mere assumption? Luke tells us that the woman who anointed Jesus was a Gentile, for that is the meaning of the word "sinner" in Simon's thought. But this anointing has been held to have been at some other time and place, and by some other woman than Mary, notwithstanding the fact that Luke's description of the woman is more like John's Mary as seen at the feast and in time of mourning than that of Luke xi, 38, which many hold to be a scene in the Bethany home. It may be observed, also, that Martha's faith is very like that of the centurion of which Jesus said, "I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel." The words of the expounders concerning the woman whom Luke describes, their claim that she was not Mary of Bethany, and their attempt to explain how another anointing like that of Mary's should have occurred at some other place and time are very unsatisfactory to the reader, and are doubtless so to the writers also. The chief if not the only reason for ruling out the woman described by Luke is that Simon calls her a Gentile. But why not accept this statement as applicable to Mary, and admit Luke's account to be a part of that scene at the great supper? Making himself so intimate with a Gentile family would not be a strange thing for Jesus to do. It would, of course, attract the attention and stir up the wrath of the Jewish rulers, as some-

thing did affect them about this time. The Jews whom we see in Martha's house were not caviling, hostile Jews. Their presence at the home in Bethany and their remarks at the grave of Lazarus prove that they believed Jesus to be a prophet having miraculous power.

It is agreed that Simon had been healed of leprosy. In that case he would desire, naturally, to show his benefactor some token of gratitude. The people of the village having determined to give a great supper to the Lord and his disciples upon his next return to Bethany after the raising of Lazarus, this Pharisee could offer them his house, doubtless a large one; and in intrusting the feast to Martha as the most competent person in the village he would make sure that everything would move smoothly, while he himself by this arrangement would be somewhat relieved from the duties of host, so that he could show the scant courtesy to Jesus which Christ points out. Simon, if very rich, could venture so much and still retain his standing among his fellow-egotists, the Pharisees. If Luke's account of the anointing had not been ruled out as a part of the supper at Bethany, that ancient and groundless error which holds that the woman described by Luke was a "common woman of the town" would not have been started on its world-wide journey. But it has been sent out past recall. Misguided people will go on singing,

> To the hall of the feast came the sinful and fair;
> She heard in the city that Jesus was there:
> . . . . . .
> The frown and the murmur went round thro' them all,
> That one so unhallowed should tread in that hall.

Luke's account is needed to complete the picture of that supper at Simon's house in Bethany. It has no more omissions of important details than the others. Matthew and Mark mention neither the feast nor the place. They name only Simon the leper and "a woman." John says they made him a supper in Bethany six days before the passover, but states nothing about Simon or the house. He tells us why Martha was present, how Lazarus sat at the table, and how that fact drew many from Jerusalem to see him who had been raised from the dead. John's statement, "Then took Mary a pound of ointment of

spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of Jesus," harmonizes with the description of the manner of her coming unexpectedly as given by each of the other three writers. All four mention the costly ointment of spikenard. Only John omits the mention of the alabaster box. Luke only tells us of her continued weeping, which so exactly shows Mary's manner under strong emotion, as John shows it at the time her brother Lazarus died. Mark says she broke the alabaster box. This also shows Mary's nervous manner. It is by these touches that we see how her abrupt coming was so far an intrusion as to draw the attention of the whole company and to excite in them pique enough to make them hard critics of her act. "She hath wrought a good work," as given by Matthew, and "She hath done what she could," by Mark, do not declare any ability to do great things or small. The words by Mark would rather imply that she could not do practical things. She could passionately show her love for her Lord. The swift censure of the disturbed feasters who saw only the "waste" and condemned the act was hushed by the Lord when he said, "Why trouble ye the woman? . . . she did it for my burial." He lifted that act of Mary's to the dignity of prophecy, and made it a perpetual memorial of the woman. Adam Clarke says, "The act, though unconsciously to the actor, was prophetical." The feast was given in honor of Jesus. "They made him a supper." Mary, therefore, would give some expression of her adoration. In her natural abandon comes the intrusion, and the "waste," the broken vase, and the costly ointment. The objectors were inconsiderate, for the supper itself was a "waste;" the cost of it would have fed a hundred poor people who were hungry in Jerusalem that night. These feasters were in no need of that supper. The cost of the supper might "have been given to the poor." It was "waste" when the multitude stripped the branches from the trees the next day, threw them in the road, and cast their best mantles in the dust to be trampled by the feet of the beast that Jesus rode into Jerusalem while they hailed him king of the Jews. It was "waste" when Ahijah, the prophet, tore Jeroboam's new mantle into twelve pieces and gave ten of them to him as he prophesied about the rending of Solomon's kingdom. It was

"waste" when Sir Walter Raleigh threw his gorgeous robe into a mudhole that the hoof of the horse his king was riding might not be soiled before the face of a loyal subject. Such "waste" is more than justified, it is sacrifice—*sacer ficare.*

Mary showed her love and homage as best she could. The unspoken complaint of Simon, the Pharisee, which disparaged both the Lord and Mary, would naturally have been made after he had seen all Mary did, and had heard the complaint of the guests and the Lord's high commendation of her act. Replying to the unspoken criticism of his host, Jesus puts in sharp contrast the scant courtesy Simon had shown him as a guest in his house and the splendid exhibition of loving gratitude displayed in Mary's act. He proves to Simon that his small expression of regard for Jesus was a correct measure of the little he had received, as Mary's greater expression was of the greater blessing she had obtained by her greater faith. Here the Lord institutes the comparison between the Pharisee and the woman, as he did when the Samaritan leper was healed, and also in the case of the centurion, and pointed out the fact that the Jew was slower to believe than the Gentile. It is in Luke's account of the feast at Simon's house that we see the completion of the lesson of those Bethany sisters—Martha's works honored by Jesus tarrying often in her house, her faith rewarded when Lazarus was raised from the dead, and Mary's love, the "one thing . . . needful," crowned above all immortal.

J. D. Walsh

Art IX.—METHODS OF APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY.

There is an intensely dramatic aspect to the struggle of the human mind after a rational view of the world. The naïve solutions of the hylozoists seemed at first entirely satisfactory. But immediately a contradiction was noticed between the concepts of change and identity. One school demonstrated with apparent cogency that change was impossible and illusory, another that nothing was changeless except the law of change. Then followed the compromise measures of the atomists. But these in turn seemed to complicate rather than resolve, the puzzle. The skeptic had an easy time balancing one view against another, thus showing to his own satisfaction that knowledge is hopelessly involved in contradictions. The two great intellectual giants of the ancient world, Plato and Aristotle, undertook to harmonize conflicting views. They certainly made invaluable contributions to the solution of the general problem of knowledge, yet many fundamental difficulties remained, among them the one that had proved fatal to hylozoism. This one in fact has continued to the present time, while others innumerable have been added.

The old problems still call for solution. One philosophical system after another has been elaborated, each in turn seeming to be final. But in every case the hard-headed critic has found little difficulty in pointing to fatal shortcomings. These systems were each born of a crisis in which the human mind seemed driven back on itself in utter confusion. But new light or a new point of view would bring new courage and in time a new system. Never since the beginning has the skeptic been silent. With each succeeding failure he has become the more insistent. He can now apparently make out a strong case against the presumptuous speculator. All history seems to reinforce his position. The course of the centuries is marked by the débris of once ambitious world-systems. "Leave this barren theorizing," he cries, "and be content with the facts of nature just as they report themselves. We

can get a working knowledge of nature by means of observation and experiment, but the ultimate problems are quite beyond our powers." Yet, this excellent advice is entirely gratuitous, for as long as man is rational he must continue to probe and test and wrestle till reason has conquered the field. Moreover, it is not true that the old problems remain unchanged, nor that we are as far as ever from a satisfactory solution. There has been substantial progress. This is shown in many ways. Fundamental concepts have been clarified, the secret of many a failure has come to light, and the problems themselves have been carried immeasurably deeper. Some issues seem to be settled for all time. Popular speech is full of general concepts, each of which embodies the net result of some great intellectual struggle of the past. For instance, the philosophical labors of many generations were necessary to give us such common notions as substance, identity, subjectivity, objectivity, individuality, mechanism, personality, nature, freedom.

But, in spite of evident progress in this world-old struggle, the curious fact remains that nearly every great philosophical system of the past has survived till the present time. The most overwhelming refutation has not been sufficient to destroy them. Hence the bewildering variety of divergent, or even contradictory, theories of reality. We have atomistic and monistic materialists, pantheists of every shade of opinion, theists more or less thoroughgoing, and agnostics who, notwithstanding their confession of ignorance, hold comprehensive principles of explanation. The effort of science to-day is to rid itself of metaphysics, but in the nature of the case every scientist is more or less of a metaphysician; his fundamental concepts are all metaphysical. Even experimental psychology, that new and most vigorous science of the senses, escapes such a reference only by the use of figurative language. If, then, we are in a sense metaphysicians, whether we will or not, every consideration of intellectual thoroughness urges on to a ceaseless effort to make our metaphysical world-view consistent throughout.

But how shall we go about our task, in view of conflicting theories? Different methods are in actual use. One may be

termed the scientific, though not so much because of its cogency and freedom from prejudice as from the fact that it is the one naturally employed by those trained in scientific pursuits. It is the method of successive generalizations. Now that the inventory of nature is so extensive, and there are multitudinous hypotheses put forward to explain special classes of phenomena, the time has come for the synthetic work to begin. If this were done with critical care the largest possible generalization would give us ultimate truth. It would be ultimate because all-inclusive. A number of such generalizations have been attempted of recent years, resulting in various synthetic philosophies and scientific confessions of faith. In each case the special sciences form the point of departure. The laws of physics and chemistry are extended to the organic world; the more complex is explained by the simple, the higher by the lower; and mechanism, or dynamism, or more recently vitalism, becomes the deepest principle of explanation. Such a principle leads directly to some form of monism which is materialistic in fact, if not in name. The outcome, whatever it may be, claims the prestige of being scientific and the only admissible conclusion in view of the facts. This method has been a most fruitful one for science. By means of it we have already gained an extensive practical mastery of nature. We are able to trace, in outline at least, the slow-moving and infinitely varied development of present conditions out of the past, to connect natural events in the chain of cause and effect, and thus reach valuable insight. As we look into the future we see the prospect of indefinite progress along the same line. When so much has been accomplished by this method, as compared with the indecisive and often barren dialectic of pure philosophy, may we not expect it to lead us at last to the deepest possible explanation of nature? We should put our trust in the scientist. He alone can ever solve those great world problems with which the professional philosopher has so long struggled in vain.

Why should all such attempts in the realm of science, as distinguished from philosophy, be deemed unsatisfactory? Why do they inevitably fall short? The reason lies in the nature of the problems which the sciences undertake to solve. They

seek primarily the laws of coexistence and sequence among phenomena. Their task is finished when they have shown how each fact coming within their special fields can be referred to some general law. Hence they feel no need of such a thoroughgoing critical examination of their data as philosophy demands. Or rather, we should say, the examination is made from a different point of view and for a different purpose. Science asks, Have we the actual facts? Have the observations been made with every possible precaution against error? Philosophy, while interested in the accuracy of the observations, wants to know, first of all, How did we come by the facts? How must we think of them in the light of their double origin? What is the ultimate reality which explains them all? For instance, take that brilliant and immensely fruitful generalization of present-day science known as evolution. As a principle it was enunciated by the early Greeks and has since then often been revived, but only within the last half century has it received general recognition as a scientific explanation of nature. Science as such is content to trace the historical order of development. When each species of animal or plant life finds its appropriate place in the series, and the whole reveals an orderly progression toward the highest forms, the strictly scientific work is done. Nature is seen in the light of a single principle. Philosophy acknowledges the wonderful success already attained, but sees her own problems practically untouched. The same scruples, the same uncertainties and contradictions, the same old questions remain. Philosophy must insist on a reconciliation of the conflicting presuppositions of such a theory when employed as a final explanation of reality. The simplest fact recognized contains a nest of difficulties, and every advance but adds to the list. The theory of evolution as an ontological explanation of nature contradicts itself at every point. A striking illustration of this is found in Professor Haeckel's little pamphlet on *Monism, a Scientist's Confession of Faith.* He is not content with evolution as a scientific theory, but ventures on the warrant of its teachings interpreted as philosophy to formulate a theory of reality. He would trace all phenomena without exception back to the mechanics of atoms. In lieu of scientific evidence we are asked to believe

that the seventy or more elements recognized by chemistry are in reality but different arrangements of the "uratome." He suspects that perhaps these original atoms are only "points of condensation" in a fundamental substance which pervades all space and is known to science as the world-ether. This surmise must indeed be elevated to the rank of a cardinal doctrine if he is to make out a case for monism. Whatever this original substance might be, whether atomic or continuous, it contains the secret of all existences, organic and inorganic. Each atom is endowed with a soul, and when in combination with other atoms under certain conditions its activities are what we call self-consciousness and intelligence. Human life is animal life more highly organized, animal life is the developed stages of lower forms of life; these in turn are explained by the still lower, and so on. In this way he works back to the original substance whose nature is simple. To the world-ether then we must look as the source of all things, "*das walte Gott, der Geist des Guten, des Schönen, und der Wahrheit.*"

This outcome, is of course, philosophically grotesque. Haeckel seems to have donned the "seven-leagued boots of a colossal ignoring," and sinned with utter indifference against the fundamental laws of sound thinking. The simple is given to explain the complex, the lower to explain the higher, the less to explain the greater, and we have only darkness instead of light. His whole procedure is a succession of fallacies of abstraction. The simple explains the complex only when thought of as being equally complex. From the standpoint of philosophy, then, Haeckel's method is wrong. The difficulty seems to arise from the fact that he studied his *data* for scientific purposes and then made use of them without further criticism as a basis for ontological conclusions. His science was not primarily at fault. He had unconsciously but fundamentally shifted his point of view, turning the historical order of development into a dynamic order with the resulting fallacies. This same fallacy of abstraction also vitiates much of Herbert Spencer's reasoning. His formula of evolution and the various principles enunciated to support it, especially his persistence of force and the instability of the homogeneous, are examples in point. With him, too, scientific facts and hypotheses without readjustment

are made to do service in a field quite distinct from that of the sciences. Fortunately the thinking public are recognizing more and more the essential difference between science and philosophy, both as regards aim and method. The business of the one is to classify phenomena and discover the laws of their activities, while that of the other is to penetrate beneath the phenomenal order and reveal the essential nature of reality. Science therefore touches philosophy only so far as the latter may deal with methods of activity, that is, "efficient causes," while philosophy invades the special fields of science only to point out that scientific *data* pertain to the phenomenal, as distinguished from the real, order of causation. All theories concerning the nature of force are philosophical, as is also the fundamental assumption of a causal connection among things. All descriptions of the manner in which the forces of nature manifest themselves are scientific, if correct. Science is steadily becoming more philosophical in its conclusions. This is inevitable, for the final view of nature must be philosophically sound. But the scientist in passing over into the other field must either borrow largely from philosophy or do the philosophical work over again. He often adopts the latter alternative, but not always to his own advantage.

The scientific mind, though trained to exact observation and painstaking care in its investigations, labors under a peculiar difficulty when dealing with philosophical problems. The natural sciences treat entirely of space-filling objects; hence the prime importance to the student of a disciplined imagination. The plant or animal is studied first of all for the purpose of forming an accurate image of it in all its details of structure; then affinities between it and other plants or animals are noted. Science weighs and measures, observes and analyzes, material objects, and in this work the imagination is indispensable. The scientist so forms the habit of embodying the facts he has to consider that he will often attempt to do this with such things as he himself recognizes are not spatial. They seem to him somehow more intelligible when presented under a figure which can be grasped by the imagination. Nowhere is this more embarrassingly true than in the attempt to treat scientifically the unpicturable activities of the mental

life. The material figures used and the machinery invented to make these processes intelligible are a triumph of ingenuity. The mental life is represented as a double stream of faint and vivid manifestations with various lateral and longitudinal connections, or as an arena on which ideas jostle one another according to subtle affinities or oppositions—some being crowded below an imaginary line called the threshold and thus for the time passing out of consciousness, others succeeding by combinations in passing from below upward across this line into consciousness, all active, helping or inhibiting one another, none ever totally destroyed. We read of ideas whose relations are fringes; of one, two, and three dimensional sensations; of perception masses; of the storage of mental states in brain cells; of thoughts that are nerve discharges and emotions that are muscular. This is all figurative language, of course. It would seem that only the careless or untrained could be misled by it. Yet some of the most widely heralded scientific theories of the mental life are apparently based on the tacit assumption that these figures express the essential nature of thought. They are treated as literally true. Only bring the psychical activities under spatial conditions, and a mechanical explanation follows as a matter of course.

That all materialistic explanations of the universe claim to be distinctly scientific and to dispense with traditional metaphysics is another illustration of the same fact. Few scientists to-day are avowed materialists, yet the materialistic cast of current scientific monism and pantheism is scarcely disguised. They are generally attempts at compromise by yielding the cruder properties of matter and appealing to the unknown properties, in order to rescue a modicum to the imagination. To talk of the Inscrutable, the ultimate Substance which is neither mind nor matter, is to appeal to the imagination, for the reason will have nothing to do with such vagaries. Now, this extensive use of the imagination by science is far from being a fault; it is essential in the fields which science chooses to cultivate. The work of science can best be done by ignoring in large measure philosophical issues and dealing exclusively with observed phenomena. But when the scientist would turn philosopher a decided modification in his methods

of procedure is required. The one thing that a student of philosophy must learn is to think in concepts which in no way concern the imagination. He must be at home amid the activities of thought. His task is to detect inconsistencies, to trace out implications, to apply principles. He begins, to be sure, with facts of observation, but soon his quest carries him back of these to the dynamic realities of which they are the special manifestation.

How then shall we approach the problems of philosophy? Shall it be through the scientific study of nature? In view of the foregoing we must answer that science gives us the facts purged of inaccuracies of observation, that it alone tells us how we are to think of nature as phenomenal, and thus throws important light on the philosophical problems, but that the two fields are distinct and each must pursue its investigations in its own way. But, in recognizing this, two courses are open to us. We may begin with its history and defer the systematic study of its problems until the past is made to give up its philosophical treasures, till the great historic systems have been mastered, the truth in them assimilated, the unclear purged, the false eliminated. Or we may enter immediately upon the critical study of the facts of nature and only after the elaboration of a provisional world-view, or at least the working out of our fundamental concepts, turn to the history of philosophy for its lessons and enrichments. It is not a matter of indifference which of these courses we pursue. Those that would advocate the historical method contend rightly that a vast deal has already been done, that philosophy can be understood only in its history. There is no preparation, say they, for an independent study of these world-old problems like a study of the various attempts at a solution that have already been made. Thus the fundamental concepts can be traced in their history through the successive stages of their development, and the systems based upon them can be understood in their relation to this development. Each philosopher's point of view should be mastered and the secret of both his insight and his limitations discovered. Thus we would advance by the assimilation of the critically sifted results till, when our historical work was finished, we should have in hand abundant material for the con-

struction of our own philosophical world-view. This is certainly an excellent method when pursued with thoroughness and critical acumen. But the practical difficulties of carrying out such a stupendous undertaking make it of doubtful feasibility. The infinite manifoldness of detail, the ambiguities and endless shiftings, the wilderness of irrelevant discussions and misunderstood issues can only confuse and discourage the beginner. He is tossed about by every wind of doctrine, not only because his critical powers are as yet undeveloped, but more especially because he lacks the criteria for testing results. That mind is strong indeed which succeeds in finding its way through this infinite maze of conflicting opinion and gains in the process an insight commensurate with the outlay of effort. Hence a want of clearness and consistency is often remarked in those trained by the historical method. Their indecisiveness becomes chronic. Though versed in the particular views of many thinkers they yet fail to penetrate to the center and grasp the system in its principle. Hence a halting, hesitating, timid manner, seldom sure of anything, seldom getting beyond the conflicting authorities. This result is, of course, avoided to some extent by a teacher's expositions, which do for the student what he ought to do for himself. But, even then, unless he has already mastered the principles of criticism involved, he will be little benefited. It will still be a question of authority.

In the alternative method the student begins at once the systematic study of the subject under the guidance of a competent thinker, one who has himself canvassed the field and worked up to an independent grasp of philosophical issues. The student advances in his critical work by cogent reasoning, which commands his assent irrespective of authority, till a body of fundamental concepts is mastered, and then the constructive work begins. He thus can feel at every step the immense satisfaction of assured results. He accepts nothing on authority, is always critical and independent in spite of his being only a novitiate. The overconfidence born of a conviction that he has on some points at least touched bottom will not hurt him. It is an element of real strength. In a comparatively short while he has an outline world-view and can give

clear-cut reasons for his positions. If mistaken, as he more than likely will be on many points, his very definiteness of statement will furnish the readiest means of revealing the fact to him. He is now prepared to profit by the study of the history. His mind has received the indispensable discipline to wrestle with the incoherent material which the history presents, and he has likewise an easy command of the principles for testing the theories studied. He is able to assimilate new material, to read off the implications of principles, and tell where a theorizer must land, if consistent. From the start of his historical work he is master of the situation, and all that he does will be of abiding value. He will not lose his way nor scatter and waste his energies on false issues and unimportant details. Moreover, he will be saved from the pernicious superficial notion in the minds of so many that philosophy is merely a fashion of the intellectual world and has no firm ground on which to stand, that it leads to no real insight, but is simply a question of hitting upon something new in theory, or so ancient as to seem new. On the other hand, he will not become a victim of the self-satisfied and voluble speculator who lays hold of certain scientific hypotheses, valuable in their place, and tries to make them explain the deepest mysteries of the universe. He will be on his guard against the easy-going empirical methods of recent popular philosophy. The proper order then would seem to be first a critical and systematic study of philosophical problems as they now lie before the trained thinker, and then a critical study of the history of thought.

Herbart has given us the best statement of the general problem, and has indicated also the right method of procedure. Our first task is to ascertain just what the senses report concerning the objective world. This would be the whole of the problem but for the various contradictions that emerge. Philosophy deals with these contradictions and endeavors to adjust them. With a systematic statement of results its aim is realized. In view of the contradictions and the resultant doubt our only recourse is a thoroughgoing analysis of the process of cognition, in order to separate what the senses actually give from what is contributed by the thought activity. If knowledge is possible the senses themselves must be trusted and all

error must be laid at the door of our interpretation of the sense *data*. In the case of most of the great philosophical systems that the world has outgrown, the failure can be traced to an incomplete analysis of the act of cognition. That the importance of such an analysis should have been so long overlooked is explained by the fact that the cognitive process is spontaneous and subconscious; but that the analysis must be exhaustive and basal the fate of many an ambitious world-theory proves. Even some present-day theories are lamentably weak at this point. In particular is this true of current monisms of the materialistic variety. The sense product in its completed form of perception is treated as an ultimate *datum* in which the senses alone are active. This leads to a minimizing of the mental element till it seems almost a vanishing quantity. The mental life is reduced to a kind of mechanism, the distinction between physical and mental processes is blurred, and then it is easy to make out a case for that unthinkable somewhat neither mental nor material yet the source of both.

Such an analysis brings to light some interesting facts. In general it reveals the complexity of the process, even in the acquisition of the simplest knowledge of objective things. This process is the starting point for the two great branches of philosophy, a theory of reality or metaphysics, and a theory of knowledge or epistemology. Even more distinct and irreducible seem to the student the two elements of knowledge—the impressions from without and the strictly mental activity of fixing, relating, and objectifying these impressions. Immediately we see that, though thought in its conscious product is objective and seems merely to reflect the things perceived, it is as a process entirely mental. Whatever may be our theory to explain the fact we see that the world about us, apparently so independent of all thought, is strangely related to our own thinking, and that without such thought-activity on our part the world would not exist for us. The materialist, of course, is greatly disturbed by such an analysis, and hence is inclined to decry it as unnecessary or meaningless. He insists that we must take the world just as we find it, without speculative admixture. We should be empirical in our methods, hold fast to the facts as they report themselves, and not lose our way in

vain and confusing studies about what lies back of the observed *data.* This is good general advice, but when we become entangled in our effort to understand our *data* and insist on having all the facts, the necessity of the analysis becomes evident. Materialism seems forever doomed to oscillate between the horns of the fatal dilemma which its defective theory of cognition involves, or it must move in a vicious circle when trying to understand itself. This is true even of the refined materialism which has repudiated the name. But when the analysis is complete the work of philosophy has just begun. It has come into possession of its empirical *data;* all depends on the way it handles them. The questions immediately present themselves, How are we to understand those general concepts, such as substance, quality, relation, cause, identity, change, time, space, which make a knowledge of nature possible? What is the final test of knowledge? What of the fundamental power manifesting itself in nature? And thus one after another the distinctive problems of philosophy unfold themselves to the student.

In the prosecution of such a study a few suggestions are in place. We must be willing to trust reason, that is, must assume that nature is knowable. Infinite patience and a hard-headed insistence upon clearness of meaning are indispensable. We must have the courage to follow where reason leads, though it be "into the dark depths of a wild and tangled forest." Nor should we be content to remain in this hopeless confusion. There is "another side" to the forest which we may reach, if we persist. The contradictions must be overcome. Our failure at this point argues either that the preliminary work has not been thorough or that the principle of explanation which will resolve the puzzles has not yet been discovered. The first shortcoming is evident, for instance, in Professor Huxley's brilliant attempts at philosophizing which resulted in agnosticism. He had scarcely gotten beyond the Humian theory of perception. His was not an "*ignoramus*," but an "*ignorabimus*." The second difficulty is illustrated in that excellent work by Professor Bradley on *Appearance and Reality.* In this work the reader is presented with an array of contradictions that is quite overwhelming. All meaning drops out of our funda-

mental concepts, and one is almost ready to doubt if perhaps his own judgment be not also mere appearance. Nothing intelligible is left of the categories or of the still more fundamental distinction of the self and not-self. Everything resolves away under the touch of the skilled dialectician, "*und wir sehen dass wir nichts wissen können.*" In all this he has proved that the concepts when treated apart from intelligence and compared one with another cannot be understood. The first fact to be recognized in the study of these elements of knowledge is the mind which thinks them. For example, change and identity are in hopeless conflict, and we can make nothing of them while we treat them as objective and both having validity; but the difficulty vanishes when they are viewed as activities of an intelligence trying to understand reality. In the interest of knowledge the mind reads into its perceptions an abiding content; the identity of the object perceived is therefore mental or "logical." But the mind also must take account of change. We can discover no real identity anywhere except in intelligence.

In conclusion, then, we would say that science can never be a complete substitute for philosophy. Philosophical problems demand a special method of treatment. A study of the history of thought, although valuable and even necessary to a full and satisfactory grasp of world problems, should not be undertaken as introductory to a systematic treatment of the subject. The student should recognize as his special task such an adjustment of the spontaneous and uncritical views of nature as will eliminate contradictions and give a harmonious concept of the world as a whole. For this he needs a steadfast confidence in the power of thought to grasp reality. Let him do his critical work exhaustively, try all things, and hold fast to the truth when found. If persistent he will surely attain such a rational insight into nature as will be its own exceeding great reward.

Geo. A. Wilson.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THERE are two general classes of Biblical critics; one explains the Holy Scriptures and the other explains them away.

THE recent remarkable proclamation of Frank W. Rollins, Governor of New Hampshire, appointing April 13th as Fast Day, contains these wise words:

> No matter what our belief may be in religious matters, every good citizen knows that when the restraining influences of religion are withdrawn from a community its decay, moral, mental, and financial, is swift and sure. To me this is one of the strongest evidences of the fundamental truth of Christianity.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE PREACHER.

IN very many respects the inner life of the preacher is exactly the same as that of other Christian men and women. In the main he has the same temptations to be resisted, the same virtues to be cultivated, the same helps to growth in grace. But in some particulars the preacher's inner life deserves a separate treatment, both on account of its special importance and on account of the peculiarities, favorable and unfavorable, pertaining to it. There are certain hindrances to the minister's spiritual progress which do not in the same way, or to the same degree, affect the spiritual growth of other people, and which call therefore for particular attention. Four of these hindrances may be specified:

1. *Officialism.* To have to do with sacred things is his business, that whereby he earns his bread and supports his family. Hence the temptation to look upon his work chiefly from a business point of view is by no means small. He is apt to read the Bible with his congregation in mind rather than the needs of his own soul, hunting for texts to preach from instead of truths to live by, or investigating the higher criticism instead of the higher ranges of Christian experience. He has so much pray-

ing to do in public that it is natural for him to think he may be excused from praying much in private. In personal work for the people around him professional motives are liable to intrude their ugly heads and stain the purity of his purpose. When he urges the careless or lukewarm to come to church he is well aware that an enlarged congregation is an important item in his success and has a pretty close connection with his salary. And even when he pleads with men to come to Christ and labors hard to promote a genuine revival of religion Satan whispers that if there are many converts under his ministry he will be sought for by larger churches. And so it is in every direction. His private religious life is so mixed up with his public work that a dangerous complication ensues. It is peculiarly easy for him to substitute multiplied ecclesiastical activities for vigorous wrestling with his individual infirmities and the insistence on a close personal walk with God. It is, of course, not necessary that he yield to this temptation, but it is there and makes itself felt every hour of the day.

2. *The Strain of Nonfraternal Competition.* The minister's intimate relation to his brother ministers brings him peculiar trials as well as peculiar joys. While he has in their society very much of comfort, of stimulation, and of help, there is no denying that he needs to watch closely against certain evil feelings which have a tendency to arise as he contemplates their superior prosperity, or what appears to him to be such. He sees those that he thinks are no better and no abler than himself preferred before him. He imagines—it is all imagination—that faithfulness has not so much to do with promotion as favoritism. He observes how readily the populace are imposed upon by a few shining and shallow traits and tricks, while more solid but less showy excellence that has not the knack to push itself into prominence is carelessly and continuously passed by. He is considerably stumbled by these things. It is hard for him to be reconciled to the injustice with which he thinks he has been treated, at the failure of the authorities to properly appreciate his worth. The schemes of those less scrupulous, or the qualities of those less conscientious but more brilliant, have prevailed over his more modest or less attractive gifts. It is difficult for him to be perfectly contented. Jealousy and envy lurk beside his door and endeavor to slip in as he opens it to look out upon the curious conglomeration that comes within his vision. If he

does not watch closely he will begin to grumble and complain, will indulge a spirit of acerbity and censoriousness, will become pessimistic, morose, and misanthropic. He will fall a sad-faced victim, not to "revelries," but to rivalries, and sink into a crabbed old age that sulks and glowers in sullen gloom.

3. *Love of Approbation.* Every preacher is strongly tempted to lower his standard for the sake of popularity. The praise of men is sweet to him. Like his Master he shrinks from the cross that inevitably awaits those who deal strenuously and unflinchingly with the sins of their age. But unlike his Master he does not always go forward unfalteringly in the pathway of duty. Smiles, he can hardly help feeling, are preferable to frowns, dollars to dimes, deference to denials and dismissals. If he caters to the worldliness of leading church members he is hailed as a royal good fellow, if he smites it with plain-spoken rebuke he is denounced as a meddlesome and impracticable fanatic. Shall he deliver his message and be true to his conscience, or shall he palter and falter that he may sit in the high places of the synagogue? It is a test that will search him through and through whether he be in a prominent pulpit or a less conspicuous one, for he will meet pretty much the same human nature everywhere, a human nature that likes to be patted on the back but resents much interference with its foibles and delinquencies. "Like people like priest," said the old Israelite prophet. And this is ever the danger that the people, by their very mass and multitude, holding, moreover, the mighty power of the purse, being well able, and often quite willing, to make it uncomfortble for him who annoys them by unpalatable truth-telling, will cause that truth-telling to be so difficult and unprofitable that the preacher will compromise and confine himself to speaking smooth things under the plea that he must preserve his influence and not drive folks away from him if he is to do them good. The evil one sought again and again, in this very way, to induce Jesus to depart in some little degree from the path of suffering and death. He failed there, but he has too often succeeded with Christ's representatives. It is probably their subtlest peril, the sort of attack before which more go down than before any other one thing.

4. *Adulation.* This is not so large or general a hindrance as the other three, and is, in most cases, pretty fully counteracted by the complaints and detractions that commonly go along with

it in the day's work. Nevertheless, it is a real danger which the average minister is pretty sure to meet. He will be flattered by certain people. He will associate a good deal of the time with those that look up to him with something of reverence and accept whatever he says as just about right. And the minister, if he be susceptible on that side, readily puffed up, gets to imagine that he is exempt from ordinary rules of conduct, and can follow a slightly different standard from that which is exacted of other people. Where very serious consequences do not follow from this thought—as is occasionally the case—it is apt to take the manliness out of him. He becomes impatient of resistance to his will, disposed to put down with a strong hand (or at least a rough one) all who venture to differ from him in opinion, accounting them enemies of righteousness because they are unwilling to accept him as the incarnation of right reason and sound wisdom. One old writer exhorts young ministers to pray that they may be delivered from "the bleating of the sheep." If they get their ears so filled with it that there is affinity for no other sounds they will be incapacitated for taking the place of men in the world and doing the best grade of work. The preacher needs to be praised occasionally lest he sink into discouragement through failure to see any results from his toil, but a continual diet of honeyed words is not wholesome for him ; if they do not make him sick they will be apt to produce that effect on all who are brought into contact with him.

It does not come within our purpose just now to set forth with any fullness the other side of this picture and to present the special advantages which the preacher enjoys for the cultivation of his inner life. Such help unquestionably he has. He associates with the very best people in the community. He is brought into contact with the best books, the noblest thoughts, the most inspiring themes. He is in constant attendance at all sorts of means of grace. He has more leisure for devotion than most other busy people. His very employment compels it, drawing him to his knees in sheer despair of accomplishing anything otherwise. The responsibilities of his position aid in steadying and solemnizing him. He has many prayers offered for him and much good counsel given him. He can backslide, as many painful illustrations prove, but it must be in the face of manifold incentives to a different course, and so must bring peculiarly heavy penalty. Passing all this by, however, we feel

moved to use a little space in the endeavor to state what, in our opinion, the preacher chiefly needs in order to make the most of himself for God in this extremely important department of his being. His hindrances being such as have been above described how can he best overcome them?

1. He needs, above all, to maintain *constant communion with God.* These words, perhaps, are often on his lips, but is their deep signification fully realized? The attainment they indicate is a very great thing, not to be lightly secured, and a very precious thing, well worth all it costs. What does it mean, this sacred fellowship divine? It means that the presence of Him who is at once our glorious Master and our bosom Friend has become so profound a reality that it is distinctly recognized each hour, almost each moment, of every day. It means that we take everything to him, do everything for him, enjoy everything with him, accomplish everything by him, receive everything from him, look ever toward him, lean at all times upon him, and, in short, live, move, and have our being in him. It means that he is the sum and substance, the center and circumference of our inmost existence, of our truest life, and that without him—apart from his realized help, his conscious approval, his imparted power—we will not even attempt to do aught; we should not dare to, we could not bear to. It points to so close and confidential an intercourse that we take hold of nothing, however small, on which we do not first ask his blessing, and that we feel perfectly free to consult him in regard to all the minute events of all the days. The association is so intimate that thoughts and feelings are communicated both ways, from him to us and from us to him, without restraint or hindrance. From long companionship we come to know by a sort of instinct what will please him, and we quickly shrink from anything that would obstruct the flow of mutual sympathy. The community of interest is complete. Prayer is turned into a sort of conversation, and the conversation often goes on without the passing of words. So immediate is the touch of spirits that silence conveys often more than language, that which no language can express.

The preacher who has gained a large degree of this oneness with his Lord will certainly be delivered from all undue susceptibility to the praise and flattery of his fellow-men. He will be very little tempted to substitute their standard of right for that

with which he is supplied by his divine companion. Their weak words will not weigh much with him while he listens so constantly to the mind of the great Leader by whose side he is permitted to walk. He will be careless concerning any so-called success which is on a lower plane than his Friend can fully sanction. How to attain this indispensable communion? It can be secured in no way that stops short of the utmost concentration of purpose, and the resolute thrusting away of whatever practices are inconsistent with its single-eyed pursuit. The spirit of frivolity that stores the mind with trashy trifles does not conduce to the most vivid realization of the presence of God. And those popular ministrations to the flesh which are so generally indulged in by worldly society certainly do not predispose to prayer or further the habit of mind which makes the things of the soul paramount. Only with a great sum can this citizenship be obtained. Half-hearted efforts will avail nothing. Deep desire and patient faith hold the keys of the situation.

2. The preacher also needs, to combat his special trials, a *cast-iron faith in divine providence.* That is, a faith inflexible and unwavering, on the truth that God does, or suffers to be done, all things that come to pass on the realm of external events. The preacher needs this to protect him from the inrush of uncomfortable thoughts and feelings in regard to his appointments, and his lot in life as compared with that of others whom he is tempted to envy. He needs it to keep him happy and peaceful when things do not go to his liking, when God appears to have forgotten him, and evil seems to have the upper hand. He must, when these perplexities and conflicts throng in upon him, say, God reigns, and therein will I rejoice. He must say, in every smallest thing as well as in the large, in the events that appear to come through the malice or mistakes of men, or even through his own foolish blunders, infirmities, and sins, the gracious hand of God is to be seen, the wise, loving, purpose of the Father is to be recognized, the helpful chastisement is to be welcomed, the blessing in disguise is to be gladly accepted. He must say this, and *believe* it. There is no other path to perfect peace. He may wonder and be amazed, may admit his ignorance and wait for future explanation, but if he gives way in the smallest degree to repining he does himself a harm, he displeases the Lord, he becomes an injury to

others. He cannot afford to take, even temporarily, this position. Serenity, tranquillity, contentment, victory over circumstances, are essential to the best doing of his work, and to his exemplification before the people of the principles of New Testament salvation. Let him cultivate, then, this faith, train himself into the habit of it, cause it to grow by constant exercise, this faith which receives all results as from God. Thus, having done in his own behalf or in behalf of those for whom he labors, whatever seems right, whatever he can without infringing upon true humility, genuine self-respect, and cordial love for others, having done all things which the occasion seems to call for and conscience to approve, he will heartily accept the outcome as that which is going to prove to be the very best for his highest good. He who can do this has discovered a secret better than that of perpetual youth or unlimited gold, and has solved the chief problem of life.

3. The preacher's special peril of officialism can be helpfully guarded against by participation, as frequent as possible, in gatherings where he will not be an official but a mere private member, where he will meet others who are his equals or superiors, without responsibility except for his own personal good. If he can join some little circle that meets weekly or monthly for spiritual research and religious stimulation he will be likely to receive aid in the sustenance of his inner life that ordinary meetings do not furnish. If two million souls are to be gained for the Methodist Episcopal Church during the next three years its ministers must walk very close with God, cherish an overcoming faith, and often get together to help one another to higher degrees of faith, consecration, and concentration.

ROBERT BROWNING IN HIS WIFE'S LETTERS.*

On September 12, 1846, when Robert Browning was thirty-six and Elizabeth Barrett was forty, they were married in St. Marylebone Church, London. On June 29, 1861, in Casa Guidi, on the Via Maggio, Florence, Italy, she died, smiling, in his arms, her head resting on his cheek; and of the peacefulness of her departure the husband, whose strong arms held her fragile form against his heart, wrote to a friend: "God took

* The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Two volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $4.

her to himself as you would lift a sleeping child from a dark, uneasy bed into your arms and the light." "So ended on earth," says Frederick G. Kenyon, "the most perfect example of wedded happiness in the history of literature, perfect in the inner life and in poetical expression."

Our most intimate and complete knowledge of their life together is recently received from the publication of her letters written to various friends. One value of the volumes is that in them we have a new, we will not say a different, presentment of Robert Browning, who is silhouetted in many attitudes. In her unstudied references, as in a mirror, we see the reflection of him as he comes and goes in the privacy of home and in his intercourse with the outside world, at times when he had no thought of sitting for his picture and she no intention of sketching him for the public eye. To read these letters is almost like looking into her eyes and seeing that image of him which her retina carried. That Mrs. Browning's letters to her friends should ever disparage her husband would not be expected, and doubtless all her words about him are "truth told lovingly;" yet also probably they are the truth, though written by so fond a hand. That she saw deeper into him than anybody else did and knew him absolutely gives to her occasional and incidental testimonies an exceptional and final significance. Nowhere will these letters be more valued than in America, where both her genius and his first found appreciative recognition and received due appraisement long before England could perceive the greatness of her own children.

The attachment of these two poet souls had its beginning by telepathy. They contracted mutual admiration from one another's early published writings. Without knowledge to make intention possible they interchanged intellectual samples of themselves as one royal palm tree sends off its vital dust upon the wayward wind to find an unknown other of its kind. Meeting after a while, they discovered that they had been born intimate friends. It is interesting to note his first arrival within her mind's horizon. In 1842 she prints in the *Athenæum* a series of papers on the Greek Christian poets, and is told by somebody that they are read and approved by "Mr. Browning, the poet," who, she hears, "is learned in Greek, especially in the dramatists." In 1843 she is vexed and indignant at the harsh comments of literary critics on Browning's "Blot on the 'Scutcheon," the

Athenæum charging him with taking pleasure in being enigmatical, which it declared to be a sign of weakness; and she writes to a friend: "I do assure you I never saw him in my life—do not know him even by correspondence—and yet, whether through fellow-feeling for Eleusinian mysteries, or through appreciation of his powers, I am very sensitive to the thousand and one stripes with which the assembly of critics doth expound its vocation over him: the *Athenæum*, for instance, made me quite cross and misanthropical last week." And then follows a most discerning statement, as correct now as it was fifty years ago: "The truth is—and the world should know the truth—it is easier to find a more faultless writer than a poet of equal genius." In January, 1845, she closes a note to a friend with this important intelligence: "I had a letter from Browning, the poet, last night—Browning, the author of 'Paracelsus' and King of the Mystics;" and a few weeks later there is this: "I am getting deeper and deeper into correspondence with Robert Browning, and we are growing to be the truest of friends." In May of that year she writes Mr. Westwood: "Did you persevere with 'Sordello'? I hope so. We may all learn (as poets) much and deeply from it. When you have read it through, then read for relaxation and recompense 'Colombe's Birthday,' which is exquisite. Only 'Pippa Passes' I lean to, or kneel to, with deepest reverence."

In that same May Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett met for the first time, and before many months he offered himself and his life to an apparently hopeless invalid, and asked her to be his wife. Of the debate which ensued she herself writes: "I showed him how he was throwing into the ashes his best affections—how the common gifts of youth and cheerfulness were behind me—how I had not strength, even of *heart*, for the ordinary duties of life—everything I told him and showed him. 'Look at this—and this—and this,' throwing down all my disadvantages before him. To which he did not answer by a single compliment, but simply that he had not then to choose, and that I might be right or he might be right—he was not there to decide, but that he loved me and should to his last hour. He said that the freshness of youth had passed with him also, and that he had studied the world out of books and seen many women, yet had never loved one until he had seen me; that he knew himself and knew that, if ever so repulsed, he should love me to

his last hour—it should be first and last." No wonder she felt that of her own knowledge she could affirm the truth of Mr. Kenyon's words, "Robert Browning is great in everything." No wonder she wrote, after marriage, to a friend: "His genius and almost miraculous attainments are the least things in him, the moral nature being of the very noblest, as all who ever knew him admit. He has had that wide experience of men which ends by throwing the mind back on itself and God. There is nothing incomplete in him, except as all humanity is incomplete. . . . If it were not that I look up to him we should be too alike to be together, perhaps, but I know my place better than he does, who is too humble." In 1850, four years after marriage, she writes Miss Mitford: "Ah, you would soon love Robert. You couldn't help it, I'm sure. Do you remember once telling me that 'all men are tyrants?'—as sweeping an opinion as that 'all men are liars.' Well, if you knew Robert you would make an exception surely." Similarly, years later, to Miss Blagden: "I am glad Robert was good last night. He tells me he defended Swedenborg, which suggested to me some notion of superhuman virtue on his part. Yes, love him. He is my right 'glory,' and the 'lute and harp' would go for nothing beside him." Also, later, to Mrs. Jameson: "Ah, yes. You appreciate Robert; you know what is in his poetry. Certainly there is no pretension in *me* toward his profound suggestiveness, and I thank you for knowing and saying it."

Gifted as she was herself she yet knew that her poetry did not match his in originality, vitality, intensity, sublimity, profundity, or force; and her sense of justice as well as her affection caused her to rejoice with joy unspeakable at every valuable recognition of his extraordinary genius. Within a year after marriage she tells a friend: "I heard of Carlyle's saying the other day that he hoped more from Robert Browning for the people of England than from any other living writer. . . . He loves my husband, I am proud to say." In 1855, from Paris, she answers Mr. Ruskin: "You please me—O, so much—by the words about my husband. When you wrote to praise my poems of course I had to bear it. I couldn't turn round and say, 'Well, and why don't you praise him, who is worth twenty of me? Praise my second Me as well as my Me proper, if you please.' One's forced to be rather decent and modest for one's husband as well as for one's self, even if it's

harder. I couldn't pull at your coat to read 'Pippa Passes,' for instance. I can't now. But you have put him on your shelf, so we have taken courage to send you his new volume, 'Men and Women.' . . . I consider them on the whole an advance upon his former poems, and am ready to die at the stake for my faith in them." Commensurate with this proud faith was her indignation at every failure of the British press and public to do him justice. To her sister-in-law, Miss Browning, she writes from Rome as late as 1860, when Robert Browning had been nearly thirty years in print: "Dear Sarianna, I don't complain for myself of an unappreciative public—I have no reason. But, just for *that* cause, I complain more for Robert, only he does not hear me complain. The blindness, deafness, and stupidity of the English public to Robert are amazing. Of course Milsand had 'heard his name!' Well, the contrary would have been strange. Robert *is*. All England can't prevent his existence, I suppose. But nobody there, except a small knot of pre-Raffaelite men, pretends to do him justice; while in America he's a power, a writer, a poet—he is read—he lives in the hearts of the people." And again from Rome to the same relative: "His treatment in England I set down as an infamy—no other word. . . . An English lady of rank here, *an acquaintance of ours* (observe that!) asked the other day the American Minister to Italy whether Robert was not an American. The Minister answered, 'Is it possible that *you* ask me *this*? Why, there is not so poor a village in the United States where they would not tell you that Robert Browning is an Englishman, and that they are very sorry he is not an American.' Very pretty of the American Minister—was it not?—and literally true besides."

These letters show us some of the reasons why she honors and reveres him. In one of her letters to Miss Mitford we see that this happy wife, sheltering safe under the shadow of his strong fidelity, is proud of him because he "is faultless and pure in his life," "lives like a woman in abstemiousness," "never touches a cigar even." His uprightness stands tall and erect. His moral integrity is flawless. His honesty uses a microscope and deals scrupulously with life's least items and atoms. Though a poet of lofty level and sublime vision, he walked flat-footed on common, everyday ground, maintaining the alert business habits and careful economies which were nec-

essary to protect their slender means from waste and avoid debt. In the early years of their married life they had so little to live upon that debt would have been easy to fall into, and might, in the eyes of some, have been excusable in poets. But of debt he had an intense abhorrence. In various Florentine letters written by her to familiar friends we catch glimpses of his watchful honesty in practical operation. "We are still," she writes, "in the slow agonies of furnishing our apartment. You see, being the poorest and most prudent of possible poets, we had to solve the problem of taking our furniture out of our year's income (proceeds of poems and the like), and of not getting into debt. O, I take no credit to myself; I was always in debt in my little way ('small *im*morals', as Dr. Bowring might call it) before I married; but Robert, though a poet and dramatist by profession, being descended from the blood of all the Puritans, and educated by the strictest of dissenters, has a sort of horror about the dreadful fact of owing five shillings five days, which I call quite morbid in its degree and extent, and which is altogether unpoetical according to the traditions of the world. So we have been dragging in by inches our chairs and tables throughout the summer, and by no means look furnished at this late moment. . . . Robert wouldn't sleep, I think, if an unpaid bill dragged itself by any chance into another week. He says that when people get into 'pecuniary difficulties' his sympathies always go with the butchers and bakers who are waiting for their pay. So we keep out of scrapes, you see." It seems the Tuscan publishers of a paper called the *Monitore* sent Browning the second time a bill which he had promptly paid when they first rendered it. "Now join me," she breaks out, "in admiration of the husband Browning. Isn't he a miracle, whoever else may be? The wife Browning, not to name most other human beings, would certainly have put the *Monitore* receipt into the fire, or, at best, lost it. But up rises the husband Browning and with eyes all fire holds up the receipt like an heroic English rifleman looking ahead to a possible French invasion at the end of a hundred years. Blessed be they who keep receipts. It is a beatitude beyond my reach."

Simple and frugal as their Florentine life for the most part was, it was favorable to her health, had much pleasure and some fruitful work, and was measurably ideal. One of her

letters from the seclusion in which they lived has at its end a brief postscript appended by him: "We are as happy as two owls in a hole, two toads under a tree-stump, or any other queer two poking creatures that we let live." And she writes: "I am quite well and strong, and Robert and I go out after tea in a wandering walk to sit in the Loggia and look at the Perseus, or better still at the sunsets on the Arno, turning it to pure gold under the bridges. O, that Arno in the sunset, with the moon and evening star standing by. How divine it is!" In industrious periods they worked at poetry from breakfast until 4 P. M., not together but always apart, she in her private study upstairs, he in his below. Once she said in a letter, "Robert is working at a volume of lyrics. We neither of us show our work to each other until it is finished. An artist must, I fancy, either find or *make* a solitude to work in if it is to be good work at all." One of his recreations was drawing: "After thirteen days' application Robert has produced some quite startling copies of heads. He can't rest from serious work, as I can, in light literature; it wearies him, and there are hours which are on his hands, which is bad both for them and for him. The secret of life is in full occupation, isn't it? This world is not tenable on other terms. So while I rest by lying on the sofa and reading fiction he has a resource in his drawing." At Rome, in the last winter of her life, he takes to modeling in clay, to the temporary neglect of his own particular art. This she regrets but cannot oppose. She says, "Robert is peculiar in his ways of work as a poet. I have struggled a little with him on this point, for I don't think him right—that is to say, it wouldn't be right for me, and I heard the other day that it wouldn't be right for Tennyson. Tennyson is a regular worker, shuts himself up daily for so many hours. And we are generally so made that a regular hour is good, even for so uncertain an influence as mesmerism. But Robert waits for inclination—can't do otherwise, he says." (This, it is certain, was only a temporary phase in Browning's life.) "Then reading hurts him. As long as I have known him he has not been able to read long at a time. The consequence is that he wants occupation, and active occupation is salvation to him, saves him from ruminating bitter cud, and from the process which I call beating his dear head against the wall till it is bruised, simply because he sees a fly there, magnified by his own two

eyes almost indefinitely into some Saurian monster. He has an enormous superfluity of vital energy, and if it isn't employed it strikes its fangs into him. He gets out of spirits as he was at Havre. Nobody understands exactly why—except me who am inside of him and hear him breathe. For the peculiarity of our relation is that, even when he is displeased with me, he thinks aloud with me and can't stop himself. . . . The modeling combines body-work and soul-work, and the more tired he has been, the more his back ached, poor fellow, the more he has exulted and been happy:—says 'No, nothing ever made him so happy before,'—and also the stouter he has grown and the better he has looked."

Mrs. Browning looked up to her husband because she knew him to be her superior in strength, equipoise, and steadiness. She called herself "one of those weak women who reverence strong men," and seems fully aware that she had gained "something of force and freedom by living near the oak." His sound-mindedness, sturdy common sense, and robust earnestness continually appear in his dealing with persons, subjects, and affairs. Frequently his sagacity and healthy wisdom operate to correct the vagaries of her mysticism and morbidness, and to moderate, as far as possible, her excessive enthusiasms. In the home, as elsewhere, his good sense stood stoutly to its guns in every necessary contention for sanity of views and of morals. He supports his own opinion strongly. The second year after marriage she writes Miss Mitford about some French books which husband and wife have been reading together, and then says: "You ought to hear how we go to single combat, ever and anon, with shield and lance. The greatest quarrel we have had since our marriage, by the way (always excepting my crying conjugal wrong of not eating enough) was brought up by Masson's pamphlet on the Iron Mask and Fouquet. I wouldn't be persuaded that Fouquet was 'in it,' and so the 'anger of my lord waxed hot.' To this day he says sometimes, 'Don't be cross, Ba! *Fouquet wasn't the Iron Mask after all.*'" On two subjects, both of which fill much space in her letters, they strenuously and always disagreed. These were Louis Napoleon and spiritualism. He never shared her faith in and admiration for the president who destroyed the French republic and made himself emperor. A letter in 1851 from Paris, where they saw the *coup d'état*, says: "Robert and I have had some

domestic *émeutes*, because he hates some imperial names. . . . He will tell you that he hates all Buonapartes, past, present, or to come; but then he says that in his self-willed way as a manner of dismissing a subject he won't *think* about—and knowing very well that he doesn't think about, not mistaking a feeling for a reason, not for a moment. That's the difference between women and men." This difference she herself illustrated by sometimes mistaking her feelings for valid reasons, so falling into irrationality against which always his clear intelligence stood firmly remonstrant. "Prince Hohenstiel Schwangau, Savior of Society" written in Scotland in 1871, ten years after his wife's death, contains his retrospective analysis of Louis Napoleon when that audacious career had closed in overwhelming disaster and the empire with all its tarnished tinsel had "gone glimmering through the dream of things that were." But the one subject on which husband and wife differed most sharply was spiritualism, as to which he was a disgusted and vehement disbeliever. The wave of spiritualistic infatuation and experimentation which swept through Europe and America in the fifties affected Mrs. Browning, as well as Mrs. Stowe and others, so that for several years she was of those who, without feeling sure of the honesty and sanity of individual spiritualists, yet thought it possible that some alleged spirit communications might be genuine, and who therefore mingled curiously, hopefully, and more or less credulously with the circles where evidence of the reality of such communication was affirmed to be given. In a manner half explanatory and apologetic for herself Mrs. Browning wrote Miss Mitford: "You know I am rather a visionary, and inclined to knock round at all the doors of the present world to try to get out, so that I listen with interest to every goblin story of the kind; and, indeed, I hear enough of them just now." When a circle in Florence tried to make tables tip and spirits rap, but failed, Lytton said their failure was because Robert Browning was playing Mephistopheles and the spirits disdained to perform in the hostile presence of an arch-skeptic. In 1853 we have in one of her letters the following glimpse of how things were going then and there: "Mr. Lytton gave a reception on the terrace of his villa at Bellosguardo one evening, and we were all bachelors together there, and I made tea, and we ate strawberries and cream, and talked spiritualism. Frederick Tennyson was there, Hiram

Powers, and Mr. Villari, an accomplished Sicilian, besides our young host and ourselves. How we 'set down' Faraday for his 'arrogant and insolent letter' against spiritualism, and what miracles we swore to! O, we are believers here, except Robert, who persists in wearing a coat of respectable skepticism, though I think it is out at elbows and ragged about the skirts. If I am right, none of you will be able to disbelieve much longer. A new law, or a new development of the law, is making way everywhere." Spiritualists swarmed on every side, and Browning, pretty much alone in his circle, "had to hold them all at bay," which he did with his accustomed decision, energy, and directness. Now and then he exploded and stormed furiously up and down the house in wrath because of deceivers and deceived who were fooling his wife with lies and illusions. To this conflict we owe that rare piece of shrewd dissection and analysis, "Sludge the Medium," the real subject of which was D. D. Hume, the arch-impostor.

"Husband, lover, nurse, Robert has been to me," wrote this delicate woman after five years of married life, and with equal truth might have repeated the same words to the angels when at the end she passed from his arms to the heavens. Richly endowed with quick and generous sympathies this gentle, healthy man was the ever-ready natural nurse of weakness and suffering. Often in their fifteen years together he carried her, like a baby, in his arms in and out of the house, upstairs and down, from carriages to railway stations, and elsewhere. In her letters her physical weakness, often affecting her spirits, is a prominent feature of most of her years, as when she writes to Miss Haworth: "I know how foolish and morbid I must seem to you. So I am made, and I can't help my idiosyncrasies. . . . Forgive my poor brittle body which shakes and breaks." At the Baths of Lucca in 1857, in hot exhausting August weather, we see Robert Browning watching many days and sitting up eight nights to nurse young Robert Lytton, who is very ill with fever, and, expecting to die, is "inclined to talk of divine things, of the state of his soul and God's love, and to hold this life but slackly." For several years at Florence and Siena, Browning watches with patient affection over Walter Savage Landor, past eighty years of age, unreasonable, irritable, and difficult to manage. Mrs. Browning tells the story in various letters. "The poor old lion, Landor, appeared one day at our door of Casa Guidi to take refuge with us, being

sorely buffeted by his family at Fiesole, broken-hearted and in wrath, with an oath on his soul never to return to them." To this crotchety old man, who had "quarreled with nearly everybody in and out of England," Robert Browning became a sort of guardian, attending to all his wants and comforts. Landor "has excellent, generous, affectionate impulses, but the impulses of a tiger now and then." At times he throws a dinner that doesn't suit him out of the window, or dashes a plate on the floor when he dislikes what is on it. He "has the most beautiful sea-foam of a beard, all in a curl and white bubblement of beauty." "Robert amuses me by talking of Landor's 'gentleness and sweetness.' A most courteous and refined gentleman he is, of course, and very affectionate to Robert (as he surely ought to be), but of self-restraint he has not a grain, and of suspiciousness many grains. The contadini at whose house he is now lodging have been already accused of opening his desk. Still, on that occasion, as on others, Robert succeeded in soothing him, and the poor old lion is quiet, on the whole, roaring softly to beguile the time, in Latin alcaics against his wife and Louis Napoleon. He laughs carnivorously when I tell him that one of these days he will have to write an ode in honor of the emperor, to please me." "I call him our adopted son. You didn't know I had a son eighty-six and more." "His genius gives him a claim to gratitude from all artists at least, and I must say my Robert, who says he owes more to Landor as a writer than to any other contemporary, has generously paid the debt. Robert's goodness to him has been quite apostolical. And think of the effect of a goodness which can quote at every turn to an author something from that author's own book! Isn't that more bewitching than other goodnesses? At present Landor is very fond of him, but I am quite prepared to have the old lion turn against us as he has turned against Forster, who has been so devoted for years and years. . . . Robert's office is difficult, and I tell him he must be prepared for an outbreak and a printed statement that he (Robert), instigated by his wicked wife, has attempted to poison him (Landor) slowly. Such an extraordinary union of great literary gifts and incapacity of will has seldom surprised the world."

Twenty years of his wife's letters show Robert Browning to have been, as Anne Thackeray Ritchie writes with almost worshipful affection, "above all a poet, a good man, a great genius."

THE ARENA.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CURRENT RELIGIOUS UNREST.

In his suggestive article in the *Review*, for July, 1898, Dr. Chaffee says, "The unrest and discussion must go on until there be, in respect to nonessentials, liberty, and in respect to essentials, charity." This is certainly in harmony with the spirit of the Gospel, if we do not carry our crude and improved theories into the Christian pulpit. And there is doubtless some need of the writer's caution, for too many people have perhaps been unduly alarmed over recent developments in theology. Yet the most serious assault upon the long received forms of theology are not the direct assault upon their truthfulness, but an indirect attack, taking issue with the commonly received exegesis of isolated portions of Scripture, the logical outcome of which criticism is not stated; and, the premises appearing very plausible, many are led to accept them, which they could not be persuaded to do, if the outcome of the criticism were plainly stated. Dr. Stuart in the same number of the *Review* puts the matter very strongly, possibly a little too strongly, when he says of the higher criticism, "It is a scheme that makes a fraud of the whole history as it appears in the Bible." So that it becomes a very practical and a very important question, as to the logical attitude we would occupy toward some of the fundamental questions of theology, if we were forced to accept the views of some of the so-called conservative higher critics?

1. It would seem that we would be forced to reject much of the so-called supernaturalism of the Bible. Dr. Chaffee says, "For out-worn theologies which have made it [the Christian religion] artificial and mechanical, and especially for the excessive supernaturalism which has been made both its foundation and its defense, they [unconverted men] have little respect, and, if possible, less use." "Supernaturalism is separable," he affirms, "from religion;" and he must include in that term true religion, for he goes on to say that "supernaturalism has been so mixed up with religion, has been so much exploited by the theologies in its behalf, that we have come too much to feel that it is the basis of religion and that if supernatural suffer religion also must suffer with it." This is a sweeping but a very indefinite charge, plainly implying that true religion will survive, yea flourish all the better, if we eliminate some of the so-called miracles from Bible history. But why should not some of these scholars relieve our suspense by telling us what particular miracles of the Old and New Testament we must reject as spurious, lest we of the common people may be tempted, in our uncertainty, to throw overboard all so-called miracles? Why does Dr. Chaffee say, "It is in vain for us to attempt to laugh out of court the

myths and miracles of all other nations and religions, and then hope to escape the scorn of intelligence while we indulge in the feat of verifying all the myths and miracles of the Jewish Church and people," unless he means to include in that statement some of the miracles of the Old Testament at least? For it is well known that Protestant Christianity indignantly rejects the fables of the Talmud as unsupported fancies. And if he does include in his statement some of the so-called Old Testament miracles, why should not he or some one relieve our ignorance, so that our faith may be well founded?

2. We would have to enlarge the ordinary conception of inspiration so as to put the great thinkers of the past and the present into the same general category with the teachers and prophets of the Bible, though like them, doubtless, with varying degrees of inspiration. Dr. Chaffee affirms: "The necessity is upon us either to broaden our doctrine of inspiration or to abandon it; for with such conceptions of God as we now have we cannot have in him a respecter of persons or of nations, . . . nor limited inspirations and revelations, either as to peoples or as to times, but we must have an administration of the All-Father which, while it gives the divine Jesus of Nazareth to be the 'light of the world,' also gave Gautama, the gentle 'ascetic of Kapilavastu' to be for a time the 'light of Asia.'" And if Gautama, why not Plato, Socrates, Cicero, Mohammed, and an unlimited number of lesser lights? So it seems that we have already an unlimited number of God-inspired Bibles, all inspired in the same sense, if not to the same degree, as our old-fashioned Bible. Are we also to understand that some future council of the Church, or of scholars possibly, may decide to add to the present canon of Scripture, as they are now calling for a subtraction from the contents of the present Bible? It would seem so, for our writer makes haste to say that the men who closed the present canon of Holy Scripture "had no more right to close it than we have to open it. For one thing, chiefly: they were not so well qualified to judge as we are." It is true that our fears of a new brand of Scripture are a little relieved by the added remark, "What might be lawful for us might not be expedient, and especially since the Bible as we now have it, contains 'all things necessary for salvation.'" But suppose the successors of the present race of scholars should conclude that some new, latter-day revelation must go into our old family Bibles!

3. On the other hand we would have to narrow the limits of inspiration so as to reject from the Bible all that which does not seem to appeal to reason. Accordingly we must hold that God never directed the unknown (?) editor who put into its present form the history of Israel and wrote down the direction of Moses to slay all but the virgin Midianites; nor did he approve of Moses's command to utterly destroy the Canaanites and other tribes (Deut. xx, 16–18), because it is so much worse, you know, for God to command men to kill anybody, as for instance, to hang a man for murder, than it is to slay wicked men by earth-

quake as he did Korah and his band, or by lightning, as he often does to-day! Of course Psa. cix and many other portions of the imprecatory psalms could never have been inspired by Jehovah; they must have been the work of bigoted, wicked men, and we ought to expunge them from the Bible as positively immoral!

Referring for a moment to Professor Mitchell's effort in the same *Review* to explain what he regards as two quite different versions of the flood, given in Genesis, as taken from different histories or traditions, we read as his words, "In the [proposed] process of reconstruction, the difficulties which previously confronted the reader have entirely disappeared." It would seem that a worse result, or at least an entirely different one, would follow. The two supposed accounts are, on his theory, irreconcilable, and therefore one must be false. Moreover, we have no means of knowing which one is true; and the Holy Ghost could not by any possibility have directed the writer to put in both accounts, one of them being false and no intimation being given as to which was false and which was true. By parity of reasoning we must look upon quite a portion of the Pentateuch as being destitute of any divine supervision or inspiration.

Dr. Chaffee also assures us that Christ never spoke the words found in Mark xvi, 9–20. Though it were so—although the authors of the Revised Version, after intimating their doubts, do nevertheless print the section—notice the doctor's reason. He says, "It was never true that good men and women could drink any deadly thing and be in no wise hurt thereby." And so, perforce, we must also reject Luke's account of Paul's escape from death, when the viper fastened upon him, as the vaporings of a disordered and falsifying imagination.

4. We would also be compelled to reject the doctrine of "original sin," and remand the Scripture account of man's original innocence and purity and his fall therefrom through Satan's influence to the realm of fable. Dr. Chaffee evidently leans to the doctrine of evolution (to account) for man's spiritual nature, as well as for his body. For he says, in speaking of the origin of man's soul: "There remains, therefore, only that unknown middle, the genesis of life, about which, perhaps, we can know nothing; but it will be scientific to assume that God has had but one method, and that is the method of evolution, about which we do know something." And he evidently foresees no special embarrassment, "should we feel obliged to substitute for the doctrine of original sin the great law of heredity."

Well, if the body and soul of the race are in each case the outcome of evolution, then there never was a sinless and perfect progenitor of the race, there never was an Adam, and there never was an Eve. They were simply the creations of some man's wild and disordered fancy, and the race has been slowly climbing up through countless ages from the unconscious life of the primordial cell. And Paul evidently quoted an untrue old legend, supposing it to be veritable history, when

he said, referring to the fall, "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression;" and also when he wrote to the Corinthians, "I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." It seems that Paul was born eighteen hundred years too early! But let us not be too eager to pull up our anchor and launch out upon this shoreless sea of speculation. Whatever is truth must prevail; but error will soon go the way of past exploded theories.

Watertown, N. Y. S. O. BARNES.

"NESCIENCE OF GOD."

IN discussing Dr. Adam Clarke's theory of "God's omniscience" in the January *Review* Dr. Milton S. Terry says: "It involves the acquisition of knowledge through the course of the ages on the part of God. For he cannot but know events as they come to pass, and, if he had no perfect foresight of them beforehand, how his knowledge must increase with time!" That is, "If God is thus acquiring knowledge through the ages, he cannot be omniscient." Dr. Terry seems to imply that God cannot acquire knowledge. Cannot God think a new thought? If he cannot now, it is logical to say he never could. A house that has always stood has never been built. Knowledge that has from all eternity been in the divine mind was never formed in concept. So of intuitions. If God does not now and never did think new thoughts, he is not a thinker. If not a thinker, how can he be intelligent? If God cannot increase his own knowledge, is he omnipotent? Such limitations border very closely on the verge of pantheism.

Our writer also holds that Dr. McCabe's statement, "Divine nescience of future contingencies is a necessity in the necessities of things," is "not a self-evident proposition;" that it "lacks the nature and force of an axiomatic truth, such as that two and two equal four." But is not this self-evident in the nature of God and things? (1) Whatever is contingent is not a fixed fact. (2) If not a fixed fact, God cannot know it or foreknow it as such. (3) If God has foreknown all things that come to pass as fixed facts from everlasting, then most assuredly they have been fixed facts. (4) If they have been fixed facts from all eternity, who fixed them? It could not have been man. It must have been God himself. (5) If all things have been eternally so fixed in fact and knowledge, there is no place for contingency, human freedom, or even divine freedom. The appearance of it as such is only an illusion or a delusion. Evidently God does not foreknow nonentities as certainties. Then they are uncertain, and the fact of their uncertainty he knows as a fact. He foreknows all the possibilities and possible contingencies. This is all he can foreknow, for it is all that is true. The unreal cannot be true. When facts change God's knowledge of them must also change. To say his knowledge of a thing glides right over the line between uncertainty and fixedness and is just the same on both

sides is unwarrantable. In Dr. Terry's own language, "We may well question the competency of any finite mind to affirm so much about the possibilities or impossibilities of God's omniscience." God is omniscient —because he knows all things. But to know a thing as a thing which is not a thing is a first-class absurdity. As soon as a contingency becomes an actuality God knows it as such, and not before. Then it is reduced to this that the "nescience of God" simply means that he does not know things out of their realities, as if they were really something else. God cannot know a thing to be in existence which is not, never has been, and perhaps never will be. This is no impeachment of his omniscence. To affirm that the divine mind plays such tricks as Dr. Terry's theory of foreknowledge implies is to impeach God's sanity. This psychology of the Infinite builds a nest for fatalism, from which a most pestilent and destructive brood swarms forth.

Dr. Terry says also, "The proposition must needs apply to all God's future free volitions, as well as those of man." But cannot God put forth new volitions? If they have all existed from "all eternity," then he never willed at all. More, he cannot will; hence he does not possess free will in any sense whatever. Then he has no personality, which includes self-consciousness and self-direction. But there was a time when God had not given his only Son to die for man, and then there was a period in his own experience when he had willed and actually done that thing. If God ever willed or thought, there must have been succession in his own consciousness, and this partakes of the nature of our time. To say that all is "one eternal now" with him, and that he never had succession of volition or cognition, is beyond "the competency of any finite mind to affirm." The great truth after which the human mind reaches in such a statement is not an "eternal now," but doubtless the fact of an infinite power or state of mind by which God holds all knowledge in his consciousness at one and the same time, and that continuously, without the possibility of forgetting as we do.

"The real difficulty" is not "to conceive how God came by his foreknowledge," but how he can foreknow things as such which are not things. What he predetermines for himself he is fully able out of his resources to accomplish. He does not need to foreknow from everlasting whatever will come to pass, in order to govern the universe, much less to know conditions as actual which are not. Evidently there are other constellations of truth in this direction which Dr. Terry's telescope has not found.

J. Wallace Webb.

Canandaigua, N. Y.

"FOR CHRIST'S SAKE," OR "GOD IN CHRIST."

In the *Review* for November–December, 1898, appeared a paper from the pen of Dr. Fiske entitled, "The Atonement." He takes the correct and truly biblical position when he says, in substance, that our blessed Lord did not suffer and die in our stead, to vindicate and satisfy the

broken law, but that he did do all this for us. The idea that "Jesus paid it all," and "in our stead," would be the very opposite from mending or satisfying a broken law; it would be equal to saving us in our sins, instead of saving us "from" our sins; it would go far beyond the teaching of Universalism. The correction of this kind of tradition, by Dr. Fiske and others, will necessarily be followed by other corrections of unbiblical traditions and phrases, because a truth will in course of development refute all ideas that do not agree with it.

The traditional phrase, "for Christ's sake," so often appended to prayers, is not biblical, and is also contradictory to the article on the atonement above referred to. In the last verse of Ephesians iv, we read the following in the King James translation, "Forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you." But this is mistranslation. The revised translation reads correctly, "As God also in Christ forgave you." The original text is very plain, Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ.

The phrase, "for Christ's sake," is the only one of this kind in the whole Bible; and the fact that it destroys the sense of the original proves it to be a human invention. Moreover, this traditional phrase rests on the glaring error that the Lord Jesus Christ by his suffering and death did reconcile God, the Father. The Father never needed reconciliation: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son;" "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." Here it is plainly shown that God does not require to be reconciled to sinning men, but that the unreconciled world which was and is in enmity God did and does need reconciliation. God in Christ was and is the reconciling party.

To pray to God to hear us, for Christ's sake, implies the erroneous idea that Christ is used as a shield to receive upon himself the Almighty's displeasure, instead of its striking us. Can we not see that in using the Lord thus as a mere shield, he is not at all made an object of prayer? Is the one "who is over all God blessed forever" not worthy to be approached directly in prayer?

What then does it mean, to pray in the "name of the Lord?" By the "name of the Lord Jesus Christ" we must not understand an empty title, but by that "name" we are to understand the character and being of our glorified Lord, because he is the "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, . . . which was and which is to come, the Almighty." Therefore, to pray in the name of Christ is, to approach God in Christ; because we do not know anything of the eternal Father, as he is in himself, since the finite cannot comprehend the Infinite. What we know of the Infinite is through Jesus Christ the Lord. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared [ἐξηγήσατο] him." Therefore to pray in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, or to God in Christ, is correct and biblical, but "for Christ's sake" is not.

Longmont, Col. GUSTAVE REICKE.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

RITUALISTIC TENDENCIES OF OUR TIME.

Everything that affects the advance of the Gospel is a matter of interest to the Christian ministry. In the New York *Observer*, some little time since, it was stated that the Rev. Abraham Kuyper, D.D., member of the States General of the Netherlands, and professor in the Free University of Amsterdam, had delivered a lecture upon "A New Development of Calvinism Needed," in the lecture room of the Collegiate Church, Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street. The paper states that Dr. Kuyper has been lecturing at Princeton and elsewhere, and comes to us as a representative of the scholarship and piety of a great branch of the Church of Christ.

The point of his address to which we call attention is this: "The symbolical tide of our day is dangerously undermining the foundations of our Calvinistic Churches. True, neither ritualism nor symbolism has noticeably intruded into our Calvinistic services. But is not confessional indifference slipping in? Symbolism begins by instilling aversion for dogma, and so digs the bed for the flow of its glittering ritualistic stream. . . . Ritschel's antidogmatical school, the new school of Sabbatier in Paris, Rome's withholding the Bible, as well as its dethronement by the higher criticism, and so also the confessional indifference, are all moving on the same line, and the terminus of that line is no other than sensual worship and dim symbolical adoration."

It is not our purpose either to affirm or to deny the statements of Dr. Kuyper. He is evidently an authority of the branch of the Church for which he speaks. One cannot be blind, however, to the ritualistic development going on at the present time in the nonepiscopal Churches. The time was when the sermon was the chief feature of Protestantism. It may well be questioned whether it is such in many of the leading Churches at the present time. Years ago the services of all Protestant Churches were so simple that one had no difficulty in adjusting himself to the situation when exchanging pulpits. But it is now quite important for a minister who undertakes to conduct the service of any of our Churches to study beforehand the forms observed in that particular Church. Sometimes they are exceedingly complex. Not only is it necessary to understand the arrangement, but there is also an evident tendency to conformity to the Episcopal ritual. The language of the Prayer Book has become more or less incorporated in the language of Protestant Christendom. This is not a matter for complaint, for the Prayer Book and liturgy are the growth of ages of pious devotion, and are a fitting expression of the spiritual life of God's people. The fact, however, serves to emphasize a growing tendency toward formalism

and ritualism. One cannot fail to observe, also, that the tones of voice and modes of utterance adopted by some ministers is quite similar to that found in the Protestant Episcopal Church, where there is great uniformity in this particular. The writer was in a prominent church quite recently, and in the reading of the Psalter, if his eyes had been closed, he would have believed that the minister conducting the service was an Episcopal clergyman.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has adopted through its General Conference a form of service which is quite simple and certainly unexceptional, but it is a tendency in the same direction. Certainly the repetition of the Apostles' Creed by the congregation and the alternate reading of the Psalter by the pastor and people are a fitting part of Christian service, but they are another indication of tendency. Twenty years ago the minister who had done this would have greatly surprised his congregation. Now it has the authority of the Church. It may be that the usages which grew up at an early period of the Church, combining with the preaching an extended form of devotion, is in harmony with the instincts of our religious nature and therefore should be adopted. It is a sign, however, of a tendency which the writer of this thinks is growing, and which should receive thoughtful attention on the part of the Church. The Prayer Book as revised by John Wesley and published by our Book Concern is not employed very largely, but its use in our churches would be in harmony with the present tendencies of most of the churches. One who has visited England and attended the Wesleyan services there has found at Old City Road Chapel and Great Queen Street the preaching preceded by a liturgical service closely resembling that which he finds in the Church of England. Indeed, the writer recalls a visit to City Road Chapel when the late Dr. Pope, author of the well-known *Systematic Theology*, preached, and he could observe no difference between that service and the one in Westminster Abbey other than the fact that in the Abbey the preacher prayed for "bishops, priests, and deacons," whereas in City Road Chapel he prayed for "all Christian ministers." The writer also had the privilege at one time of preaching at City Road Chapel, and was permitted to remain in a room adjoining while the preliminary services were conducted, going to the pulpit only when it became his duty to preach. The statement with which this article begins is important to us simply because it seems to be a part of a universal tendency in Protestant Christendom.

DIVERSITY IN SCRIPTURE TRANSLATION—ITS NECESSITY AND VALUE.

Anyone who will compare the successive translations of the Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, will be led to inquire as to the necessity and utility of the varied and sometimes diverse rendering of

the same passage. An illustration of this statement will be found in an examination of the Revised Version. There were two companies, the British and the American, at work upon the English translation. This group of scholars, representing the foremost men in this work, were unable to agree in the rendering of many passages after the most careful scholastic discussion, and so it came to pass that the translation which the majority favored is in the text, while the expression of the minority is in the margin. Then, too, there were a number of places in which the American revisers differed from the conclusions of the English company. In the case of individual translators this is apparent also. A comparison of Wyclif with Tyndale and others will show marked differences.

There are various methods of accounting for this fact. The nature of language makes great demands on the skill and patience of a translator. Words in the original have diverse significations, growing out of the constant development of language. The same diversity in the meaning of words appears in the language into which the translation takes place. Our English version shows many instances in which words have a different meaning now from that which they had when they were first employed. Such changes belong to the very nature of language. There is no possible way to avoid the modifications growing out of them. Differences of rendering growing out of diverse conceptions of the meaning of the words are therefore necessary. Further, these variants sometimes are due to ignorance of the precise conditions of the times with which the passage under consideration has to do. Language expresses itself with perfect accuracy to the interpreter only as he appreciates the circumstances that called it forth. To catch the precise meaning of the old prophets is exceedingly difficult for the modern reader, because he is unacquainted with the exact conditions of the writer. The accuracy of the rendering will depend upon the measure with which the scholar grasps the environments in their entirety. If the words are viewed in relation to modern ideas they often seem infelicitous. Here is the field in which modern criticism finds such abundant scope, and we see at once the uncertainty which attends criticism based on so many subjective considerations. Of course it is the business of scholarship to ascertain from the writings themselves and from contemporaneous literature what the conditions of the times were, but at best the conclusions are exceedingly precarious and give room for large diversities of opinion. The point which we are now considering, however, is to show that this difference in the conception of the environments of a passage will necessarily constitute variations in translation. There is a further reason for the matter we are considering, namely, the difficulty of grasping the train of thought. This is akin to the former consideration. One may know the circumstances, but not be able to detect those delicate shades of thought which were in the author's mind, and hence the language is not perfectly transparent. A true translator must have a capacity for

apprehending the modes of thinking of individual writers. One scholar may be amply fitted to translate historical books who would be unable to render accurately the more philosophical portions. We may notice, further, that there are differences growing out of the complexities, and even the uncertainties, of grammatical laws. There are principles of syntax which are still matters of discussion among scholars, and they cannot fail to exert their influence. Men will be swayed by their accepted conclusions, and it is not possible to secure absolute uniformity since there is yet incertitude in regard to the laws of language.

While these various differences may at first sight seem to be evils, on the whole they serve very useful purposes. They are not of a character to disturb our confidence in the word of God. They are all on the human side, and are the result of conditions which are inherent in our nature and environments. God's word stands firm, and the sacred oracles give no uncertain sound. Those parts whose rendering admits of no doubtful sense so far outnumber the kind we have been considering that the latter serve as exceptions only, and not as constant factors in the unfolding of the sacred oracles. No doctrinal differences need result, because all the fundamental doctrines of our holy religion are clearly established by passages concerning whose meaning there is almost entire unanimity. These variances also broaden our vision of the wonders of sacred truth. We see so many passages of Scripture which, whatever rendering may be given, furnish rich meanings to the careful inquirer. Hence it occurs that one may take each statement as an expression of another side of sacred truth. Each form of translation may constitute a fitting division of a sermon. It is not affirmed that each is equally correct, but that each may carry for the reader a great moral or spiritual truth.

Further, these changes afford scope for profound mental application, and thus deepen the intellectual life of God's people. The quickening of the intellect is greatly promoted by the discussions which arise in the world of scholars and also in the Sunday school and by the fireside. The mental life of the Church is chiefly due to the great teachings of the Scripture, is stimulated by the efforts to reach the fine gold which often lies hidden beneath the surface, and the finder often rejoices in his prize in proportion to the labor required in securing it.

We have thus attempted to remove some of the difficulties in the way of those who cannot understand why all passages should not be put in precisely the same form when rendered in a different language. The very nature of the human mind and of human conditions makes it impossible. The harmonies, however, are so marvelous that we cannot escape the conviction that a watchful providence has been over those noble scholars who have done so much to make the sacred word clear to the minds of men. In the "Itinerants' Club" we have urged upon the ministers the importance of studying the versions of the Scriptures in the various languages as a means of understanding them. We may add

to that the importance of close attention to the various translations in the same language as one of the best methods of securing a knowledge effective for private study and for pulpit ministrations.

PAUL'S VISION OF CHRIST, 1 COR. XV, 8.

This passage of Scripture has been usually supposed to refer to our Lord's appearance to Saul when he was on the way to Damascus. This view has been controverted by some who question any objective appearance of our Lord to Paul, and who maintain that the whole movement involved in the conversion of Paul was subjective and internal, and that the appearance here set forth was a manifestation to his spirit only. A recent work on Paul (Cone, p. 59), says: "The probability that he refers here to the same experience mentioned in Gal. i, 16, as God's revelation of his Son in him is so great that it is not worth while to argue the case. Yet no one would assume on the ground of this latter passage that he had in mind anything but an inward manifestation, a conviction which left the matter beyond all question that Jesus was the Son of God and the Saviour, in the sense peculiar to his Gospel, the Gospel of the cross and of the uncircumcision. For it was on this revelation that he grounded his apostleship to the Gentiles."

The writer then proceeds to interpret the passage now under consideration (1 Cor. xv, 8) by a reference to 1 Cor. xv, 40, 44, where Paul distinguishes between the natural and the spiritual body, and concludes that Paul "did not think of the resurrected Jesus as possessing a body of corruptible flesh which 'cannot inherit the kingdom of God,' but as clothed with a spiritual corporeity." It is difficult to see any definite relation between the latter passage and the former one by which the author reaches the conclusion that the vision of Christ on his way to Damascus was not an objective view of his personality, for there is no statement of the form under which he saw him; but it is clearly indicated that he saw his Lord so as to know him, and that he heard his words. In answer to Paul's question, "Who art thou, Lord?" the answer was returned, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."

The proper view of our passage is clearly shown by its immediate context, "He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles." Paul then adds, "And last of all he was seen of me also." This is a part of a continuous narrative of historical proofs of a single fact, namely, that Jesus Christ who had been crucified, had been raised from the dead "the third day according to the Scriptures." In each case the appearance to these witnesses is described by the word ὤφθη. What then was the character of the appearance to Cephas, to James, to the five hundred? Was it the spiritual apprehension of Jesus as the Saviour of men? What could it have been,

judging from the apostle's language, but that he who had been crucified had risen from the dead, and that they had seen him "alive after his passion?" The same personality that had been put to death had risen from the dead; and this fact was verified by credible witnesses, among whom were Peter and James. The precise nature of the resurrection body was not involved in this part of the apostle's argument. He discusses that subject in general terms in answer to objections in the latter part of the chapter.

Another passage in Paul's writings advanced to show that the appearance of Jesus to Paul in 1 Cor. xv, 8, was merely a manifestation to his spirit is Gal. i, 15, 16, "But when it pleased God . . . to reveal his Son in me." It is clear that there is no exact indication in this passage as to the precise point in Paul's life when this revelation took place. The natural reference is to the call which took place at the time of his conversion on the way to Damascus. This passage has been regarded as decisive against the accepted doctrine of the visible appearance of our Lord to Paul. If it were granted that this revelation was an inward manifestation only, there is no necessary contradiction. An external appearance and an internal spiritual influence to the soul at the same time are perfectly consistent with each other. Similar instances of double manifestation are not wanting in the New Testament. Assuming the spiritual character of this revelation exclusively does not overthrow the general reference of our passage.

A more exact examination of the clause, "reveal his Son in me" (*ἐν ἐμοί*), shows that it need not be confined to an internal manifestation to Paul. The language is not "to me," but "in me." It is not strictly rendered "within me." The "in" marks the sphere within which the revelation took place. It indicates that it was a personal revelation in his own case, one of which he was perfectly assured because it was personal to himself. Lightfoot's comment is worthy of citation here: "It does not speak of a revelation *made inwardly to himself*, but of a revelation made *through him to others*. The preposition *ἐν* is used in preference to *διά*, because St. Paul was not only the instrument in preaching the Gospel, but also in his own person bore the strongest testimony to its power." The declaration of Paul that he received his apostleship "not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead" (Gal. i, 1), indicates that the revelation was made to Paul after Christ's resurrection, and thus incidentally proves that the reference is to an objective appearance of Christ to Paul.

That Paul had passed through a series of experiences which prepared the way in part for the influence of this supernatural manifestation of his risen Lord may well be conceded as in harmony with the expressions of Paul in his letters; but to set aside his visible appearance to Paul on the way to Damascus, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and as referred to in the passage now before us, cannot be safely accepted as in harmony with a sound exegesis.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

SOUTH ARABIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

THERE is a growing belief among scholars—and this is made so much the more probable by recent discoveries in the Hadramaut and Katabân—that the original home of the Semitic people must be sought in Arabia, and that the mother tongue of the several Semitic nations was Arabic. This is the theory of Professor Fritz Hommel, of the University of Munich, who with much erudition argues that when Abraham (in Arabic *Abi-ramu*) left his native land he spoke pure Arabic, as did his numerous descendants down to the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. The Israelites did not speak Hebrew till the various tribes had settled in the promised land. We have instances, though not common, of a victorious people adopting the language of the country conquered by them. The Northmen who invaded that part of France called Normandy must have done something of that kind. It is not maintained, however, that Abraham emigrated from Arabia to Canaan, but rather from Ur of the Chaldees, and that his ancestors had left southern Arabia and settled in Babylonia. Hommel further maintains that the Khammurabi dynasty was of Arabian origin. This supposition has much in its favor. No one can study the names of the kings descending from Khammurabi without at once noticing their Arabic coloring. This is equally true of common names, or those of private individuals as found in the contract tablets of the same period. Such names, as "Ya'zar-ilu," "Samasriyâmî," "Jakhzim," and many others are, as Hommel has pointed out, of pure Arabic origin. If, as it seems very probable, the Arabic origin of Khammurabi and Abraham can also be fully established, much additional light will be thrown upon some questions of importance to the student of early Hebrew history.

Both Pliny and Ptolemy, in speaking of the most important Arabian States and peoples, mention regions inhabited by the Mineans and Sabeans. The term "Mineans" will be comparatively new to most of our readers; not so, however, the word "Sabeans." "Saba" or "Sheba," as written in our English versions, is a name quite familiar to all biblical students. This land was made famous by the visit of the Sabean queen to the court of Solomon at Jerusalem. There are also various references to Sheba as a country of some importance, both in the poetical and prophetical books of the Old Testament. Some scholars believe that the Mineans are mentioned in three or four passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, as in Judg. x, 12, where the Maonites (that is, Mineans) are said to have oppressed the Israelites during the unsettled times of the Judges. The monuments of Arabia favor such a deduction, for it is clear from south Arabian inscriptions that the Minean empire was one of great extent, "stretching

northward to the peninsula of Sinai, even Gaza in Palestine for a time having been its tributary." The term "Meunim" in Neh. vii, 52, is also believed by some to be the same as Mineans. It must also be observed that the Septuagint version in rendering Job ii, 11, makes Zophar the King of the Mineans (*Σωφὰρ Μιναίων βασιλεύς*). Yet it is far from clear that the Hebrew writers of any of these passages had the Mineans in mind. These incidental references to the South Arabian empires in the Bible and in the Greek and Latin geographers are provokingly meager, and yet they are all the ancient testimony bearing upon the subject.

It was left for modern times to discover additional *data*, which completely established the greatness of one or two more buried and all but forgotten empires. It was in 1837 that two officers of the British navy, who happened to be stationed near Aden, called the attention of the learned world to extensive ruins and a number of strange inscriptions in characters unknown to them at San'a, the capital of Yemen. Their discoveries were published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, in 1838. We next find a learned article in the *Journal Asiatique*, from the pen of Fulgence Fresnel, who wrote a history of the Arabs in pre-Islamitic times. These letters of Fresnel called the attention of the learned philologists of Europe to what they styled Himyaritic inscriptions, and it was not long till Gesenius, Ewald, and Rödiger had deciphered several of them. A few years later (1843–45) Arnaud, a French scholar, succeeded in finding fifty-six more inscriptions. These were again discussed and deciphered, but without important results, so that the matter was allowed to drop and the interest in south Arabian monuments was all but dead. And it was not till 1869 that Halévy of Paris was sent by the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres to Yemen, where after untold toil, great suffering, and danger from hostile Arabs he succeeded in copying or obtaining squeezes of some six hundred and eighty-six inscriptions which for the most part were new. More than a decade after, that veteran Austrian explorer, Dr. Glaser, visited southern Arabia on a mission of discovery. He and Dr. Langer went over much the same ground as Halévy, some dozen years earlier. Nevertheless, many new facts were gathered, and Dr. Glaser was so encouraged that he made three more visits between 1882–94, all in the interest of archæology. He traveled over a large part of the Hadramant and Nabatân, and brought back no less than two thousand and five hundred inscriptions of all kinds and ages, on which he is still working.

But, although Arabia has long been a promising field for archæologists, yet most of the efforts so far have lacked organization and thorough equipment. Many of the inscriptions already discovered are in the possession of Dr. Glaser, who seems in no haste to give them to the public. It is, therefore, a matter of great interest to know that a thoroughly organized expedition is now being sent out under the patronage of the Emperor of Austria. But, though his majesty has furnished the bulk of the money to carry on a systematic exploration in the Arabian

Peninsula, yet it is gratifying to know that the work partakes of an international character and that both the English and Swedish governments have promised a helping hand. From a note of Professor Hilprecht in the *Sunday School Times* we learn that Count Landberg, the great Swedish Arabic scholar, who has spent much of his life in the regions to be explored, will have charge of the party. This is fortunate, for a man possessing not only such eminent scholarly qualities for the prosecution of the work, but also having such influence with those high in authority as well as with the petty governors of the warlike people within whose territory inscriptions are found, will have unexcelled opportunities for thorough investigation. One of his chief assistants is Professor D. H. Mueller, of Vienna, well known as one of the best Semitic scholars of Europe, and one well versed in Semitic epigraphy. These two men are accompanied by several distinguished scientists and a large body of intelligent servants. The first work of the expedition will be "the exploration of the ruins of Shabwa (Sabota), the ancient capital of Hadramant, which, according to communications from a shaykh of that region, abound in temples, palaces, sculptures, and inscribed marble slabs." We shall eagerly wait for reports from the party, for we have every right to expect new light, not only upon the Sabeans, but also regarding the more obscure Mineans.

As already stated, south Arabian monuments or inscriptions were grouped together as Himyaritic. This is too vague, for the monuments discovered and studied by Dr. Glaser and others during the past few years clearly show that there are at least two kinds of inscriptions containing two well-defined dialects, the one, according to Dr. Glaser, belonging to the Mineans and the other to the Sabeans. Let us then keep in mind that "Ma'an" and "Seba" are not convertible terms. The two peoples did not speak the same dialect, nor indeed is it at all probable that both empires flourished during the same period. This may account for the paucity of reference to the Mineans in the Old Testament and other sources. The Sabeans, on the other hand, are known to the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions as early at least as 733 B. C., for we read that they were tributary to both Sargon and Tiglath-pileser III.

But now a word as to the Sabean inscriptions. These, according to Glaser and Hommel, may be divided into three groups, (1) Those in which the rulers of Seba are called "Mukarrib" or "Makrub," that is, priest-kings, 1000–800 B. C.; (2) Those in which the rulers are styled "kings of Seba," 700–200 B. C.; (3) The Neo-Sabean inscriptions which come down to about 600 A. D. In the earlier of this third group the ruler is called "King of Saba and Dhu-Rardân," while in those after 300 A. D. he is styled "King of Saba, Dhu-Rardân, Hadramant, and Yemnat." The longest of the Sabean monuments is what is known as the Sirwâh inscription, written about 700 B. C. This long document, containing no less than one thousand words, was copied by Dr. Glaser in 1888. He also took an excellent squeeze of the same, so that it can be

studied with greatest accuracy. It was probably composed by or for one of the priest-kings to celebrate his victory over several allied enemies. The regions invaded, the towns destroyed, and the number of those captured or killed in the battle are all given in detail.

Now the question may be asked, How does the Old Testament know so much of Seba and have so little or nothing to say of Ma'an or the Minean kingdom? If the answer proposed by Glaser and Hommel be correct another important argument is adduced in favor of the great antiquity of Hebrew literature and the early date of some of the Old Testament writings. Glaser argues that the Sabean line of kings were preceded by a Minean dynasty which was overthrown by the Sabeans. He contends, and so does Hommel, that the empire of the Mineans was completely swallowed up by the Sabeans. Dr. Margoliouth in commenting upon the arguments of Glaser says: "Besides the greater antiquity of the Minean character and dialect may be noticed the fact that most of the names occurring in the Minean inscriptions are prehistorical, while those in the Sabean inscriptions can frequently be identified; that the Mineans are not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, and must therefore have been powerful before the intervention of the Assyrians in the affairs of Arabia; that, whereas Saba is mentioned in some Minean inscriptions, the Mineans are never mentioned in those of Saba." There are many reasons for believing that the Minean empire was as old as the Exodus, or, as Sayce puts it, that "Ma'an was a prosperous and cultured realm" while Moses was leading the Hebrews from Egypt to Canaan. Indeed, Glaser believes that the oldest Minean inscriptions belong to the close of the Hyksos dynasty. It is evident that the Mineans ruled for a long period, and that their empire was extensive.

What bearing has all this upon Old Testament criticism? Much in every way. The modern destructive critic seems to believe that the Hebrews were at the time of the Exodus and for centuries later semi-barbarous nomads, without culture and thoroughly incapable of the religious thought presented in the Pentateuch. The Tel-el-Amarna letters have already clearly established the extent of Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations, which reached from the Euphrates through Syria, along the Mediterranean coast, into the interior of Palestine, down into Egypt, and even several hundred miles up the Nile. If, now, it can be shown that there was an empire of power and intelligence in the Arabian Peninsula, extending from the Gulf of Aden beyond the wilderness through which the Israelites passed, it will indeed be difficult to think that the seed of Abraham was less civilized than the neighboring nations. The Hebrews, account for it as we may, have left us purer literature, loftier thoughts, sublimer poetry, and more equitable laws than any other people of antiquity. This is true, even if we admit—which we do not—that not a syllable of the Old Testament was written before the Babylonian captivity. What people possessed anything comparable to the Old Testament, even as early as the time of Alexander the Great?

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

COOPERATION IN MISSION FIELDS.

A GREAT deal is being said and written in these days about the economic necessity of cooperation by missionary organizations in the same or adjoining fields of occupancy. It is an old subject, and there has not been much progress in its discussion for many years. The spirit of fraternity has strengthened, and there has been some practical advance in consequence of that and of the common sense of Anglo-Saxons who occupy the Protestant mission fields of non-Christian lands. While there is little disposition on the part of the home Churches to give up what might be termed even nonessentials in doctrine, yet, during recent years, the feeling of charity toward those of differing conviction has been growing among the denominations.

There are at present some difficulties which seem insuperable for combined action in lines where its benefits are conceded. Among these is that of separate treasuries. Whenever a denomination is asked to join others in the support of educational institutions which they might sustain in common there arises at once the question of proportion in the contributions which they should make. Their treasuries are of unequal strength and the benefits which will accrue to them are quite as varied. If Presbyterian or Methodist societies desire to unite in sustaining a theological seminary these same questions arise. They may not be insuperable, but they require thought and nice adjustment if they continue to be harmoniously administered. Then, where there is joint responsibility, the special interest is liable to be weaker than in those features of missionary work for which the several societies are separately responsible. If the issue arise as to whether moneys shall be appropriated to a union educational institution or to some essential work of the individual society, the latter claim will naturally be given the preference.

The Rev. Dr. A. Sutherland's paper before the missionary officers' meeting in January, 1899, was as strong a plea for comity and cooperation as could well be compacted. He thought the aim of the societies should be the establishment of a Christian Church, not the reproduction of denominational churches. He quoted a missionary of Amoy to the effect that the hindrance to this policy did not come from the mission fields, but from the home Churches. "It is you foreigners that keep us apart," was the formula put in the mouth of Chinese Christians by another missionary. This is in a sense true, but the home organizations are conducted on separate financial bases, and these control the practical operation of union missions in foreign fields. Besides, the experience of the denominations at home with union missions and union churches has not been satisfactory.

Dr. Sutherland's proposition to observe strict geographical boundaries in missions has been as a rule observed wherever established, but experience is forcing to the front the question whether territorial lines are always the best boundaries. In our India work it has proven far more effective to follow the lines of race and tribe. We secured access to certain castes, and the work followed these lines, through missions with established geographical boundaries—a course which made it possible for us to reach the people when the mission to which was allotted that territory could not. Nor has there been serious objection to our penetrating the territory of a sister mission for this particular work. The question of boundaries is, in fact, not yet determined on practical bases, and Christian brotherliness can alone ultimately decide what modifications of territorial boundaries will accomplish the largest results. But missions as a rule have come "to a friendly understanding with each other with regard to their respective spheres of influence."

Cooperation in respect to acts of administration and discipline is largely possible, more so than the practice of some missionaries would indicate. It is a shame for one mission to take the members which another has ejected on moral grounds, unless in very unusual circumstances. Missions, too, might at least try to adopt some nearly uniform scale of payment to native agents, though after full debate upon the subject there are instances where the missions have thought this course to be impracticable. In the matter of publishing houses and hospitals, also, to which Dr. Sutherland alludes in his paper, it seems far more practicable to secure common action among the missions than in the case of educational institutions, the financial difficulty in the way of whose joint management has been already noticed.

The societies of North America are seeking to exemplify this spirit of comity in regard to the new territory presumably opened to Protestant missionary work in the islands lost to Spain. Committees have been appointed to consider the fraternal distribution of territory, and delegations have been appointed to visit Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines, to report to their respective boards. This is a hopeful indication of increasing economy in missionary matters. No less than eight boards are contemplating work in Cuba, or have actually begun it—the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the General Conference of Free Baptists, the United Brethren in Christ, the American Church Missionary Society, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the New York and Indiana Yearly Meetings of the Friends. The Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Southern Baptists propose work in Porto Rico. The Presbyterian Missionary Society and the American Baptist Missionary Union contemplate operations in the Philippines. The Protestant Episcopalians have been conducting work in Cuba for twenty-five years past. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a successful mission in Malaysia, and the proximity

of their work at Singapore and other portions of the Archipelago has seemed to make it incumbent on them to take up work in the Philippine Islands. It is delightful, at least, to note the spirit of fraternity which obtains at this juncture among the various missionary societies of the general Church in the United States and their determination to avoid mischievous rivalry and to study the broadest economics of energy, as well as of finance.

IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA.

Of the great numbers of travelers who are visiting Palestine in these times one wonders that so few show any interest in the existing religious forces of the country. The large proportion of tourists go, of course, to transport themselves, as much as possible, by the study of topography, geography, and archæology, into Bible times, and to rehabilitate the scenes which gave birth to the sacred text that is the ground of their hopes and the guide of their conduct. But a small proportion of these casual visitors learn anything of the present religious conditions of the population or of the enterprises which make for their advancement or retrogression. Yet there is scarcely a spot of similar size in the world where so many contending forces meet as in this small tract of country. It has ever been thus through all the history of Palestine. It is the smallest country in the world, and yet every foot of it has been fought over and every foot of it is subject to strife to-day. The political interests of the land are involved in the religious. There are five forces in fierce contest for the supremacy of Syria and Palestine, and these antagonistic powers are watching each other's direct and indirect movements in hottest jealousy---the Jews of several sects, the Moslem, the orthodox Greek, the Roman Catholic, or papal, Church, and the several sects of Protestants.

The Zionist movement, which looks to the gathering and settlement of Jews in Palestine, has resulted in the establishment of several agricultural Hebrew colonies. Singularly enough this has become a source of disturbance among Jews themselves, the fellahin stoutly opposing these immigrations, even to violence, driving them in some instances from their settlements. The sultan himself has antagonized this movement by prohibiting outside Jews entering the land except on a permit extending over thirty days. As the oppression of the Jews in Russia has been a large factor in this movement toward Palestine, and as the czar does not wish them to emigrate, it is not improbable that the sultan has made these restrictions at the czar's suggestion or dictation. The recently arrived Jews from Europe are under the protection of the consuls of the countries from which they came, but there is no centralized protection for them as a whole. Meanwhile the Jews, themselves inhabitants of Palestine, are intensely bitter toward Christians of every name, and even fulminate their anathemas against Christian schools, hospitals, and every other form of Christian benevolence. Their animosity is so

silly or insane and suicidal that they have actually forbidden their kinsmen to accept treatment at the new hospital of the London Jews' Society in Jerusalem or to receive charitable aid from any Christian source whatsoever.

The Mohammedans thrive under the patronage of the sultan. According to the statement of Dr. Henry H. Jessup, in *The Mission World*, not less than eleven emirs in Mount Lebanon, whose families have been Maronites and Greek Catholics for a hundred years, have recently become Moslems and have been appointed to lucrative and responsible posts in the Turkish civil service.

Dr. Jessup says the Roman Catholics, under the patronage of France, are everywhere aggressive, and are buying land and erecting buildings in towns and small villages, and, furthermore that, while France expels the Jesuits from France, that country expends millions of francs annually in supporting them as political agents, educators, and intriguers in Turkey. He declares that they have orders to open schools, under the direction of Catholic teachers, on land adjoining Protestant and Greek schools, when it is possible.

The Russians have shown latterly the intensest interest in the work of saving the Greek Church in Palestine and Syria. Within a few years they have opened one hundred and thirty schools. They are aiming at securing Syrian bishops and patriarchs, in opposition to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher, a section of the Church which has great wealth. In Syria this conflict as carried on by the Greek Church has been specially fierce during recent years. In Palestine the Greek Russians are active in political intrigue, and are erecting buildings wherever it is possible so to do. This, too, we learn from Dr. Jessup's article, to which allusion has been made.

The Protestants, of which there are five nationalities, have some ten thousand adherents. Of course the recent German demonstration, under the patronage of the sultan, over the emperor's visit, and the concessions obtained on that occasion, have placed the German emperor on the highest Protestant pedestal. But it has, according to Dr. Jessup, given dignity to Protestantism in the eyes of the Moslems and has seriously damaged the Roman Catholic or French prestige. He thinks it has given the German emperor the chance to exercise an influence throughout the entire Turkish empire in favor of liberty of conscience for all the people, whether he will so exercise it or not.

This is a brief notice of the contending forces in that "land, the smallest of all lands." It may serve the purpose of an outline if persons interested in the Holy Land will note facts as they learn them, and classify them according to this bold scheme. The poor land deserves better things of Christendom than to be the center of the jealousies of a half dozen Christian powers and as many sections of nominal Christians. "I came not to send peace, but a sword," seems to find a strange fulfillment in Palestine and Syria.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

A. Berthoud. Among French-speaking Protestants this author is one of the foremost Christian apologists, having written no less than five apologetic works since 1886. His latest work on this subject is his greatest, and is entitled *Apologie du christianisme* (Christian Apology), Lausanne, Bridel, and Paris, Fischbacher, 1898. The work is devoted to what Berthoud calls the "Christian fact," that is, the Gospel or the intervention of God through Christ for the redemption of man. In the first part he shows the demand of the human soul for this Christian fact; in the second part, under "Christianity and Science," the possibility of the Christian fact; and in the third part, under "Christianity and History," the reality of the fact. There is nothing particularly new in his development of the subject in hand, although it is well done. He is interesting, however, as marking a stage of change in theological thought. No man can wisely write apology to-day as it could have been and was written even twenty-five years ago. Works on apology must vary with the needs of the age for which they are written. But, in addition to this, there are few who would venture to defend positions which twenty-five years ago were almost universally held by evangelical Christians. Berthoud is professor in the Ecole de théologie de l'Oratoire, in Geneva. Among his predecessors were d'Aubigné and Gaussen, the latter of whom defended the verbal inspiration of the Bible. From this position Berthoud has receded. He makes a clear distinction between revelation and Scripture, which he holds to be a record of revelation. He recognizes the right of historical criticism in the investigation of these records, and admits that the Bible lays no claims to authority outside the realm of religion. He does not hesitate to acknowledge errors and irreconcilable divergencies in the biblical traditions. His conception of the miraculous is also quite modern, since he characterizes that conception of miracle which makes it a violation of the laws of nature as senseless and godless. When it is remembered that this school in which Berthoud is professor was founded as a result of a religious revival, and that it stands for the most strenuous conservatism of our time, the concessions which he makes to modern thought are the more remarkable. It may almost be said that they are to-day theological commonplaces.

Christian Rogge. It is one of the striking features of German theology that so much of the most scholarly and valuable of it emanates from pastors. The fact is a splendid commentary on the excellence of the course of preparation required for the ministry in Germany and also on

the possibility of uniting accurate and comprehensive learning with the details which devolve upon the pastor. Rogge has recently illustrated afresh these facts. In a work entitled *Der irdische Besitz im Neuen Testament: Seine Beurtheilung und Werthschätzung durch Christus und der Apostel* (Worldly Possessions in the New Testament: Their estimate by Christ and the Apostles) Göttingen, Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1897, he has given to the student world a monograph of much value on the subject of Christian sociology. Rogge holds with many others that the Gospel of Luke is distinctly opposed to riches and favorable to poverty. But this he regards as in part due to its failure to reproduce the exact spirit of the teachings of Jesus relative to worldly possessions. He thinks the gospels, properly understood, show that Jesus lived as much with the rich as with the poor. Although Jesus demanded that his apostles should leave all to follow him, he did not make this forsaking of wealth a universal condition of discipleship. He thinks that while the later Jews vigorously opposed the powerful and the rich, Jesus took a different course, confining himself strictly to the domain of religion and making no difference between the rich and the poor, but holding such distinctions as having no relation whatever to the kingdom of God. The attitude of Jesus toward wealth was settled by his law of love, and when the rich showed no compassion for their poorer neighbors he was driven by his love to denounce them. At most riches are a hindrance to genuine participation in the labors and blessings of the kingdom. Jesus warned against wealth, not out of considerations connected with the salvation of its possessor, but on account of its uncertainty and its tendency to choke out the good that is in the heart. He was not opposed to wealth, but to covetousness. Rogge even goes as far as to say that Jesus taught a beneficent use of money, which was well pleasing in God's sight. Many of these positions are not new. Yet they are well argued and drawn from the text itself. The principal difficulty with Rogge's views is founded on their separation from the more general consideration of the ethical teachings of Jesus.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Erlauterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssen's Geschichte des deutschen Volkes. Luther's Lebensende. Eine kritische Untersuchung (Elucidations and Supplements to Janssen's History of the German People, Luther's Last Days, A Critical Investigation). By Dr. Nikolaus Paulus. Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1898. The excitement caused in Germany by the original publication of Janssen's volume dealing with the effect of the Reformation under Luther upon the German people has even now scarcely died away. Janssen took the position that the Reformation brought to an end the golden period of the Middle Ages in Germany. He spared no pains to misrepresent everything and everybody connected with the Reformation, if thereby he could glorify the Roman Catholic

Middle Ages and show the alleged evils of Protestantism. Already Romanists themselves are beginning to retract some of the slanders published by Janssen. In Paulus's book we have an instance of how Roman Catholics first slander the dead, and are thereafter compelled by the most unequivocal testimony to confess their wrong. So with reference to the manner in which Luther came to his death. He did not die by his own hand. He did not die cursing God and man. He did not die in a drunken revel. All these things are now demonstrated by this work of a Roman Catholic and by others equally unassailable. Still, whether intentionally or not, Paulus has not escaped the Romanist prejudice in dealing with Luther. He calls attention to the custom of the later Middle Ages, according to which all manner of evil was spoken of the dying hours of theological opponents. There can be no doubt that such was the case, and Protestants were by no means guiltless. They told the most fearful tales of the death-bed scenes of Jesuits and other champions of Romanism, and attempted to show that the judgment of God was upon Roman dignitaries, clergy, princes, and statesmen. The Lutherans told such stories of the Zwinglians and the Calvinists of the Lutherans. Forty pages of the book are given up to the illustration of the sins of Protestants in this direction, and but eleven to that of Romanists. This is a wholly perverted proportion. But the worst feature of Paulus's book in this direction is that he appears to make Lutherans responsible for this execrable custom. A careful examination of Luther's works shows that he was, considering his times, almost a model in this direction, though censurably violent in the use of denunciatory language regarding the living. The time will come when this slander of Paulus also against Luther will be taken back.

Martin Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung. 2. Teil 1. Hälfte, 1525–1532. (Martin Luther Portrayed in Relation to his Times, Second Part, First Half, 1525–1532.) By Arnold E. Berger. Berlin, E. Hoffmann & Co., 1898. The greatness of Luther is apparent from the fact that the literature relating to him continues to grow. Three monumental biographies of Luther have been undertaken in very recent years—those of Köstlin, Kolde, and Berger—to say nothing of the works on his personal opinions, his relations to various interests and the like. The world never forgets those who have done it a real service. The portion of the Berger biography of Luther here noticed has some virtues which distinguish it from all others. True to the general title of the work the author omits nothing which seems to him necessary to shed light on the events and spirit of Luther's times. For example, we have eighteen pages devoted to an account of the beginning and progress of the Reformation under Zwingli. He gives us twenty-seven pages on the differences between the emperor (Charles V) and the pope on the tendencies of the Reformation in Spain, and on the policy of the

emperor with reference to the world at large. These are specimens of the fullness of the material afforded the reader for the estimate of the times in which Luther lived and of Luther's relation to them. Berger has been criticised for the introduction of so much matter apparently aside from the purposes of a biography. It has been claimed that one forgets he is reading a life of Luther, in the midst of so much which has no direct bearing on the subject. The justice of such a criticism must be judged differently, according as the standpoints of readers differ. If one wishes pleasant reading, the sense of a continuous story of thrilling interest, this book will hardly answer. If one wishes to study the life of Luther in its conditions, its manifestations, and its wide-reaching effects, the work is unsurpassed. Judged also by the intention of the author, this peculiarity of his work must be commended, since it is exactly what he proposed. Nor can he be justly criticised for not always consciously and clearly pointing out the connection of the material he supplies with the purpose he has in view. Something may safely be trusted to the intelligence of the reader. It must be reckoned a decided advantage from the standpoint of the study of Luther in connection with his times that abundant material for the illustration of his times is furnished. The only criticism of moment that we offer is that Berger makes Luther too much a representative, an offspring, and not sufficiently a molder of, his times, as he preeminently was.

Einleitung in das Neune Testament (Introduction to the New Testament. Two volumes). By Theodor Zahn. Leipzig, A. Deichert, Nachf., 1897–1899. Zahn's vast learning in the field of history of the canon of the New Testament, and his decidedly conservative attitude on all questions of biblical criticism, lend to this work a singular importance. It is doubtful whether it would be too much to say that it is the greatest work on the conservative side yet produced. Zahn defends the genuineness of all the New Testament writings. In this, indeed, he does not differ so greatly from Harnack, his great rival, who says that there is probably in all the New Testament but one truly pseudonymous document, namely, 2 Peter. According to Zahn all the gospels were written after 60 A. D., and in the order in which they stand in our New Testament. He thinks that Matthew was written originally in Aramaic, before the year 63, and Mark in Greek about 64, while the Greek Matthew originated about 85. Concerning the relation of Mark to Matthew he says: "Since we know nothing of the date of Matthew's gospel, except that it was written before Mark, and that Mark began his gospel at the earliest in 64, and since there is nothing in the two gospels to show that the gospel of Matthew was written before or after 61–63 and that of Mark before or after 64–70, it is not improbable that Mark, during his journey in Palestine in 62, 63, became acquainted with the newly-written gospel of Matthew, took a copy of it with him to Rome,

and soon thereafter employed it in the writing of his own gospel." He thinks it also probable that the Greek translator of Matthew's Aramaic gospel employed the gospel of Mark to aid him in his difficult task. These suppositions Zahn proceeds to substantiate by a comparison of the text of Matthew and Mark. As to the third gospel, Zahn thinks it probable that in its composition Luke employed Mark but not Matthew. This also he confirms by a comparison of the text. Zahn is very strong, as far as his use of tradition is concerned, but his treatment of the synoptic problem is, nevertheless, somewhat unsatisfactory. For example, he dismisses the relationship of Matthew and Luke with two pages, though the many points of difference, on the one side, and of similarity on the other, make the problem one of the most difficult known to biblical criticism. The source of this weakness is, undoubtedly, due to Zahn's dependence upon early tradition. This dependence, unfortunately, is dangerous. For most of the early writers who speak unquestionably on this subject lived a hundred years or more after the gospels are supposed to have been written. More attention should, therefore, have been given to the critical method.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Cremation and the Church in Würtemberg. In 1894 the Consistory issued a decree permitting the clergy to conduct certain exercises in the home of the deceased, but forbade any participation by them at the time when the ashes of a cremated person are deposited in their final resting place. This many of the clergy feel to be a hardship, since they are thus deprived of their accustomed privilege even in the case of honored and beloved members both of the Church and community, while the exercises at the grave have to be turned over to unconsecrated persons. Recently, however, it has been decreed that, if the friends of a person about to be cremated request the privilege, the church bell may be sounded during the exercises in the home. It is believed by many acquainted with the circumstances that this must lead at length to the recognition of cremation as a legitimate Christian method of disposing of the bodies of the dead. The friends of this new practice claim that the clergy are not now permitted to show as much respect to the memory of the most honorable person who is cremated as to the most depraved whose body is regularly buried.

A New Departure in Genevan Church Life. The churches of Geneva are composed of two principal parties, distinguished by their adherence or opposition to the newer theories relative to the Bible and theology in general. For a long time this condition of affairs has led to what all recognize as unseemly results. In the choice of new pastors one party or the other is defeated, or else the election is a compromise which suits

neither party. As there are two or more pastors in each church who alternate in the preaching, the congregation is liable to be treated to divergent, if not contradictory, teaching at successive services. This is not only confusing to the mind but distracting to the spiritual life. To remedy some or all of these defects the conservative party propose to erect a building centrally located where only that kind of preachers and preaching shall be afforded which they can approve. Here all the conservatives will gather from all the churches in Geneva. The peculiarity of the plan consists in the fact that these conservatives do not propose to sever their connection with the churches to which they belong. Hence the organization is not to be called a "church," but an "association," and it does not contemplate the administration of the sacraments, for which the members of the association are still to be dependent upon their regular pastors. The association purposes to carry on the work of evangelization in fitting places, and to employ to this end as many laymen as are adapted and disposed to enter upon that important work. At this distance from the city of Geneva it looks as though the plan could not be carried out without such modification as to result in a strictly separatist movement.

The Effect of Confirmation in the German Church. Perhaps it would be more correct to speak of the ineffectiveness of confirmation. For it is acknowledged that, while all favor confirmation as a solemn and beautiful custom, few of those confirmed ever enter the Church afterward, except on very especial occasions. It is claimed that confirmation, for the vast majority, marks the period when neglect of the Church begins. The causes of this state of things are numerous. The character of the instruction previously given is in part to blame. It consists too much in a mere memorizing and repetition of the catechism. The classes are too large, and too little effort is made to interest the catechumens in the Church and in a life of devotion to God. Then, it is felt that the parents do not fully appreciate the nature of confirmation. Often they make confirmation day the occasion for gifts which minister, not to religious thoughtfulness, but to personal vanity. It is made a gala day, and is closed with festivities at night which serve to obliterate completely any serious thoughts confirmation might have aroused. As a result it is looked forward to as a day of worldly pleasure, rather than as the beginning of a religious life. How little religious impression is often made by catechization and confirmation the writer infers from the knowledge he has of a boy who, after his first communion immediately following confirmation, left the church, saying, "That is one good job off my hands." Methodists give too little attention to religious instruction. But any who feel that instruction can take the place of a divine work in the heart should consider what the effect of such instruction is whenever it is relied upon.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The brazen defiance of public opinion now shown by Mormonism is a feature of present national life to which many witnesses bear testimony. One of these confirmatory proofs is found in the words of Eugene Young, who writes in the *North American* for April upon the "Revival of the Mormon Problem." He finds "a subtle connection" between our national disturbances and the growth of Mormonism. "The war with Mexico," he writes, "found the so-called Latter Day Saints leaving our Republic, embittered against all things American, and determined to find in the unexplored West a haven where they could be free from interference. . . . The beginning of the Civil War found this same people restrained from open sedition only by the presence among them of a strong military force that was woefully needed for stamping out the first flames of rebellion in the South. . . . Such, indeed, was their disloyalty to their country in its time of peril that the troops, when called away for service against the forces of secession, destroyed cannon and ammunition rather than leave these stores where they might fall into Mormon hands. . . . The contest, begun with the Civil War, lasted for thirty years; and, after they had exhausted every resource in their efforts to defend themselves, the Mormons declared they had surrendered to overwhelming power." This surrender, however, meant only a suspension of the practice of polygamy; and, by the showing of Mr. Young, a return to their former practices, renounced for the privilege of admission to the Union, has now been made. "It is not strange," he continues, "that, at a time when the nation is preoccupied with great world problems, this people, whose one idea is that they are to overturn all worldly government, should have found their opportunity of presenting again to Congress those principles for which they had sacrificed so much. That they have never really abandoned the idea of one day making these principles triumphant, and that their pretended surrender was only a ruse to gain the protection of statehood, are thoughts that are now impressing the minds of those who have followed the course of Mormonism since the supposed revolution in their faith." The manifesto of Wilford Woodruff, late Mormon "prophet," in 1890, was, in fact, not "a formal abandonment" of polygamy. "There is not one syllable in authoritative Mormon utterances to show that the obligation to 'do the works of Abraham' has been lessened in the theology of the Church. There is nothing to show for what time the doctrine is suspended, and the inference is obvious that, whenever the Mormon priesthood shall decide to end the period of suspension, the revelation of Joseph Smith—still threatening damnation to those who refuse obedience—will have all its old force in Mormon theology." As to the "other objectionable phase of Mormonism"—the fact of churchly interference

in political matters—Mr. Young holds that the doctrine "has not been modified, but at best merely altered in its application." The "revelations of secret manipulations made within the last three years demonstrate that at no time have the Church leaders lost their control of politics. . . . At present the control of affairs in Utah lies wholly with the priesthood. It has spread its influence from Lethbridge, in Canada, to the center of Chihuahua, in Mexico. Mormons have eleven members of the legislature in Idaho; their settlements are spreading through Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Washington, and Nevada. Their ambition is to control the nations of the world. . . . They gained 63,000 in membership last year, exceeding all other Churches in their success in missionary work. Aggressive, devoted, determined, they present again a problem that well merits the attention of our wisest statesmen." The article, as a whole, is a strenuous appeal to American patriotism and Christian principle. A foe to republican institutions is in our own household. Mr. Roberts, the polygamist, should not retain his seat in Congress, and his expulsion should be but the first of a series of drastic measures looking to the suppression of Mormonism in the interest of the body politic.

The opening article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, by Professor W. J. Beecher, D.D., is entitled "The Books of the Old Testament *versus* Their Sources." The author's "main contention" is that "the study of the books themselves" is more important than that of their origin. "We ought to note," he concludes, "that many of our recent works on Old Testament introduction, the history of Israel, the history of religions, apologetics, Old Testament criticism, are mainly not proper treatments of these subjects, but discussions as to the readjustments required in them in view of the opinions that have become current concerning the sources of the Old Testament. . . . We ought to be aware that these are large and fertile fields of Old Testament study which have for some decades mainly lain fallow. And some of us ought to try to raise crops from some of these fields." The second paper, by the Honorable F. J. Lamb, treats of "The Trial of Jesus: Its Value in the Foundation of Faith." The position taken is, in a word, as follows: "The result of the evidence of the trial of Jesus . . . is as glorious and perfect a triumph over the logical and legal presumption of guilt . . . as his resurrection was over death and the grave. But that evidence and the record of it was, and must ever be, indispensable to justify that result; nothing else to rational minds could or can take its place or produce that result." The Rev. C. C. Merrill, continuing his discussion of "The Christian Conception of Wealth," concludes that a man is to handle his possessions on "the principle of stewardship, as a trustee," and that he is to expend his wealth "for the welfare of other men, either as individuals or in society." In the fourth article the Rev. Noah Lathrop writes vigorously of "The Holy Scriptures and Divorce." One of his conclusions is:

"The subject of divorce is not exhaustively treated by any teacher or writer of Holy Scripture; but two specific sins are mentioned which vitiate and dissolve the marriage bond—one by Jesus, showing the scope of the statute of Moses, another by Paul, indicating Christian liberty in cases of desertion—and these evidently are examples which show the application of a great general truth, that he who presumptuously despises, tramples on law, forfeits the benefits and protection of law. The principle is indicated in many places in Scripture." Professor E. I. Bosworth in the fifth article considers "The Influence of the Damascus Vision upon Paul's Theology," and shows that the apostle, after his conversion, "gained his idea of the purpose of the law," reached "the conclusion that faith constitutes a man righteous," realized that "the death of the Messiah was a colossal sacrifice offered for the whole world," and came to see that there was "absolutely no distinction to be made between Jew and Gentile in the presentation of the Gospel." Article six, entitled "Professor Park's Ninetieth Anniversary, with Letters from Pupils and Friends," contains expressions of esteem for the aged theologian from many of the most conspicuous Christian leaders throughout the land. In the seventh article Dr. N. D. Hillis discusses "The Influence of Jesus Christ in Civilization," and shows that "the waxing fame of Christ is the most striking fact of our era." Article eight, by D. S. Gregory, D.D., notices "Cædmon, the First Great English Poet," and calls the subject of its sketch "the chief representative of the earliest English attempts at literary expression." In the next article Z. Swift Holbrook writes of "The Future of Trusts." Some indication of their "phenomenal growth" is found in the fact that "thirty-two trusts, incorporated in New Jersey alone, represent an aggregate capital stock of $1,208,806,300." After showing that the alternative of trusts cannot be State or municipal socialism the writer concludes that their future "must be along the same line of evolution that gave them birth," but that "they may pass out of the hands of the few into the control of the many, from under the dominion of selfish men into the power of men with consciences." The final article, by G. F. Wright, shows the errors of "'Christian Scientists,'" and makes the Church responsible for a right presentation of truth to unsatisfied men.

At no time in the history of the modern pulpit have the literary demands upon the preacher been greater than now. This is conclusively shown by G. K. Berry in his article on "The Minister as a Student," which appears in the *Christian Quarterly* for April. "The time has largely passed in enlightened America," he writes," when a physician can buy his diploma, begin the practice of medicine, and depend upon the graveyard to hide his ignorance. A higher standard is required of lawyers and druggists than in former years. Missionaries must take a special course of two years before going to the foreign field. Why should our home ministers, who have in charge the training of immortal

souls and are to lead the religious thought in the most enlightened communities, not be expected to be well equipped for their work? . . . It was said a few years since of one of our great preachers that he could present the old truths with a freshness scarcely ever seen in the sermons of others. The reason he was able to thus present the old themes was that he studied continually, and the older he grew the more he studied." The lines of investigation, as shown by the writer, are to be the Scripture, logic, elocution, science, history, Hebrew and Greek, English literature, the tendency of religious thought, illustrations, and the people themselves. Of the right use of history he says: "A superintendent of the public schools in an Illinois town was lamenting the fact that his pastor was not a student, and said, among other things, 'I never knew him to allude to any historical statement except once, and that time he misquoted the history.' . . . Much of the Bible cannot be understood without some knowledge of history." And of the preacher's study of men Mr. Berry says: "Last, but not least, he should study the people. He can never successfully preach for a church any length of time without knowing the peculiarities of those to whom he is to preach. A good sermon may be shorn of all its power by being preached at the wrong time, or in the wrong way." Altogether, the paper is a wholesome discussion of important truths bearing upon ministerial success. Other articles in the same issue are: "The Three Churches," by Dean W. T. Moore; "God," by Dean H. W. Everest; "Christian Endeavor from a Scriptural View," by J. J. Morgan; "Comparative Value of Long and Short Pastorates, and Why So Many Changes?" by Levi Marshall; and "The Meaning of Heresy in Theological Development," by Mrs. Albertina A. Forrest.

In the *New World* for March, Professor A. C. McGiffert, of Union Theological Seminary, writes the opening article, his subject being "The Study of Early Church History." Among his deductions is: "Into the life of modern Christendom are woven the now inextricable and almost indistinguishable threads of the life of ancient Syria and Egypt and Palestine and Greece and Rome, and the study of Christianity is the study, not of a simple and isolated faith, which has interest only to its adherents, but of the most complex institution the world has seen, a product of the rich and varied civilization of antiquity and the medium through which that civilization has entered into and dominated the life of the modern world." Other articles are, "Archæology and the Higher Criticism," by J. P. Peters; "The Reorganization of the Faith," by President W. De W. Hyde; "The Reconstituted Church," by C. F. Dole; "Prometheus," by Henrietta M. Selby; "How Gods are Made in India," by E. W. Hopkins, of Yale University; "Religion and Modern Culture," by Auguste Sabatier, of the University of Paris; "The Spiritual Development of Paul," by G. A. Barton; and "The Growth of the Prophetic Literature," by G. Buchanan Gray, of Oxford.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

History of Dogma. By Dr. ADOLPH HARNACK, Ordinary Professor of Church History in the University, and Fellow of the Royal Academy of Science, Berlin. Translated from the Third German Edition by NEIL BUCHANAN, vol. v, pp. xx, 331. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1899. Price, cloth, $2.50.

An eminent Congregational historical scholar in Massachusetts used to tell his classes that the three greatest theological works of this century were Rothe's *Theologische Ethik*, Müller's *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, and Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine*. It is singular that no important work of Rothe, one of the most vital and fertilizing thinkers of this age, has ever been translated into English. As the century is closing the judgment of the professor hardly needs revision. Many great and able books have seen the light within the last twenty years, but perhaps none more important than the above three. (For a list of the best recent books in systematic theology, with penetrating comments, see Professor Curtis, of Drew Theological Seminary, in *The Christian Advocate*, March 16, 1899.) But in historical theology Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, the first volume of which appeared in 1886, is a work of immense interest and importance. It attempted to revolutionize the conception of the theological development in the ancient Church which had hitherto prevailed by showing the working of extraneous influences, and by a bold but reverent criticism to show wherein that development was faulty. Harnack is a moderate Ritschlian, as are so many of the men who hold the field in Germany, and in history that means that the inquiry must be, What do the original sources show were the actual facts in the case? as over against the Hegelian method, What do our philosophical principles and presuppositions require us to believe to have been the historical development? As a believer in this sound method, a method which has created the modern school of history, it is interesting to know that Harnack holds that the result reached at Nicæa was in the main sound and true. He tells his pupils that the Nicene Christology is the only hope of the Church, and in his *History of Dogma* in various places he says or implies the same thing. The essence of Christianity he sums up in this proposition (iii, 164): "The salvation presented in Christianity consists in the redemption of the human race from the state of mortality and the sin involved in it, that men might attain divine life, that is, have the everlasting contemplation of God, this redemption having been already consummated in the incarnation of the Son of God, and being conferred on men by their close union with him." The fifth volume, however, is largely out of the region of controversy. It deals almost entirely with Augustine, his system, his influ-

ence, and his various conflicts with heretics and others. Harnack does right in recognizing him as, after St. Paul, the creator of Christendom, and his tribute to his piety and Christian earnestness, while it is most enthusiastic, can hardly be truthfully said to be essentially exaggerated, but rather is an appreciation which does credit to his own heart. He sums up his profound and world-wide influence in a notable passage which we cannot forbear to quote (p. 103): "Augustine would not have been the teacher of the future if he had not stood before it as a Christian personality who lent force and weight to every word, no matter in what direction it led. As a preacher of faith, love, and the dispensation of grace he has dominated Catholic piety up to the present day. By his fundamental sentiment, 'Mihi adhærere deo bonum est,' as also by his distinction between law and gospel, letter and spirit; and his preaching that God creates faith and a good will in us, he called forth the evangelical Reformation. By his doctrine of the authority and means of grace of the Church he carried forward the construction of Roman Catholicism; nay, we may say that he first created the hierarchal and sacramental institution. By his biblicism he prepared the way for the so-called pre-reformation movements and the criticism of all extra-biblical ecclesiastical traditions. By the force of his speculation, the acuteness of his intellect, the subtlety of his observation and experience, he incited, indeed, we might not improperly say that he partly created, scholasticism in all its branches, including the nominalistic, and, therefore, also the modern theory of knowledge and psychology. By his neoplatonism and enthusiasm for predestination he evoked the mysticism as well as the anticlerical opposition of the Middle Ages. By the form of his ideal of the Church and of felicity he strengthened the popular Catholic, the monarchist, state of feeling, domesticating it, moreover, in the Church, and thereby rousing and capacitating it to overcome and dominate the world as contrasted with the Church. Finally, by his unique power of portraying himself, of expressing the wealth of his genius, and giving every word an individual impress, by his gift of individualizing and self-observation, he contributed to the rise of the Renaissance and the modern spirit." The whole volume is luminous and most interesting. Harnack has not the dry, dead, involved, metaphysical style of so many German writers, but his work is instinct with life, and to an earnest student of history cannot but be fascinating. Of course it need not be taken up as recreation after a hearty dinner. Is there any reason why the graduates of our theological seminaries and other studious men should not brace themselves with strength and feed their blood with iron by mastering great books like this? On the contrary there is much reason why they should. No man, perhaps, should read Harnack's *History of Dogma* until he has gone through the first volume at least of Professor Sheldon's admirable *History of Christian Doctrine* and the ancient and medieval sections of Professor Fisher's. But when he is ready Harnack will give him a delectable feast.

The Divine Drama. The Manifestation of God in the Universe. By GRANVILLE ROSS PIKE. 12mo, pp. 378. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"To the Glory of God" the author dedicates his book, which is an effort to set forth "the method of the Immanent God's gradual unfolding in the Drama of Life." The preface says: "The worst infidelity is to be afraid for the truth. When the reconstruction now going on is completed it will be found that in the change of view-point nothing has been lost to religious faith, but that all the great spiritual verities that are so dear to the devout heart have been enlarged and enriched correspondingly with the grander conceptions upon which they rest. A system of thought, based upon the Divine Immanency, and finding in God's progressive manifestation of himself the method by which the *world and all that in it is* has come to be, interprets God's relations to man and the relations of men to each other in the light of these truths. The entire sweep of life is brought under its sway, and theology becomes social and universal instead of individual only—a doctrine of society no less than a doctrine of God." It is truly said that all knowledge of the objective world and all activities of the human mind are organized by and included in the idea of God. "All metaphysics returns at last to him who is conceived as absolute being; all physical science grounds itself ultimately in him who is conceived as absolute force; all moral science derives its authority from him who is conceived as absolute good." True monotheism contemplates God as neither absorbed in the universe nor excluded from it, but consciously comprehending the whole within himself as the unfolding of his own thoughts and energies. This is the new doctrine of the Divine Immanence. With it, in the new system of thought, goes a changed view of the process by which all things are produced, this being a process of development and of growth rather than a sudden and complete creation by divine fiat. With it also goes a different understanding of the way in which God may be known, that way being indicated as follows: "In the beginning the apprehension of God is subjective. The human mind can know nothing in immediate consciousness beyond its own being and states. But God, as the ground of our being and the eternal consciousness whose reality is continuously individualizing itself in our minds, is in truth the very 'light of all our seeing,' and in our consciousness of ourselves we are also conscious of God. Hence, while in the physical realm in history we only know God's manifestations, in knowing him as manifested in ourselves we know his essence also, and we interpret him by our highest category of thought, and are persuaded that while he may be more, he certainly is not less, personal and spiritual than ourselves." The author thinks the new conception of God disposes of that "baleful illusion" called the Devil, certifying, as it does, that God is always man's friend, and that for his own wickedness man himself is alone responsible. The new interpretation also dismisses the old idea of one historic "Fall" which modified the relations of God and

man to the end of time, and regards that experience as continuous and personal, enacted or enactable in every man. The "Fall" of man is taken out of the category of historical events, and transferred into the realms of the spiritual life, and "original sin" becomes more than a figment of the theological consciousness. Not only did our ancestors sin, but we also sin. Our common tendency is to follow our own inclinations, to gratify our passions and natural impulses in the easiest way, unmindful of the greater good that waits upon a subordination of these to the higher faculties of our being. Another item of this system of thought is its view of the Bible, which is regarded not as an external dogmatic revelation, but, as a reflection of God's communion with men, as a record of the gradual revelation of God in man and the progressive unfolding of man's knowledge of God and apprehension of spiritual things; a record of a subjective experience in which God and man are inextricably mingled—sacred to man because it embodies man's truest communings with God. The Scriptures being, in this view, not so much an objective revelation in themselves as the subjective response of man's spirit to inward divine revelations, is yet held to be unmistakably the word of God to man, God having spoken directly, clearly, and authoritatively to man in the experiences of faith, and hope, and patience, and purity, and love, and joy, therein recorded. It is contended that removing the seat of authority from the Bible, conceived of as an objective divine revelation, and conferring it upon the moral consciousness of humanity at its highest, implies nothing more than has all along been involved in the asserted right of private interpretation of the universal rule. The words of F. D. Maurice to Charles Kingsley are quoted: "The Bible as a means of attaining to the knowledge of the living God is precious beyond all expression or conception; but when made a substitute for that knowledge it may become a greater deadener to the human spirit than all other books." The Scriptures infallibly bring the honest seeker after truth into the presence and power of the Most High, and so their infallibility is demonstrated. They are the only rule, because they are the highest rule, of faith and practice, and exercise the right of the highest known moral standard to convince the reason and bind the conscience. The author regards any and every creed as a report of progress, and not a finality. This book will be regarded by some as an exceptionally successful attempt, in which no man has completely succeeded, to show that the new views and the reconstructions they necessitate make religion more reasonable, the Bible more intelligible and authoritative, the universe more explicable, and God more near and glorious. By others it will be held up as an illustration of the difficulty, or a demonstration of the impossibility, of adjusting the new ideas with the fundamentals and essentials of Christianity. But both of these classes may find an equal, though differing, interest in a studious reading of the volume; and both will find it provocative of deep and earnest thought. Certainly many passages of Scrip-

ture quoted in its pages are set by it in a fresh and suggestive light. A characteristic saying is this: "The teaching of history is that not until men are able to despise the comforts of a material prosperity are they worthy to be intrusted with it. The welfare of mankind consists not in the growth of happiness, but in an approximation to moral perfection." Another is: "Religion is not an extraneous revelation, unnatural and hostile to reason; religion is the outcropping of the Immanent God in man. So far from antagonizing reason, *religion is reason itself conscious of the source of its own light.*" Another is this: "The constitutional impulse to worship is the *scala sancta* by which men have gone up to speak with God face to face." And another this: "After nineteen centuries Christ remains the one prophet of the Moral Order whose declaration of its principles and applications is unchallenged and authoritative. It is as impossible to explain the true ethical system of the modern world, without taking into account the new light which Christ has brought to bear upon all questions pertaining to rights and duties, as to describe the motions of the planets without reference to the sun." The book falls into four divisions—God, The Sons of God, The Family of God, and God All in All. Social ideals and problems, as well as strictly theological matters, are discussed.

Sin and Holiness. By D. W. C. HUNTINGTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 288. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.20.

In this most recent of many Methodist books on this subject Dr. Huntington discusses with much thoroughness and with profound earnestness the question, What it is to be holy; and presents his mature conclusions resulting from many years of prayerful, anxious, and intense study and experimental testing. He is moved to publish these conclusions by a strong conviction that the Church greatly needs them at the present time. The ability, usefulness, and established character of the author give dignity and weight to his book. Much of it has the force which belongs to intelligent personal testimony concerning personal experience. A sample of such testimony is as follows: "At the time of my conversion and connection with the Church I assumed the correctness of the teachings upon the subject of entire sanctification which I then received. I was taught that they were scriptural and according to the standards of Methodism. Guided by those who received them in a similar way I was led at two different periods of my Christian life to believe that I had 'experienced the blessing of sanctification,' understanding by that term, as I did, the removal or destruction of what I was instructed to regard as 'inbred sin.' That I did realize at each of these seasons a gracious uplift in spiritual life I shall never doubt. Christ was revealed *to* me and *in* me as he had not been revealed before. For weeks following not a movement in my nature disturbed the deep calm of my spirit. I could say with another, 'I sought God in everything, and found him everywhere.' That I experienced *just what I thought I did* I do

not now believe." "In the work of a pastor since that time I have found many whose experiences in connection with this subject have been similar to my own, and I have evidence that the views presented in the following pages have, in the hand of God, been helpful to a considerable number of sincere but distressed children of God." Dr. Huntington says modestly that "no literary merit has been sought in this production, and none is claimed." Nevertheless, it deserves to be said that the qualities of simplicity, lucidity, orderliness, directness, and vigor give to his book a strong and effective style. The views therein presented, expounded, and defended, include the following particulars enumerated in the author's concluding chapter: 1. Sin is voluntary transgression of known law. 2. In order to the beginning of an experience of salvation there must be a renunciation and purposed abandonment of all which is known to be sin, and, by all to whom He is made known, Christ must be accepted as a sin-atoning Saviour. 3. These conditions met, the repentant sinner receives forgiveness of all his sin, and the Holy Spirit takes possession of his being, from which he had been excluded by sin. The saved soul is pardoned and regenerated. 4. Regeneration is sanctification begun—installed. So long as consecration on the part of the new believer continues entire—that is, up to the measure of apprehended obligation—and his faith remains unwavering, he is saved, he is holy. During any period, long or short, through which his consecration and faith waver, intermit, fluctuate, he is not wholly, continuously, confirmedly sanctified. 5. Entire, permanent sanctification is an attainment which, with few if any exceptions, is subsequent to the first moment of regeneration in time, but in nature one and the same. 6. It does not consist in the destruction or annihilation of anything in the soul. 7. Nor does it consist in the removal or extermination of the effects of ancestral sin. These effects being in no proper sense sin, neither their removal nor their destruction is necessarily included in salvation from sin. 8. Entire sanctification does consist in unreserved, uninterrupted consecration of the being to God; a state in which the believer, through the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit, revealing Christ to him as an all-sufficient Saviour, lives triumphant over temptation, constantly saved from committing sin. 9. The attainment of this state is, as a matter of fact, generally through successive reaches of faith, in which the soul is lifted nearer and nearer the point of permanent consecration, until it casts itself, without a fear, wholly upon Christ as a present and all-adequate Saviour from sinning. 10. Though this point of experience, compared with the hour of forgiveness, may stand in the thought as a second spiritual epoch, it is much less likely to consist in any one "blessing" than it is to be the culminating result of many seasons of spiritual illumination, heart-searching, self-abasement, and humble boldness in believing. Hence it is treated in the Scriptures as a point of mature Christian experience—a perfecting of the Christian graces. Dr. Huntington presents the true test of Christian experience as follows: "It is *not* how we

feel; it is *not* peace or rapture; it is *not* what was done in us or for us at any one given moment; but it *is* to what extent we are continuously saved from committing sin. The question is *not* whether what we inherited from Adam has been destroyed in us or removed from us. It *is* how permanent is our consecration; how steady our hold on Christ as a Saviour from all sin. We gave all to Christ in sacred purpose of heart when we sought pardon of sin. 'Do we stand to the gift?' (Wesley's Works, vi, p. 728). How uniformly do we choose the will of God instead of our own? We yielded wholly to this will at the first, as we *then* understood it. Do we yield wholly to his will as we *now* understand it? Have we turned back from new duties which have come into view with increasing light? Are we giving place to what we regard as little sins, as though anything can be little which is sin? Are our hearts fully set upon pleasing God in all things? Have we increasing power over temptation? Do we stand where we formerly fell?" Dr. D. D. Whedon is quoted: "The permanent continuity of absolute justification would be the highest sanctification." Watchful observers of tendencies say that Dr. Huntington's book is in the direction of the general present drift of thought in our Church.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Music and Poetry. By SIDNEY LANIER. 12mo, pp. 248. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These thirteen essays, which discuss various aspects and inter-relations of the two arts, were written twenty or thirty years ago; printed then, most of them, in the magazines, and are now collected into a volume. They are new to most readers, and of far more interest now than when they were written, because the fame of Lanier has grown much since his death. Many will be grateful for this, another and possibly the final installment of the lush output, exfoliation and efflorescence, of the bloomy mind of Sidney Lanier, the pride and pet of the intellectual Southland. The opening essay, "From Bacon to Beethoven," gives the keynote of this volume. What we moderns call music was born, it seems, in Francis Bacon's time, and its advent has wrought prodigious changes in some of our largest conceptions. We are taught that a time approaches when the musician will be as substantial a figure in everyday life as the politician; that music is the characteristic art-form of our modern time, as sculpture was of the antique, and as painting was of the mediæval; that hereafter the control of masses of men will be more and more relegated to each unit thereof, and the law will be given from within the bosom of each individual, not from without, and will rely for its sanctions upon desire instead of repugnance; that man's relation to the Unknown will change to be one of love rather than of terror; and that music will have a large share in promoting that change. "The universe consists of man, and of what is not man. These two being coex-

istent, it is in the nature of things that certain relations straightway spring up between them. Of such relations there are three possible kinds, regarding them from the standpoint of man, namely, the intellectual, the emotional, the physical. Whenever a man knows a thing, the intellectual relation is set up; when he loves or desires a thing, the emotional relation; when he sees or touches a thing, the physical relation. Music does not deal with intellectual relations; musical tones have no meaning appreciable by the human intellect." In the age of physical science when the intellect of man imperiously demands the exact truth of all actual things and is possessed by a holy mania for reality, music is the art which affords the largest outlet from the rigorous fixedness of the actual and of the known into the freer regions of the possible and of the unknown. The spirit of the modern man calls to music for relief from the pressure and grind of Fact—cries to it earnestly, "Come, lead me away out of this labyrinth of the real, the definite, the known, toward the region of the ideal, the infinite, the unknown; knowledge is good, I will continue to thirst and toil for it, but, alas! I am blind even with the blaze of the sun; take me where is starlight and darkness, where my eyes shall rest from the duties of verification and my soul repose from the labor of knowing." "Man strives to place himself in relation, not only with those definite forms which go to make up the finite world about him, but also with that indefinite Something up to which every process of reasoning, every outgo of emotion, every physical activity, inevitably leads him—God, the Infinite, the Unknown. The desire of man is that he may relate himself to the Infinite both in the cognitive and in the emotional way. Sir William Hamilton showed how impossible is any full relation of the former sort, by showing that cognition itself is a conditioning (that is, a defining, a placing of boundaries appreciable by the intellect), and that therefore the knowing of the Infinite is the conditioning of the Unconditioned—in short, impossible. This seemed to preclude any relation from man to God of the cognitive sort; but Herbert Spencer has relieved the blankness of this situation by asserting the possibility of a partial relation still. We cannot think God, it is true; but we can think *toward* him. This, in point of fact, is what men continually do. The definition in the Catechism, 'God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in his being, wisdom,' etc., is an effort of man to relate himself to God in the cognitive or intellectual way; it is a thinking toward God. Now, there is also a constant endeavor of man to relate himself to the Infinite in an emotional way, as well. As persistently as thought seeks the Infinite does emotion do the same. We not only wish to think the Infinite, we wish to love it; and as our love is not subject to the disabilities of our thought, the latter of these two wishes would seem to be capable of a more complete realization than the former. We can only think *toward* the Infinite, but it may be that our love can reach nearer its Object. As a philosophic truth music does carry our emotion toward the Infinite. No man will doubt

this who reflects for a moment on the rise and progress of music in the church. Music, the organ, the song are in all the churches, and grow in importance in the service of worship. Multitudes declare that no sermons, no words, no forms of any sort, avail to carry them on the way toward the desired goal as do the tones of Palestrina, of Bach, of Beethoven, when these are given forth by any organist of even moderate accomplishment. The number of fervent souls who fare easily by this road to the Lord, increases daily. From the negro swaying to and fro with the weird rhythms of 'Swing Low, Sweet Chariot' and the Georgia Cracker, yelling out 'The Old Ship of Zion' in the piney-woods log-church, to the intense devotee rapt away into the Infinite upon a Mass of Palestrina, there is but one testimony as to the substantial power of music in this matter of helping the emotion of man across the boundaries of the known into the immensity of the Unknown. Now, it cannot be that music has taken this place in the deepest and holiest matters of man's life through mere fortuitous arrangement. It must be that there exists some sort of relation between pure tones and the spirit of man, by virtue of which the latter is stimulated and forced onward toward the great End of all love and aspiration.. What may be the nature of this relation—why it is that certain vibrations sent forward by the tympanum along the bones and fluids of the inner ear should at length arrive at the spirit of man endowed with such a prodigious and heavenly energy—at what point of the course these vibrations and tones acquire this capacity of angels, being, up to that point, mere particles trembling hither and thither—these are mysteries which no man can unravel." Music is therefore a moral agency, and just in proportion as it is heartily accepted among men, so will a sense of the loveliness of morality spread, so will all that is pure grow in attractiveness, and so will the race progress toward the time predicted when law will cease to rely upon terror for its sanction, but will depend wholly upon love and desire. Lanier says that more "talent for music" is found among Americans, especially among our women, than among any other people. This, however, we incline to doubt. What a poet thinks of the place of poetry is indicated in words like these: "The scientific man is merely the minister of poetry. He is cutting down the Western Woods of Time; presently poetry will come there and make a city and gardens. This is always so. The man of affairs works for the behoof and use of poetry. Scientific facts have never reached their proper function until they merge into new poetic relations established between man and man, between man and God, or between man and Nature." The chapter on Nature-Metaphors begins: "Metaphors come of love rather than of thought. They arise in the heart as vapors; they gather themselves together in the brain as shapes; they then emerge from lip, from pen, from brush, from chisel, from violin, as full works, as creations, as Art." Most characteristic of Lanier is the close of the same chapter: "Spirit needs form and finds it in nature, which is formal; nature needs life and finds

it in spirit, which is life-giving. Never be these two sundered! Forever may the nature-metaphor stand as a mild priest and marry them, and marry them, and marry them again, and loose them to the free air as mated doves that nestle and build and bring forth mildnesses and meeknesses and Christ-loves in men's hearts." While exalting music and poetry our author recognizes fully the value of painting and declares that the rise of landscape painting seems surely one of the most notable events in the history of art; that the Americans are, or are to be, the greatest in this branch; that some of them are now among the sweetest preachers of beauty in all time; that, although the Frenchmen excel in technic thus far, they show no such seizure of Nature, no such grasp of her unspeakable loveliness and nearness to man. To illustrate the power of metaphor Lanier says that the most meager description of Napoleon and Washington instantly acquires a force and beauty unattainable by any amount of detail, when the writer finishes it with: "Napoleon was lightning, Washington was sunlight."

John Wesley as a Social Reformer. By D. D. THOMPSON. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Methodism can afford to refrain from self-praise. Out of the mouth of many impartial witnesses the nature, value, and extent of its services have been declared and established. Mr. Thompson's claim that John Wesley became the greatest social reformer of his day rests, not upon his own opinion merely, but upon the testimony of competent and disinterested students of history. In the Hulsean Lectures for 1895 Rev. W. M. Ede, M.A., rector of Gateshead, says, "The man who did most to reform the social life of England in the last century was John Wesley;" and J. R. Green, the historian, says, "The noblest result of the Methodist revival was the steady attempt, which has never ceased from that day to this, to remedy the guilt, the ignorance, the physical suffering, the social degradation of the profligate and the poor." To us the most interesting chapter of this book is the closing one on "Influence Upon the Labor Movement;" in it we glance along the progress of a great and blessed history of amelioration, which had one of its sources in the Methodist revival, and which still pours onward its beneficent stream through broadening channels in the United Kingdom and in America. Wesley found the lot of the agricultural laborers, miners, and factory workers of England to be deplorable in the extreme, full of cruel hardships, brutish ignorance, and all manner of vice. Thousands of children not over five years old worked down in the damp dark mines all day long, and never saw sunshine except on Sunday. Women were harnessed as beasts of burden by chains around their waists, hitched to heavy coal carriages which they drew through underground passages on their hands and knees. Girls and boys not yet eight years old carried huge back-loads of coal up steep ladders all day long. Other children were kept pumping thirteen and fourteen hours a day, and often had to

stand ankle-deep in water for thirty-six hours at a time. From the time when Wesley preached to the pitmen of Northumberland and Durham a reform began. He sowed the seed of better things, and Methodism has had a constant and conspicuous share ever since in the elevation of the miners and of industrial conditions generally throughout Great Britain. Not long ago, in the *North American Review*, Goldwin Smith wrote, "Christianity has had little influence on industrial life." There are in England miners, like Thomas Burt, Member of Parliament for Morpeth, and stone masons, like Henry Broadhurst, the first workingman to hold a cabinet position in the English government, and coal heavers, like Charles Fenwick, Member of Parliament, and local preacher labor leaders, like Joseph Arch, who are competent to instruct Goldwin Smith about the influence of Christianity on industrial life. As is shown in the book before us, if the whole of that influence were comprised in what Methodism alone has done for the industrial world, Goldwin Smith would not be justified in calling it little or its results insignificant. In the same *Review* article Professor Smith further shows that his misunderstanding of the nature of Christianity is as great as his ignorance of its effects by saying, "The Christian ideal involves an impracticable secession from the world and disregard of all worldly interests." For refutation of that statement one need only point to the figure of John Wesley, that wise statesman and powerful reformer, whose religion was not impracticable, who did not secede from the world, and who disregarded no real interest of human life; who took the Christian ideal and put it in such close and electric touch with everyday conduct and practical affairs that the effect is well described as "a movement." Human life—individual, social, commercial, and industrial—advanced and ascended by reason of an impulse originated by the presentation of "the Christian ideal," which Professor Smith thinks is in its nature so remote and in its influence so ineffectual. To what profit has a man studied history if he does not mark the manifold progress of mankind and the general betterment of human condition, or fails to perceive that the yeast which lifts the lump of human life is the leaven deposited therein by the Founder of Christianity, the Author and Finisher of our faith? We suppose it probable that the professor above referred to and quoted regards himself as a scholar of "advanced views," but his utter failure to comprehend Christianity, his unenlightened condition as to its results, his spacious ignorance of its nature, its history, its present state, and its prospects, compel us to regard him as one of the most belated and antiquated thinkers known to us in educated circles. In some of his misconceptions he is almost if not quite mediæval. Take for example his persistently, one might almost say perversely, reiterated idea that Christianity assumes and is dependent for its credibility on a Ptolemaic interpretation of the solar system, that the Gospel is made preposterous by the discoveries and teachings of modern astronomy. Professor John Fiske says that this idea which is insisted on by Pro-

fessor Goldwin Smith is "a primitive and childish notion." The notion at least so nearly primitive as to be three hundred years out of date, and is so far childish as to be held to-day only by intellectual infants in either first or second childhood.

Poems. By WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A photograph of a fine bust of the author—a keen, sensitive, earnest, face—fronts these poems, which are worthy of a second edition and more. A true poet and a sincere, fearless, and manly soul speaks in them. Although he has Ecclesiastes moods, which have for their refrain "Vanity of Vanities!" he yet believes in God, albeit, as is the way of poets mostly, with an unpropositioned faith. No soul of man can possibly be as genuinely blithe, buoyant, and sweet as Henley's is except it feels divine foundations under its feet which give it confidence and courage. He faces the mysteries and menaces of life with a brave spirit, glorying in the power and dignity of his own nature as if conscious of being only a little lower than God, with a firm will and a solemn joy in being the captain of his own soul and master of his fate. This poet evidently does not think unfaith a sign of intellect or spirit. Thus he writes:

> The world, a world of prose,
> Full-crammed with facts, in science swathed and sheeted,
> Nods in a stertorous after-dinner doze!
> Plangent and sad, in every wind that blows,
> Who will may hear the sorry words repeated:—
> "The Gods are dead!"

The sadness of life has its pathetic note in his verse, but gladness exults and sings on many a page, with gratitude intermingled. He gives praise for all the joy of life; from whatever source we drink it, in whatever terms we think it, it is common and divine; and in giving it the Deity has made man's chance of living shine the equal of his own. In the jocund springtime our poet calls his comrade in fifty lines, which end with:

> Come, let us go a-maying,
> And bless the God of all!

Faith and love are mates, and a greatly loving heart like Henley's instinctively trusts. His tender lines about the death of his six-year-old child, Margaret Emma, are a sort of sermon from the text, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you." There is a similar serene trust in his memorial verses to his old friend, Robert Louis Stevenson:

> O, Death and Time, they chime and chime
> Like bells at sunset falling!—
> They end the song, they right the wrong,
> They set the old echoes calling:
>
> For Death and Time bring on the prime
> Of God's own chosen weather,
> And we lie in the peace of the Great Release,
> As once in the grass together.

In "Matri Dilectissimæ" five sons watch their mother die; and when the dear face turns dead, and, amid sounds of lamentation, the good, heroic soul with all its wealth—its sixty years of love and sacrifice, suffering, and passionate faith—passes away in peace, they say:

> There were we,
> Her five strong sons!
> To her Death came—the great Deliverer came!—
> As equal comes to equal, throne to throne.
> She was a mother of men.
> . . . . . .
> And the brave truth comes overwhelmingly home:—
> That she in us yet works and shines,
> Lives and fulfills herself,
> Unending as the river and the stars.

Patriotism, too, has proud and splendid speech in Henley's poetry, as in the lines beginning:

> What have I done for you,
> England, my England?
> What is there I would not do,
> England, my own?
> With your glorious eyes austere,
> As the Lord were walking near,
> Whispering terrible things and dear,
> As the Song on your bugles blown,
> England—
> Round the world on your bugles blown!

Fit to go with Kipling's "Song of the English," which opens *The Seven Seas*, are the words of England's sons, loyal to love and quick to obey the call of the Mighty Mother who goes forth around the world sounding the trumpet of order and law, "bent upon vast beginnings, bidding anarchy cease." Thus sing the men of her armies and navies:

> We tracked the winds of the world to the steps of their very thrones;
> The secret parts of the world were salted with our bones;
> Till now the name of names, England, the name of might,
> Flames from the austral fires to the rims of the boreal night;
> And the call of her morning drum goes in a girdle of sound,
> Like the voice of the sun in song, the great globe round and round;
> And the shadow of her flag, when it shouts to the mother-breeze,
> Floats from shore to shore of the universal seas!
> Who says that we shall pass, or the fame of us fade and die,
> While the living stars fulfill their round in the living sky?
> For the sire lives in his sons, and they pay their father's debt,
> And the Lion has left a whelp, wherever his claw was set;
> And the Lion in his whelps, his whelps that none shall brave,
> Is but less strong than Time and the great all-whelming Grave.

This volume with its twenty-eight poems "In Hospital," its twenty-three bits of "Bric-a-Brac," its forty-seven "Echoes," its five "London Voluntaries," and its twenty-five "Rhymes and Rhythms," is the product and the proof of the rich range and rare quality of Henley's poetic genius.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity. By Rev. JAMES ORR, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian Theological College, Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These are the Morgan Lectures delivered in the Theological Seminary of Auburn, New York, in 1897. Dr. Orr is one of the strong and ready men of Scottish scholarship, known to us by his volume, *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith,* by his able participation in the quick reply and refutation printed in Scotland against Pfleiderer's Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh, and by various minor critical and expository writings. Church history is not a dead but a progressive science, and, within fifty years, has achieved much by philosophical, historical, and critical methods, especially in its study of the earliest age of Christianity. The new investigation dates from Baur's day, in opposition to whom Ritschl made his independent investigation into the origin of the Old Catholic Church. Then Lightfoot rediscussed the question of the ministry and cognate problems of the apostolic age; Hatch tried to show how Church ideas and usages took shape under the action of forces in the Gentile world; Harnack and others traced more systematically the rise of ecclesiastical dogma through importation of the ideas and methods of Greek philosophy; and Ramsay discussed the relations of the Christians to the Roman State and made researches which open a new era in the progress of apostolic and subapostolic history. The soil of the Christian origins is being dug up everywhere and examined with a microscope. The interest in the early years of Christianity deepens, and the search thereby prompted must result in great and manifold good. Nor is this interest confined, or its beneficial effects limited, to the Christian Church. In a certain American college for women, last year, the most absorbed, searching, and satisfactory student in a class of forty studying the first three centuries of the history of the Christian Church was a Jewess. Dr. Orr thinks that this modern effort to comprehend better the early development of the Church has occupied itself disproportionately in tracing and setting forth the influence of the pagan world on the infant Christian Church, the way and the degree in which the new faith was affected by the intellectual, moral, political, and religious environment which surrounded it. He therefore draws attention to the opposite side of the history, namely, the powerful action outward of Christianity on its environment, its transforming influence on the ideas, laws, institutions, morals of pagan society. These three lectures are devoted to showing that Christianity had a larger extension *laterally* and in point of numbers in the Roman empire than is usually represented; that it had a much larger extension *vertically*, as respects the different strata of society, than is commonly believed; and that it had a much greater influence, *intensively* or *penetratively*, in its effects on the thought and life of the age than is gen-

erally acknowledged. With careful scholarship, and in a thoroughly critical manner, Dr. Orr sets the early Christian centuries in a new glory of spiritual power and victory. Altogether it is about the most exhilarating and inspiring picture of those times; not a work of the imagination but of cool and measuring historical scholarship, as exact in its drawing and as colorless as a steel engraving; most convincing in its verisimilitude. We believe most students will feel that Dr. Orr's thesis is correct, and that he successfully supports it. The numerical progress of Christianity was unequal in different parts of the Roman empire, more rapid in the East than in the West, in Italy and North Africa than in Gaul. One peculiarity of its advance was "that it struck at the great centers and followed the great lines of intercommunication in the Roman world; that its chief victories were won where Greek and Roman culture had prepared the way for it, and that its posts of strength and influence were chiefly in the wealthy and populous cities—Rome, Corinth, Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, Lyons, and the like—from which it could spread into, and best dominate, the surrounding districts. Its method—the same followed by Paul in his missionary work—was to seize and occupy the leading vantage points, with a view to ultimate wider diffusion." The inherent spiritual energy, the ever-strengthening organization, the immense moral force which in three centuries raised the Church to undisputed supremacy in the empire, and which make Merivale write concerning the early Christians, "The active and growing strength of the Roman world was truly theirs—theirs was the future of all civilized society"—all these were probably attended and made influential by the power of great numbers. One source of evidence is found in the Roman catacombs, which are purely Christian cemeteries, the number buried in them amounting to millions, all interred within two centuries and a half. Estimates of the number vary from about two millions up to seven millions. Calculating the number of living Christians from the number of the dead in this period it is reckoned that, in one generation thereof, there were in and about Rome from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand Christians, or from one third to one half of the entire population. Thus recent computations wholly discredit Gibbon's estimate, which allowed only one twentieth. The newly recovered *Apology of Aristides* tells how, after the Lord's ascension, his twelve disciples "went forth into the known provinces of the world, and taught concerning his greatness;" and, as Dr. Orr says, "through the dim mists of tradition we can descry the figures of these apostles spread over the various countries of the world—in Parthia and Scythia, on the bleak shores of the Euxine, in Mesopotamia, in Arabia, perhaps as far even as India—and can catch glimpses which show that the work of evangelization was actively going on" during the first century. In the second century are many signs that immense advances had been made. Justin Martyr declares, in what Gibbon calls a "splendid exaggeration;" "There is not one single race of men, whether barbarians,

or Greeks, or whatever they may be called, nomads, or vagrants, or herdsmen living in tents, among whom prayers and giving of thanks are not offered through the name of the crucified Jesus." The readers of Dr. Orr's first lecture, which we have barely touched here, are likely at the end to agree "in recognizing the powerful hold which Christianity had taken, numerically, on society by the end of the third century." The second lecture shows that the influence of early Christianity on the higher ranks of society has be enunderestimated. This is shown from the New Testament, from the witness of the catacombs, from notices in the second century, from the known wealth of the Church of Rome, from the witness of the persecutions and the persons of rank and influence suffering therein, from the writings of Tertullian and Clement on the luxury of Christians, from the relations of Christianity with the imperial court in the third century, from the social status of Church teachers, and from other facts, all indicating that the membership of the early Church was not drawn mainly from the lowest, the base and the servile, but from the intermediate classes, and embraced many of the wealthier and higher orders. Among the martyrs are masters as well as slaves; if we have Blandina, the slave girl among them, we have also her mistress; and generally the martyrs seem to have come from the middle and better classes. This is a highly interesting, corrective, and effective chapter. Its conclusions offer new and needed light to whole sections of modern Christendom. The closing lecture shows the immense *penetrative and pervasive* influence of Christianity on the thought and life of the Roman empire, the outstreaming of Christian influences into pagan society, with indications of "the subtle and energetic manner in which early Christianity engaged the interest and penetrated the thought of intelligent circles in the greater heathen communities," as well as its effects on morals and legislation. Professor Orr has certainly "done something to intensify our sense of the mighty power which, as the divine leaven introduced into humanity, Christianity from its first entrance into the world exercised on everything it touched;" and in so doing he has rendered a valuable service to all who care to know the real splendor and vigor of early Christianity. The preacher who studies and absorbs this book may find himself loaded to the muzzle with solid matter for one or more powerful sermons on the glory of the early Church, with the possibility of impressive applications and moving appeals to the Church of to-day.

In the Forbidden Land. An Account of a Journey into Tibet, Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture, and Ultimate Release brought about by Dr. Wilson and the Political Peshkar Karak Sing-Pal. By A. Henry Savage Landor. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 307, 250. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $9.

This is a story of almost unparalleled daring, incredible endurance, and indomitable persistence. It is published in superb form, with eight colored plates, fifty full-page pictures, a hundred and fifty text

illustrations, and a map of the region traversed from surveys made by the author. Mr. Landor's journey across the Himalayas into Tibet was made during the spring, summer, and autumn of 1897, sailing for India March 19, and reaching Bombay three weeks later. He claims to have solved in Tibet the uncertainty regarding the division of the Mansarowar and Rakastal Lakes, to have ascended the Himalayas to the altitude of twenty-two thousand feet, and made pictures of some of the greatest glaciers of the region, and to have visited and fixed the position of the two principal sources of the Brahmaputra River, never before reached by a European. The *London Times* says, "He tells a plain and manly tale without affectation or bravado;" and the *London Spectator*, "The narrative conveys the temper of an Epictetus combined with the fortitude of a Spartan." The photographs of himself, showing him as he was before entering Tibet and as he was when he came out, indicate convincingly that within "the space of a very few weeks he must have endured a lifetime of concentrated misery. Other travelers have gone farther, but none who have escaped with their lives have fared worse." The extreme and prolonged tortures which nearly destroyed him were inflicted, not by lawless robbers or irresponsible savages, but by the officials of the region, who afterward coolly acknowledged all that they had done, but made no apology for their fiendish cruelties. The indifference of the government of India and the incompetence of its officials in the region bordering on Tibet are responsible for the fact that the Tibetans have little fear or respect for British authority. The Tibetans continually come over the border to rob and torture and kill British subjects on British soil. These revolting atrocities inflicted by the Lamas and other Tibetan officials have been reported again and again to the government of India, but the mountain villages are left unprotected from incessant outrage, and Englishmen who visit those regions are indignant that the weakness of British officials in Kumaon and of the government of the province allows the iniquity and suffering to continue. Mr. Landor says that on the slightest pretext, or none, the Tibetans arrest, torture, fine, and confiscate property of British subjects on British territory; that he saw in Garbyang and other villages British subjects who had been mutilated by Tibetan authorities and who had no redress. In 1896 Lieutenant Gaussen, a British officer, was seized by Tibetan soldiers on the Lippu Pass who gave him a nasty wound in the forehead, and so badly treated his servant that two years after he was still an invalid. The same year the Tibetan authorities arrested a rich Shoka trader, undeniably a British subject, gave him two hundred lashes, smashed his kneepan, crushed all his fingers into pulp between heavy stones, then dragged him before the Lamas (priests) who had him beheaded, appropriating to themselves all his money, merchandise, and animals. To our amazement such things continue to be done to British subjects with impunity, and in regions where the old banner of England, which usually means strong protection for all subjects of the queen,

floats in the air. The flag of Trafalgar, with the legend, "England expects every man to do his duty," needs to be unfurled over North India for the admonition of government officials. If some of the men who stormed and took Dargai Bluff were in charge along the southern slopes of the Himalayas the Tibetans would take no more liberties with British subjects. The Gordon Highlanders, if there were enough of them, would quickly make a safe frontier. The terrible tortures inflicted by Tibetan officials on Mr. Landor, a British subject with passports, have been investigated by J. Larkin, Esq., the British magistrate at Almora, and reported in full with indubitable proof to the government of India, but no information is yet given of any measures taken to punish the self-confessed criminals or to exact indemnity or apology from the Tibetan authorities. It is doubtful if Mr. Landor will ever have the satisfaction of hearing that condign vengeance has lit on his tormentors, or that his sufferings have resulted to the benefit of others by attracting the government's attention and arousing it to some effort on behalf of persecuted subjects who have a right to its protection. But it is not for Americans to criticise the British government in India or elsewhere for failure to protect its loyal subjects. Take it the world around, the flag which is the greatest terror to lawbreakers and evildoers, and which commands in all seas the greatest respect for its faithfulness to its own as well as for its power, is the British flag. Bright with honor and just pride will be the day—if it ever comes—when the Stars and Stripes shall afford to American citizens abroad or at home such protection of property and life as covers Victoria's subjects wherever the Union Jack unfurls its mighty folds. Millions of Americans, white and black, long to see that day, that they may be as proud of their country as they would like to be. In foreign lands Americans have many a time been glad to take refuge from peril under the righteous protection of the British ensign, and to-day the humiliating fact is that even within the United States there are places where American citizens can look for no protection whatever for life or property from the Stars and Stripes or the government which that flag represents. The appendix to Mr. Landor's volumes contains full confirmation of the truth of his narrative in the form of the official reports made by Magistrate Larkin, who investigated the matter, together with Mr. Landor's own succinct statement given under oath in Mr. Larkin's court, the depositions in the same court of the two servants who accompanied Landor into Tibet and witnessed his tortures, the deposition of Dr. Harkna Wilson as to Landor's wounds and dying condition on escaping from the Tibetans, the deposition to the same effect of Pundit Gobaria, a wealthy trader, and of the Political Peshkar, Kharak Sing, and of Suna, another trader, who saw Mr. Landor and his servants captive in the hands of the Tibetans near Mansarowar Lake. Mr. Landor's deposition begins with this account of himself: "My name is Arthur Henry Savage Landor; my father's name is Charles Savage Landor; I am by caste European.

British subject; by occupation artist and traveler; my home is at Empoli [Calappiano], police station Empoli, district Florence, Tuscany, Italy; I reside at London." We wonder that he could suffer so much and live to tell the story, and that the Tibetans after torturing and threatening and preparing to kill him, should have delivered him alive into any friendly hands.

MISCELLANEOUS.

English Meditative Lyrics. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Litt.D. 12mo, pp. 157. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

This admirable book, published by our Book Concern for the Professor of English in Princeton University, companions a previous volume, *American Meditative Lyrics.* Lyric verse takes its name from its having been originally sung to the accompaniment of the lyre or harp. It is the oldest form of standard verse, as also the most natural and simple. It is preeminently the poetry of the heart, and at its best combines thought, feeling, and art proportionately in one poetic product. The three great elements of excellence in any poem are the intellectual, the emotional, and the esthetic—sense, spirit, and structure. These are not always blended in due proportion. Professor Hunt says that Robert Browning often overmagnifies the intellectual, that Mrs. Browning passes at times to the other extreme of the unduly impassioned; while Pope, Matthew Arnold, and Tennyson sometimes push artistic finish into the province of art for art's sake. In modern hymnology, good sense and good taste are often sacrificed to vapid sentiment. Sacred lyrics need intelligence, sanity, and equipoise. The lyrist requires an object outside of himself and worthy to elicit the deepest impulses of the soul. When he has this, we have the wholesome verse of a Milton and a Wordsworth; when he lacks it, we have the unwholesome verse of a Byron, a Clough, and a Whitman. In one line of lyric work Swinburne, Lang, Dobson, Austen, and Watson excel. These fifteen chapters discuss with fine insight, exquisite appreciation, masterful skill, and with wisely selected typical examples of lyric poetry, giving each a chapter, the Elizabethan meditative lyrics, the lyrics of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Matthew Arnold, and Tennyson, as well as memorial lyrics or elegies, devotional lyrics or hymns, and "The Larger Lyric List," in which list Professor Hunt includes and discusses with illustrations William Watson, Alfred Austen, now poet laureate, Edwin Arnold, Clough, and others. "Poetry, especially in the lyric," says the author, "is a veritable communion, a contemplation of God and life and human destiny—a meditation of the heart, deep and potent—an inlook and an uplook, as the soul holds high converse with the ever-widening world of invisible realities. 'Only that is poetry,' says Emerson, 'which cleanses and mans me;' only that, we may add, which strengthens us and aids us in our search after

light and love and truth and God." We heartily commend this attractive and instructive book. Its color and tone are congenial with summer days. It is part of the bloom and the song of the soul, suitable to be carried abroad amid the blossoming and singing of the newly-awakened earth; when

> Heaven tries the earth, if it be in tune,
> And over it softly her warm ear lays.

George Müller. The Modern Apostle of Faith. With Portrait of Mr. George Müller, Taken on his Ninetieth Birthday, and Other Illustrations. By FREDERICK G. WARNE. 12mo, pp. 278. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Before the present generation of Christian workers was born Mr. Müller had become a conspicuous figure in the field of Christian labor. The nature and results of his philanthropic work have therefore become so familiar that a recital of the particular facts of the present biography is not necessary. In a simplicity that well harmonizes with the unostentatious character of Mr. Müller the outline of his life is here given, including his early waywardness and his entrance upon the Christian life, his self-sacrificing toil and his exercise of mighty faith, the prosperity of his orphanages and his quiet departure to the heavenly rest. To read the book is to feel that we are standing in the presence of one of the holy men of the world. Well does the biographer sum up his character in the words of the Preface: "The career traced in the following pages is one of the most remarkable and soul-inspiring in the records of modern Christianity. George Müller spent more than seventy years of his long life in one grand, unceasing endeavor to proclaim Christ and glorify his name among men. It was the supreme, the all-consuming desire of his heart. He was the mightiest man, spiritually, of the age. A man the every fiber of whose being was bound up in God. A man whose example of faith and prayer will ever remain as one of the brightest possessions of the Church on earth." It is a blessing to the age that such biographies are available, when those who are described have gone to their reward; and in the contemplation of Mr. Müller's career, as here set forth, many a feeble soul will feel its faith grow strong.

Jesus Exultant; or, Christ No Pessimist, and Other Essays. By DANIEL STEELE, D.D., Recent Professor in the School of Theology of Boston University. Author of *Love Enthroned*, etc. 12mo, pp. 334. Boston and Chicago: Christian Witness Co. Price, cloth, $1.

In this volume Dr. Steele has grouped a variety of miscellaneous essays upon important themes. Or, in the figure which he himself employs, he "has been encouraged to gather another basketful of the same kind of fruit [as in his previous books] and send it to the world's autumnal market ere the winter snows shall have covered his orchard." His first two chapters foretell "the ultimate evangelization of the whole world by the agencies now employed in the dispensation of the Holy Spirit." Some of the other chapters are entitled, "The Call to Preach the Gospel," "The Day-Star in the Heart," "The Sons of God," "Power from on High,"

"The Unsearchable Riches," and "The Greater Works of Believers." The last is entitled "What is Man?" and "institutes a search among all the schools of philosopy for a measure large enough to ascertain the proportions of man." All the essays, it may be said in a word, are marked by vigor, breadth, and withal a cheerfulness of view that is contagious. If the author has yet in reserve other basketfuls of such fruit as he here presents to us there is surely a demand for them in "the world's autumnal market."

First American Itinerant of Methodism, William Watters. By Rev. D. A. WATTERS, B.D., Member of the Oregon Conference, and Professor of Systematic Theology in Portland University. Introduction by Bishop CHARLES C. MCCABE. 12mo, pp. 172. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author by Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 75. cents.

The reader of this biography will feel anew the romance of early Methodism. There were many pioneer preachers in those days whose talents, consecration, and success call for lasting memorial. And among them must certainly be enrolled William Watters, who has the additional honor of leading the list of itinerants of American birth. Beginning his traveling ministry in 1772, when our preachers were only eight and the membership of the Church hardly a thousand, he lived until 1827, when the Methodism of our land enrolled 421,105 members and 1,642 preachers. To this large growth Mr. Watters was himself a worthy contributor. His piety of life, his self-denial, his wisdom in counsel, his friendship for Asbury, his passion for souls, and his serene old age are features of his career which his present namesake and biographer has here told with clearness and in attractive style. From his example the Church should gather new inspiration for future service.

European History: An Outline of Its Development. With Maps and Illustrations. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Professor of History in Yale University. 8vo, pp. 577. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.40.

Of particular interest, Professor Adams holds, is the study of those nations that have created our present civilization. "If we can see how they came into the field of history one after another, each taking up the work of making our civilization where the others had left it, and can get a clear idea of the more important work that each one did, then we have made a framework for the whole of history which can be filled up with the details as we study afterwards the history of different nations. There are other nations besides these whose history is interesting, like the ancient Peruvians or the Chinese, but, since they have been very much isolated from the rest of the world, a knowledge of their history is not necessary in order to understand how our own civilization came to be what it is." With this principle as a starting point the author divides his volume into the following Parts: "Primitive Europe and the Orient," "The Greek Period," "The Rise of the Romans," "The Roman World-State with its Fall and its Revival," "The Formation of the Nations," "Renaissance and Reformation," and "The Struggle of the Nations for Supremacy and Expansion." A list of books for reference precedes each

Part, and at the end of each chapter is found a list of topics and frequently a tabulation of important dates. In logical arrangement of text, wide scope of treatment, and charm of typography and illustration Professor Adams has furnished a valuable book, not only to teachers, but also to all students of the past.

The Student's Life of Jesus. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, PH.D., D.D., Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. Crown 8vo, pp. 412. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The purpose of this work is sufficiently outlined by its author in his Preface. He does not aim to discuss in detail the teachings of our Lord, except so far as seems necessary to an understanding of Christ's character and life. The book is also made for students in particular, and hence is "compact and predominantly critical." And, still again, it is "written with the conviction that a believer in Christianity may investigate the life of Jesus as scientifically as an unbeliever." With these principles as an inspiring motive Professor Gilbert has prepared a volume which all students of the gospels may use to advantage.

One Thousand and One Thoughts From My Library. By D. L. MOODY. 12mo, pp. 396. New York, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

This volume is made up of "gems from our great authors." Luther, Spurgeon, Guthrie, Newman Hall, Brooks, and many more upon both sides of the Atlantic are among those who are quoted. The extracts are arranged in the order of their scriptural application, while an index of topics adds to the working value of the book. As a new compilation of textual comments it will be appreciated by many.

The Ministry to the Congregation. Lectures on Homiletics. By JOHN A. KERN, D.D., President of Randolph-Macon College. 8vo, pp. 551. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. Price, cloth, $2.

This is an important book. It includes in its pages the homiletic teaching given by Dr. Kern "during the last ten years in the Biblical Department of Randolph-Macon College." The two divisions of the book are entitled, "The Ministry of Worship," and "The Ministry of Preaching." In comprehensiveness, vigor, appropriateness, and clear analysis there seems to be little omitted from these lectures. Their reading would be a benefit to the ministry of all Churches, could the volume generally be put into the hands of the American clergy.

Digging Ditches and Other Sermons to Boys and Girls. By Rev. FREDERICK B. COWL. 12mo, pp. 158. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Such sermons as these which had their origin in England are worthy of being preached to the boys and girls of any land. While they are plain, they are not puerile; and while they deal particularly with simple incidents or declarations of the Scripture, there is a touch of genius in their treatment which lifts them altogether out of the ordinary. Their publication should be helpful to many youth.

4639